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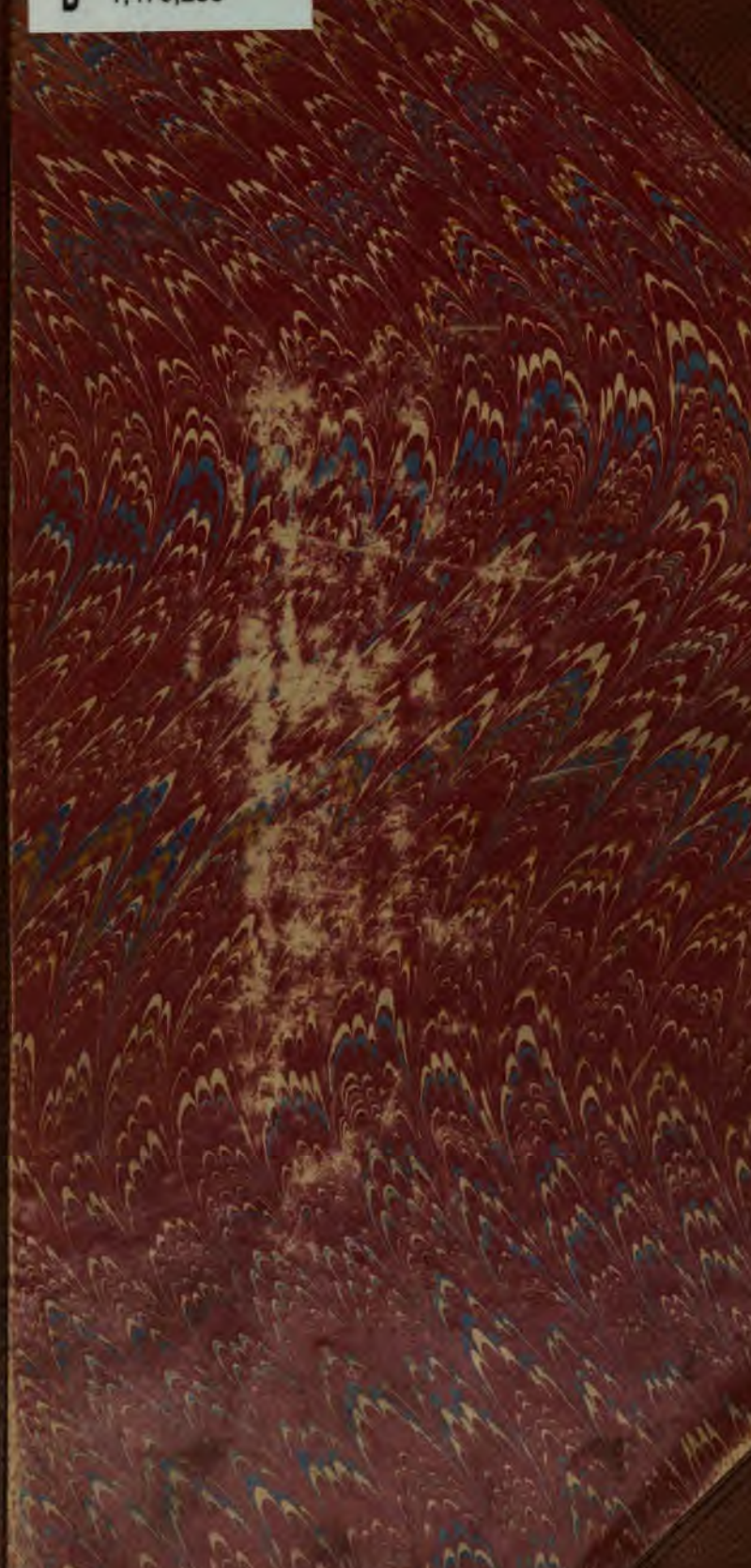
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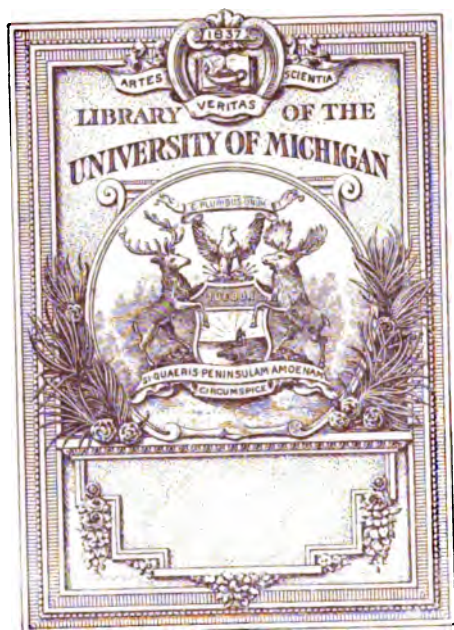
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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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1. *England in the Mediterranean* (1603–1715). By Julian S. Corbett. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1904.
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3. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge*. Edited for the Navy Records Society by J. R. Tanner. Two vols. 1903–4.
4. *Historical Manuscripts Commission*. Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part vi. Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1692–1693. London: Spottiswoode, 1894.
5. *House of Lords' Manuscripts*. New Series. Vol. I, 1693–1695; vol. II, 1695–1697. London: Spottiswoode, 1900–3. And other works.

AMONG the contests for the mastery of the seas waged in times past by English seamen, the battles with the Dutch are distinguished by the peculiar stubbornness and tenacity displayed by both combatants. Camperdown was certainly not the least evenly or fiercely contested of the great sea-fights of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars; and the very names of 'the Three Days' Battle' of February 1653 and of 'the Four Days' Battle' of June 1666 are themselves some indication of the determination, the endurance, and the desperate valour which have made so memorable those hard-fought struggles. So keen was the rivalry inspired by the memories of Amboyna and by commercial jealousies no less potent than the religious passions which had embittered the struggle with Spain, so stubborn and equal was the contest, so large the space which those furious encounters in the Channel and



the North Sea fill on the canvas on which we picture the navy of the seventeenth century, that one may fairly call the Dutch wars the most important feature in the naval history of the period. It is therefore with something akin to surprise that we find Mr Corbett bidding us set the Dutch wars aside as 'but an episode,' and calling upon us to look elsewhere for the line of naval development which he would have us regard as the greatest, the most central, the most abiding, of the whole century.\*

Nor is our natural surprise at this apparent paradox by any means diminished when we find that the event, which is given precedence as the principal naval feature of the seventeenth century, namely, the establishment of England's naval power in the Mediterranean, is one usually associated with the eighteenth. Indeed, the Peace of Utrecht, with which Mr Corbett's volumes close, is to most people the beginning of England's career as a Mediterranean power. But Mr Corbett has accustomed us to find in his works bold and novel views cogently upheld; and the case which is presented in the brilliant and fascinating pages of 'England in the Mediterranean' is one which cannot but carry conviction, even if, in endeavouring to bring out the great importance of this hitherto unappreciated aspect of our naval history, Mr Corbett is at times a little too emphatic and fixes his attention too unreservedly on the Mediterranean. For example, his estimate of the influence of the Portuguese offer in bringing about the Restoration † is a little difficult to accept; and one might quote more than one case in which he seems to attribute more importance to the action, or even to the inaction, of British sea-power within 'the Straits' than the facts quite warrant. Still, the standpoint from which he views the period is so new and original that we need not wonder if he should occasionally 'arouse a suspicion of mirage'; and one may take exception to particular points without feeling any the less grateful for the new light which he has thrown on the period, for his brilliant and suggestive handling of a theme so full of interest and importance.

Perhaps the best example of his work is his treatment of the story of the English occupation of Tangier. That

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\* 'England in the Mediterranean,' vol. i, p. vi.

† Ib. II, 4-6.

episode is usually neglected by historians as of little real importance. Possibly, at most, a passing reference is vouchsafed to the notorious Colonel Percy Kirke and his no less famous 'Lambs';\* or the expenses incurred by the occupation or the evacuation may be quoted as proof of the worthlessness of the post. But Mr Corbett does full justice to the importance of Tangier and to the tragedy of its fate, for it is nothing less than tragic. It is now seen that the occupation was no mere side issue, devoid of importance or of other than local interest, but that it was the fruit of a deliberate policy, an attempt to plant England's power firmly at one of the great strategical centres of the world.

Equally unfamiliar to the majority of Mr Corbett's readers will be his sketch of the circumstances which first caused England's intervention in the Mediterranean. Even those who may recollect encountering the 'Sallee rovers' in the pages of 'Robinson Crusoe' would probably find some difficulty in giving any account of those famous scourges of the sea; and Mr Corbett has done good service in rescuing from oblivion the British renegade Ward, who first taught the Barbary corsairs how to make use of sailing-ships in their struggles with Spain for the control of the Mediterranean trade-routes. It was in this way that the broadside sailing-ship, the new weapon of sea-power which the ocean-going navies of the North had developed, came to enter the Mediterranean, and to encounter and defeat the galley in the classic home of the oared war-vessel. So, too, it was for the ostensible purpose of operating 'against the corsairs' that the ships of the Stewart navy first passed through the Straits.

Mansell's expedition against the Algerian pirates (1620), described by Mr Corbett, has an importance

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\* Mr Corbett is not quite accurate about the relations of Kirke to the two distinguished regiments which at the present day represent the infantry of the Tangier garrison (II, 120). The regiment which Kirke raised in 1680 and took out to Tangier as the 'Second Tangier Regiment,' was not the 'Lambs.' That hardly enviable notoriety was earned by the 'Old' Tangier Regiment, one of those formed in 1661 out of the Dunkirk garrison. Kirke was transferred to this regiment in 1684, and was in command of it when, on the return of the garrison to England, it took rank on the English establishment as second among the infantry of the line, as the 2nd Foot, or Queen's; Kirke's original corps, the Second Tangier, became the 4th Foot, the present King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment.

far beyond the meagre results it achieved. It was a foretaste of greater things; and it is a pardonable exaggeration when Mr Corbett hails it as 'one of the most momentous departures in history . . . redeeming a contemptible reign from much of its insignificance'; for the expedition is pre-eminently one of the cases of which Mr Corbett is so fond, when 'what did not happen is at least as important as what did.' Once in the Mediterranean, a British squadron might play many parts: it might find itself off Genoa or Brindisi quite as easily as off Tunis or Algiers. Indeed, as Mr Corbett says, an expedition against the Barbary corsairs was 'the stock diplomatic formula for covering some sinister and ulterior design.' Mansell might have been used on behalf of the Palatine house; and his presence in the Mediterranean must have given Spanish statesmen some anxious moments. But, though James did not manage to make the weight of the English Navy felt on the Neckar and on the Danube, Mansell's expedition deserves to be remembered as one of the first steps in the process by which England found her way to the Mediterranean, 'that sea about which for centuries the destinies of the civilised world had seemed to turn,' and came to fix her grasp on 'the old focal points of European polity.' Bad as is the administrative record of the reigns of James I and Charles I, this much must be set down to their credit: they appreciated the potentialities of the navy, and sought to use it. James I may at least claim to have 'inaugurated a new field for the action of the English Navy. Feebly as the new policy had been started, a precedent had been set.'

But it was not by James himself or by his unhappy son that the new departure was to be resumed with greater success. It was not till the Commonwealth, having established its power in the British Isles, sought to obtain admission, as a recognised member, into the European state-system, that British warships were again to pass between the Pillars of Hercules. Almost the first task which lay before the new Government which had replaced the overthrown monarchy, was to win recognition from its reluctant and unfriendly neighbours. But for the navy this would have been difficult. At first the other nations of Europe showed a disposition to regard the regicide state

as outside the pale of ordinary international relations, to treat British merchant ships as fair game, and to deny to British envoys the sanctity of ambassadors. But, fortunately for the Commonwealth, it possessed in the navy an argument to which Europe had to listen. Charles I had failed to enforce honesty or efficiency in naval administration; his expenditure on the navy had hardly been laid out to the best advantage; but he had not allowed its strength to fall off, and his successors were indebted to him for the force which they put to better use. It was not long before the Continent discovered that the inefficiency which had made the expeditions to Cadiz and Rochelle such shameful pages in our naval history had passed away with those responsible for it.\* A little experience of the length of the British arm and of the ubiquity of the British Navy soon caused France and Spain to alter their tone. And the main theatre of the exploits by which the navy enforced respect for the British flag and won recognition for the Commonwealth was the Mediterranean, with the portions of the Atlantic immediately outside the Straits.

Mr Corbett's account of this process is both lucid and dramatic. About half the first volume of 'England in the Mediterranean' is devoted to its principal incidents—Blake's determined pursuit of Rupert and his tenacious blockade of Lisbon, the work done by Penn and the first true Mediterranean squadron, the check given to British prestige within the Straits by the untoward incidents of the first Dutch war in that quarter, the steps taken by Cromwell to make good that loss of prestige by the despatch of Blake's fleet, and what that fleet and the squadrons which relieved it actually accomplished. Possibly the events within the Mediterranean appear to assume unmerited importance owing to the neglect of what was happening in the North Sea and the Atlantic; for it is only a distant echo of Tromp's guns

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\* Mr Oppenheim has a most instructive chapter on the Commonwealth period in his 'Administration of the Royal Navy,' in which he pays a high tribute to the zeal and efficiency of the Admiralty Committee and Navy Commissioners on whom the administrative work fell. 'Never, before or since,' he says, 'were the combatant branches of the Navy so well supported.' As a rule our seamen have had to beat the enemy afloat in spite of the Admiralty ashore, but here they had every assistance that foresight and earnestness could give' (p. 306).

off Dover that reaches us, and Blake's 'crowning mercy' at Teneriffe is but barely mentioned. But Mr Corbett has little difficulty in showing that the presence of British warships in the Mediterranean exercised an indirect influence which far outweighed their actual achievements. For, just as Mansell's mission to chastise the corsairs had been the cloak to cover greater designs, so Blake, when showing the flag off Leghorn or Civita Vecchia, or destroying Tunisian pirates at Porto Farina, was giving European statesmen a series of object-lessons which Mazarin, for one, did not fail to appreciate.

The Mediterranean fleet was 'a lever to force France into peace and a spell to lull Spain into security'; and in following its actions we obtain a clue to those 'shifting intricacies' and 'bewildering changes of front' which constitute the foreign policy of Cromwell. When Blake sailed to the Mediterranean, no one, certainly not the Protector himself, knew which of the combatants in the long-drawn-out struggle between France and Spain would obtain ultimate victory by the aid of the British fleet. On the whole it was towards Spain that the balance seemed to incline. Less closely connected with the Stewarts, Spain had committed but few outrages on English merchantmen, and had anticipated France in recognising the Commonwealth. Thus Blake's first piece of work was the parrying of a stroke against the most important of Spain's dependencies, the Two Sicilies. The part which he played in wrecking the Duc de Guise's renewed attempt on Naples has probably been overlooked because he was denied the good fortune of bringing Guise to action; nevertheless, the failure of the French expedition was as certainly Blake's work as if it had been published to all Europe by a victory over Guise and his fleet in the Bay of Naples.

This episode admirably illustrates the 'silent' working of sea-power. Mazarin's schemes received a check which went far to bring him to an understanding with Cromwell, on terms rather more satisfactory to the Protector than to the cardinal. As a matter of fact, the Mediterranean saw but little of Cromwell's war with Spain; its principal naval events took place in the West Indies and on the Atlantic, though a British squadron was maintained up the Straits until the close of the war. Its direct influence



on the course of events was but slight, and Mr Corbett perhaps rather exaggerates the extent to which it indirectly influenced Spain to accept terms so unfavourable as those of the Peace of the Pyrenees; still its presence between Toulon and Tetuan, policing the trade-routes and capturing every Spanish ship that dared show itself, was a forcible hint of what a British squadron permanently stationed in the Mediterranean might accomplish.

To the men of the Elizabethan navy the idea that in peace and war alike a British squadron ought to be permanently maintained in the Mediterranean would never have occurred. That by the middle of the seventeenth century it was well within the range of possibility was due to a twofold change which had been revolutionising the navy and its position in the national economy. The navy was becoming more permanent, a profession with a well-defined system and standards, a regular force akin to the standing armies which the great Powers of Europe were forming, something very different indeed from the maritime militia it had mainly been, even under the Tudors. And, as it thus developed, its relations with the mercantile marine underwent a fundamental change. In Tudor days the merchantman had no more thought of relying on the royal navy for protection at sea than had Chaucer's 'Shipman.' It was only in the Narrow Seas that anything in the nature of police work was expected; even there it was irregularly and incompletely discharged. Not only had the most peaceful of traders to provide his own defence, but, even so late as the days of James I, ocean-going merchantmen were still looked on as an integral part of the fighting forces of the realm.

Now this was all changed. Even in 1588 Wynter had written of 'the simple service' done by the merchantmen;\* and the truth cannot be sufficiently emphasised that it was by the royal navy, and not by the merchant ships, that the bulk of the fighting of that year was done. Since then, the misconduct of the merchant captains at Cadiz in 1625 had been the subject of bitter complaints, complaints which Blake had, with good reason, repeated after his defeat off Dungeness in November, 1652.† Indeed there

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\* Cf. 'The Defeat of the Spanish Armada' (Navy Records Society), II, 13.

† Cf. 'First Dutch War' (Navy Records Society), III, No. 580.

was no longer any place for armed merchantmen in the line side by side with the professional elements which were now predominant in the royal navy. Merchantmen were as ill-fitted to cope with a standing naval force as the trained bands of the English shires were to face the veterans of Louis XIV. And thus the merchant marine, ceasing to be part of the effective fighting strength of the navy, became instead a burden upon it. The change is well described by Mr Corbett (i, 226) as

'no mere change in organisation; it was a revolution in the fundamental conception of naval defence. For the first time the protection of the mercantile marine came to be regarded almost as the chief end for which the regular navy existed.'

In discussing the development of the professional side, Mr Corbett lays great stress on the influence of the army. The famous Self-denying Ordinance of 1645 affected the navy as well as the army; and the introduction of a military element into the former, due to the influence of the New Model, had a great share in bringing about the changes in the character of the navy and in the relations between the permanent element and the merchant marine. Stricter discipline, more system in administration and organisation, a definite classification and rating of ships, a regular code of articles of war, a revised scale of pay—all these came with the introduction into the navy of the professional spirit of the scientific soldiers who had given England the New Model Army.

The legacy which the Commonwealth bequeathed to the restored Stewarts was therefore twofold—the tradition of a vigorous foreign policy, and the organised forces whose existence and efficiency had made it possible for that foreign policy to be vigorous and effective. Charles II's endeavour to bend the bow of the Protectorate is the most creditable and at the same time the most tragic feature in his unhappy reign. To him we owe the beginnings of the army, although our gratitude on this score must be tempered by the recollection that the establishment of a permanent military force was fraught with possible dangers to the liberties of the country, a charge which not even the most jealous guardians of the constitution have ever brought against the augmentation of

our naval strength. That Charles had the fullest appreciation of the powers and possibilities of the navy, that, according to his lights, he did his duty by it, that in many respects he improved and strengthened it, will be readily admitted by all those who study his reign with the help of Mr Corbett and of Mr Tanner's Introduction to the Pepysian Manuscripts.

That Charles, appreciating the navy so highly as he did, should yet have been largely responsible for the decline in efficiency and *moral* which stains the history of the Restoration navy, is little short of pathetic; but the fact makes the case against him blacker than ever. The navy could not escape the general degeneration of the period. The low standard of morality, public and private, was bound to affect it. The King could not himself set the example of disregarding honesty, public spirit, and duty without being followed by his subjects. Mr Tanner has no difficulty in showing that, under the restored Stewarts, the navy was on the whole administered by competent and capable men, that there has been a tendency to paint the period in unduly dark colours, and that, except for the years between 1679 and 1684, it was a time of progress in naval affairs. Nor does he go too far when he claims for Charles II a real love of the navy and a knowledge of its requirements; indeed he shows that, as Lord High Admiral, the King went nearer to doing hard work than he did in any other capacity. Yet this cannot absolve Charles from his share of the responsibility for the darker side of things.

It is Samuel Pepys who comes out best in the light of the new evidence. Pepys did admirable work as Clerk of the Acts till 1673, and as Secretary to the Admiralty (of which post he was the first holder) from 1673 to 1679, and again after 1684; he did even more as the prime mover in the famous Commission which was called into existence in 1686 to make good the deficiencies which had resulted from the negligent administration of the period during which he was out of office. Mr Tanner does not in the least exaggerate when he dedicates his volume 'To the memory of Samuel Pepys, a great public servant.' As he says, 'the worst enemy to the reputation of the official Pepys is the Pepys of the "Diary."' The Commission which reported in 1805 spoke of him as 'a man

of extraordinary knowledge in all that related to the business' of the navy, 'of great talents and the most indefatigable industry'; and Mr Tanner's verdict is that 'no one who reads the Pepysian papers can doubt that Pepys was, in his way, one of the best officials England ever had.' It is to the remaining volumes\* of this catalogue that those who have not the advantage of knowing the Pepysian papers at first hand will look for the evidence from which to form their own judgment as to Pepys' merits; but Mr Tanner's readers will feel no surprise at his conclusion that, 'under a King that "did hate the very sight and thoughts of business," Pepys did more than any one else to apply business principles to naval administration.'

Mr Tanner's Introduction is a most valuable and original contribution to the history of the navy. The eight headings under which it is arranged—the higher administration, finance, men, pay, victuals, discipline, ships, and guns—give us some impression of the ground it covers. On all these subjects Mr Tanner has found so rich a mine of information in the Pepysian Manuscripts that to follow him in any detail is quite out of the question; we can only indicate a few points which have special importance as throwing light on the great development in the character of the navy. Of these unquestionably the most important is the recognition, in 1668, of the claims of unemployed officers to pay in time of peace. The reduction of the navy to a peace footing on the close of the second Dutch war had thrown a number of deserving officers of high rank out of employment, whereby they were—in the words of the Order in Council of July 17, 1668—'disabled to support themselves in a condition answerable to their merits and those marks of honour his Majesty hath conferred upon them.' Accordingly pensions were granted to them in proportion to the fixed scale of active-service pay; and this boon, at first confined to flag-officers, was subsequently extended to captains of first- and second-rates, to commanders of squadrons of smaller ships, and to masters. The principle thus admitted, and the system introduced,

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\* The second volume of this catalogue contains a complete précis of the official correspondence of Pepys in the years 1673 and 1674, which gives a favourable impression of his diligent application to his manifold duties.

mark a great step towards the continuous employment of modern days and the growth of the navy as a professional career.

Mr Corbett draws attention to an interesting experiment which, had it been successful, might have anticipated our system of continuous service by a century and a half. The establishment of the Royal Marines is usually regarded as having been intended to provide the fleet with a properly organised landing force, which should always be available. 'Experience had shown how limited was the potentiality of a fleet that had no such extension of its arm'; and in the Spanish Succession war 'the two achievements which established England in the Mediterranean' were largely due to the presence with the fleet of such a force. But, while the six regiments raised in 1702 were a purely military body, though under the control of the Admiralty, the object with which William, in 1689, raised his two regiments of Marines was very different. It was an attempt to supply the dearth of seamen which was such a hindrance to mobilisation, and also to improve the discipline and efficiency of the crews. Afloat, the men of these regiments were to be trained as seamen and gunners; and it was intended that, as they qualified as foremast hands, they should be transferred to the working crew of the ship. The training they were to receive when ashore was meant to make them available for equipping ships in case of any sudden call. Thus these regiments would have served as a nursery for a force of trained and disciplined seamen; and it is to be regretted that this interesting experiment should have incurred the suspicion of those whose antipathy to a standing army led in 1699 to the ill-advised and excessive reduction of that force. William's Marines disappeared in 1699; and the revived Marines of Anne's reign were intended merely as a landing force.\*

A measure of the greatest importance was the passing,

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\* Another interesting but somewhat abortive measure, on which the House of Lords' MSS. throw light, is the Act of 7 & 8 William III, c. 21, for the registration of seamen (New Series, vol. II, p. xvi, and pp. 341 ff.). This measure was connected with the use of Greenwich Palace as a hospital for seamen. It provided that any seaman who should register himself for the King's service should receive a bounty of 40s. per annum, be received into the hospital when disabled, and have other privileges. To a certain extent, therefore, it adopted the principle of continuous service.



in 1661, of a statute (13 Car. II, c. 9) which incorporated into law the articles of war by which discipline had been enforced under the Commonwealth.\* Service crimes of great consequence, not capital offences under the common law, now became legally punishable as such, e.g. insubordination, desertion, giving intelligence or supplies to the enemy, sleeping on watch, or misconduct in the face of the enemy. The statute in question was based on the code passed by the Commons in December 1652; and the fact that it remained in force until 1749, when a new and more stringent code (22 Geo. II, c. 33) replaced it, is some indication of its importance in naval affairs. It must, however, be admitted that neither this statute nor the vigilant endeavours of Pepys to keep up a high standard in matters of discipline produced any very satisfactory results. Throughout the Restoration epoch naval discipline was exceedingly lax; the men were turbulent, insubordinate, even mutinous; the officers sold the King's stores for their own profit, took in and transported merchandise, and neglected their duties.

That the seamen should behave badly was hardly surprising, seeing that their pay was invariably in arrears, and that the abuses of the 'ticket' system proved a constant source of trouble and disorder. But 'the breakdown of discipline affected the higher ranks of the service also'; and, though partly to be attributed to the low standard of public and private duty which the Court set and the country imitated, it must also be ascribed, in part, to the absence of service traditions, of *esprit de corps*, of the professional spirit which the reformers of the day were seeking to instil. One of the most noteworthy of their measures was the establishment of an examination for lieutenants. The professional shortcomings of the lieutenants as a class had provoked strongly-worded complaints. Their ignorance of their duty and their lack of seamanship, though due mainly to the rank being given, through Court intrigue or family influence, to persons of insufficient capacity, sprang in some measure from the want of instructions laying down 'the duty and trust' of a lieutenant.† Consequently, in December 1677, after

\* Cf. Oppenheim, p. 352, and 'First Dutch War' (Navy Records Society), vol. III, No. 665.

† For commanders such instructions did exist.

the matter had been fully debated by the King and the Lords of the Admiralty, there was adopted a regular 'establishment,' not only 'for the examining of persons pretending to the office of a sea-lieutenant,' but 'also for ascertaining the duty' of that officer.

On the influence of this measure on the development of the naval service as a profession, it is unnecessary to dilate; but the fact should not be overlooked that the period was 'to a peculiar degree' one of framing and revising of 'establishments' in the navy, in other words, 'of the creation of a system, standards, and traditions.' Thus we find in 1677 'a solemn, universal, and unalterable adjustment of the gunning and manning of the whole fleet.' Elaborate instructions were issued in 1686 'for the execution of the duty required from the guardships and boats in Chatham and Portsmouth harbours'; to prevent waste of stores through their being issued 'at the pleasure and discretion of inferior officers in the yards,' the Navy Board draws up a 'deliberate adjustment of the qualities, quantities, and proportions of each distinct species of stores needful to be supplied to each ship of your Majesty's present Navy'; and as a check, none too successful, it is to be feared, on embezzlement, it is ordered that these stores should be marked with the broad arrow. Individually, some of these measures are of little moment; taken together, they are important indications of the efforts to establish order and efficiency in the navy. Mr Tanner's summing-up is that,

'in spite of all defects and disadvantages, some ground was gained in the navy under both Charles and James, and the ground gained was never lost. The naval organisation of 1688 was more efficient and governed by better traditions than that of the earlier part of Charles II's reign, while it was an infinite improvement on the system of organised abuses that existed under Charles I.'

He might have added that, while in mere numbers the navy did not show any great increase in 1688 when compared with the figures for 1660, in size, in number of guns, and in strength of crews, the ships of 1688 showed a great advance.\* Moreover, there are many signs of

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\* The average tonnage of R.N. ships rose from 400 to 600 tons, despite the development of the 'yacht' class, small vessels lightly armed; the crews averaged 240 per ship, as against 125 in 1660, and the guns carried 4 as against 30.

differentiation of ships according to their tactical use. As 'the line' becomes the established tactical formation, a gap makes its appearance between the vessels which are fit to 'lie in the line' and those which are not.\*

To all these indications of progress there is, of course, a darker side. But the shortcomings, serious and undeniable as they were, may, on the whole, be attributed to one and the same external cause—external, at least, to the administration of the navy if not to the question of the merits of Charles and James—the perennial shortness of money. The shortcomings of the victuallers, the ill-discipline and desertion of the seamen, the delays over shipbuilding, the failure to provide adequately for the sick and wounded, may all be traced to the want of funds. That Parliament grudged money to the navy it would be unfair to assert; on the whole it voted grants with no little liberality; and, if it did not place supplies at the King's disposal with so lavish a hand as to enable him to indulge in unlimited naval expansion, that must be attributed to distrust of the King rather than to any failure to appreciate the importance of the navy. Neither under Charles nor under James was there sufficient security that a grant voted for the navy would be expended solely on that object. The fate of Tangier, so graphically told by Mr Corbett, is the best illustration of the conflict between the tendency towards Imperial and naval expansion which Charles inherited from the Protectorate, and that ill-starred attempt to subvert the English constitution which was his heritage as a Stewart.

In acquiring a naval station at the most important strategical point in Europe, namely, the entrance to the Mediterranean, Charles II was improving upon the achievements of Cromwell. The idea of making such an acquisition was not new. From the first tentative steps in England's progress into the Mediterranean it had been contemplated. The untoward events of the first Dutch

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\* It is impossible here to do more than allude to Mr Corbett's most interesting and suggestive Appendix on the vexed question of 'the origin of the line of battle' (cf. 'England in the Mediterranean,' ii, 317-329). Moreover, since this article was in type, the Navy Records Society have published (May 1905) the volume which he has edited on 'The Fighting Instructions, 1530-1810,' the value and interest of which to students of naval tactics it would be difficult to overestimate.

war within the Straits\* had emphasised the disadvantages of enforced dependence on neutral harbours. Blake during his first cruise had had the use of the Spanish ports; and after the outbreak of the war with Spain, the harbours of Portugal and France had become available. Still Cromwell had seen that the possession of a port would enormously improve England's position by making her independent of uncertain neutrals and doubtful allies; and, when Blake was sent out to blockade Cadiz and intercept the Plate fleet, his instructions included the seizure of such a port.

Cadiz and Gibraltar were indicated as suitable places. Their selection was hardly surprising after the striking demonstration of the enormous strategical importance of the Straits of Gibraltar given in Blake's previous cruise. It was because his fleet was lying in the defile through which alone the two widely separated divisions of the French marine could join hands that he had foiled Guise's attempt on Naples without firing a shot. Niuchese with the Brest fleet dared not run the gauntlet of the Straits with such a lion in his path; and, without reinforcements from Brest, Guise did not dare to remain off Naples. The inherent weakness of the naval position of France was laid bare. A fleet at the Straits holds the interior position between Brest and Toulon; and the sustained occupation of Cadiz or Gibraltar would enable England to maintain a squadron permanently at the critical spot. It is indeed highly probable that Rooke's most famous exploit would have been anticipated by nearly half a century but for a change in the Protector's policy. As Mr Corbett says (ii, 2),

'His religious zeal boiled to the surface and disturbed the level flow of his more practical and sagacious line of thought. When he saw a chance of leading a great Protestant war on Rome, his imperial policy lost its clearness; and the result was the occupation of Dunkirk instead of Gibraltar.'

The conclusion of the French alliance was followed by the diversion of the main efforts of the Protector to the Netherlands; and the campaigns which won Dunkirk

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\* Mr T. A. Spalding's 'Life and Times of Richard Badley' gives the fullest account of that episode in the war; and Mr Corbett has an admirable chapter on the subject.

absorbed the land forces which might have been more profitably employed in the capture of Gibraltar.

Thus, in transferring to Tangier the garrison of Dunkirk, Charles was bringing England's policy back into the true channel from which Cromwell's aberration had diverted it. Mr Corbett has made abundantly clear the true story of the sale of Dunkirk. It appears as a humiliation to those who see in it the first step in the degrading progress in which the Treaty of Dover is the most shameful stage. But the sale of Dunkirk was the deliberately adopted policy of men like Monk and Sandwich, like Southampton and Clarendon, to whom the Treaty of Dover would have been as abominable as it is to us. They advocated the sale of Dunkirk because without it Tangier could not be occupied. A task for which Cromwell's army had not sufficed, and for which the purse of the Commonwealth had not been long enough, was clearly beyond the resources, military and financial, of Charles II. Both places could not be held; and between the two there could not, either to statesman or to strategist, be any question. To keep Dunkirk would be almost as much of an anachronism as to seek to recover Calais. To occupy Tangier was as much the policy of the future as to possess a bridge-head on the far side of the Channel was that of the past. Moreover, it was most improbable that, even if Tangier were sacrificed for its sake, Dunkirk would long avoid the fate of Calais. Louis XIV meant to have it; and it was better that its inevitable surrender should take the form of a concession than that of a capitulation.

How desirable was the possession of Tangier can best be appreciated from Mr Corbett's spirited narrative of the English occupation. Exposed to the repeated attacks of enemies so crafty, courageous, and determined as the Moorish Sultans Guyran and Muley Ishmael, viewed from the first with bitter jealousy by the Dutch and the Spaniards, it was held with a tenacity and a vigour which makes the almost forgotten story of its defence a very honourable episode in the annals of the British army. But the Moors were not the most formidable enemy by whom Tangier was threatened. The influence of Louis XIV at the Court of Charles II had at first been exercised in support of the proposal to occupy the town; but it

was not long before he perceived that an English 'Straits squadron' based on a permanent naval station might prove an obstacle to his schemes in those quarters; and his failure at Jigelli in 1664 only enhanced his hostility to the successful establishment of England at the entry to the Mediterranean. That Louis had good reason to wish Tangier in other hands was clearly shown by the events of the second Dutch war. So long as Sir Jeremy Smith's squadron lay in the Straits, using Tangier as its base, the French strategists were checkmated. They could not carry out that combination of their Toulon squadron under De Beaufort with the Atlantic fleet under Duquesne which was the necessary preliminary to their intended junction with the Dutch. And De Beaufort could never have made the diversion which was the principal cause of the English defeat in the great Four Days' battle had not the exigencies of the situation in the Narrow Seas necessitated the recall of Smith's squadron. Mr Corbett admits that theoretically this concentration of all the available strength of the navy against the enemy's main force was the soundest move, but he evidently believes that the more risky strategy of leaving Smith to hold the Straits would have been justified by events.

However, Tangier had more uses than this somewhat negative advantage. Merchantmen had found it a haven of refuge from the Dutch even when there was no English squadron to keep the Straits open; and in the third Dutch war the efficacy of the protection afforded by the Straits squadron to British commerce in the Mediterranean was largely due to the advantage of having so convenient a port. Indeed the British possession of Tangier more than balanced the advantage the Dutch gained from the Spanish alliance, which let them use Cadiz as a base for attacking French and English commerce; and, with the chief defect in the English position thus remedied, England's capacity to influence Europe was greatly increased. Not only were the 'normal operations' of the Straits squadron, the protection of our trade against the corsairs, carried on continuously, and therefore with increasing efficiency, but the exploits of Sir Thomas Allin, Sir Edward Spragge, Sir John Narbrough and, last but by no means least, of Sir Arthur Herbert—the Torrington of controversial memory—did

much also to secure English interests and raise England's prestige. Thus, in the closing stages of the war which began with Louis' attack on Holland, the presence of Narbrough's strong squadron in the Straits was undoubtedly one of the things which caused Louis to make peace at Nymwegen. Whatever reasons caused Louis to desert the Sicilian insurgents, the readiness of Narbrough's fleet for action was a strong hint of the unwisdom of conducting oversea operations across waters of which the French navy had not the secure control.

But, if the possession of Tangier and the consequent maintenance of a permanent English squadron in the Mediterranean had proved a factor of so much importance in the affairs of Europe, it is all the more surprising to find Tangier given up just when the completion of the mole was well within sight, and when Fairborne's dying victory seemed to have secured the town against dangers from the land. The story of the intrigues which resulted in its evacuation is not pleasant to read or particularly easy to follow. Even Mr Corbett's lucidity partially deserts him when he seeks to unravel the sordid tangle of complications by which Louis at last secured the object he had sought so long.

Such influence as Louis had over English politics was consistently used against Tangier. In his intrigues with the 'Country Party,' no less than in his dealings with his friends at the Court, he always had this end in view. Certainly it was by a man who owed his readmission to office to French influence that the final proposal for evacuation was introduced. But Sunderland and the partisans of France were not the only enemies Tangier had in England. While the 'Country Party' as a whole were fully aware of its value—as is evident from the resolution of April 9, 1679, that 'those who shall advise his Majesty to part with Tangier to any foreign prince or state . . . ought to be accounted enemies of the King and kingdom'—with the more extreme Protestants of the party Tangier had earned an evil name as a Roman Catholic stronghold. More than one of its governors had been Papists; and there had from the first been a strong Papist element in the garrison; so that many good Protestants looked on any increase in it with suspicion, fearing that the Tangier troops might be used for domestic

objects. Nor were their suspicions without foundation. Just for that object Rochester and Sunderland were anxious to see the Tangier garrison brought home and placed at the disposal of the King and the Duke of York.

Ultimately it was the financial difficulties of the monarchy which made evacuation 'the inevitable end of Charles's autocratic policy.' When Charles requested the Parliament which met in October 1680 to assist him with the funds needed to secure the retention of Tangier, he found that not even for such an object would the Commons trust him with money which they feared might be used to 'augment the strength of their Popish adversaries.' At least they would only vote the supplies on terms which Charles would not grant—'the passing of the Exclusion Bill and the dismissal of every minister who opposed it.' The refusal of Parliament to vote money drove the King to economies; and Tangier was an early victim. Mr Corbett seeks partially to exculpate Charles by throwing the responsibility for the evacuation on the Duke of York and his adherents, Rochester and Sunderland. No doubt they were the authors of the proposal, and it was only with reluctance that Charles consented to the evacuation; but the domestic policy which made the step inevitable was as much his as his brother's. Thus it came about that in the struggle over the Exclusion Bill the doom of Tangier was sealed; to his attempt to subvert the British constitution and the Anglican Church Charles sacrificed the possession which embodied the effort he had made to live up to the Commonwealth traditions of foreign policy.

Had Charles died on the morrow of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he would cut a very different figure in history. He would appear as one of the princes who have done most for the maritime, colonial, and commercial greatness of England, as a statesman who saw the importance of sea-power and all that makes for it, as one who extended England's rule in Africa and America, in the East and West Indies. The second Dutch war would then lack the sinister tinge which it gathers from being associated with the servile way in which Charles, in 1672, assisted Louis to attack the power with whom he had been allied against France only four years before. Charles had the ill-fortune to outlive his brief day of greatness



by so much that the memory of it has been all but obliterated by his subsequent misdeeds. The abandonment of Tangier is thus no less symbolic than the occupation had been. It marks 'his inability to understand those conditions of sympathy between government and people on which alone a lasting policy of empire can be based.'

Still the work which Charles II and James II had done for the navy was not lost to England. James II, like his father, only made his own defeat more certain by all that he did to strengthen the navy. The government which the Revolution of 1688 established in England owed a great debt to the Commission of 1686, which had left the navy in a thoroughly efficient condition; and the fleet which James saw destroying the French ships that were to have carried him across to England was largely of his own creating. Indeed the success of the League of Augsburg was in no small measure due to the British navy and to William III's brilliant direction of its main efforts towards the Mediterranean, an episode to which Mr Corbett is almost the first historian to do full justice. Even Captain Mahan has failed to bring out the decisive character of William's action in despatching the Main Fleet to the Mediterranean in 1694 and keeping it there through the winter; and though Admiral Colomb, in his 'Naval Warfare,' did rather more to show up the importance of the move, Mr Corbett is really breaking fresh ground in his excellent account of this important but unduly neglected campaign. The effect of his researches is to enhance very materially our opinion of William III as a naval strategist. 'It has been the accepted view that he was a man who could only see war with a soldier's eye'; it is not too much now to claim for him that he grasped the possibilities of the influence of sea-power with a clearness which Marlborough alone among his contemporaries could rival. 'It was not till the fifth year of the war that a radical change in Louis' strategy' led William to realise that 'his ships could be made to give what his battalions could not achieve,' that in the Mediterranean was the heel of the French Achilles. Once, however, he had 'divined the vital secret,' he 'never lifted his eyes from the end.' In the tortuous and abortive negotiations over the Spanish Succession the power of

the British navy to influence Europe through the Mediterranean was the trump-card in William's hands; and the permanent establishment of England in the Mediterranean was the concession he sought to extort from Louis.

Down to the year 1694 the principal task of the British navy had been defensive—to protect England against invasion and to cover the reconquest of Ireland. By 1692 Russell's victory off La Hogue recovered that command of the Narrow Seas which Tourville had so gravely imperilled at Beachy Head;\* but not even then was any attempt made 'to strike a real blow at France in the main seat of her power,' the Mediterranean. The fleet was used for operations which Mr Corbett justly calls

'the almost medieval strategy of the wars of Henry VIII . . . attacks on the French Channel ports, and raids on the coasts which had no higher object than that of crippling the action of privateers and confusing the strategy of the French armies by diversions';

or it was employed on the new task of commerce protection which the altered relations of the navy and the merchant marine had made one of its principal cares.

Mr Corbett has pointed out (ii, 8) that it was mainly by the influence of France that Charles II was induced to accept the Portuguese offer of Tangier; and so, too, it was the example of Louis XIV that attracted William to the Mediterranean. When the junction of Tourville and the Brest fleet, fresh from its exploit on the Smyrna convoy, with d'Estrées and the Toulon contingent, raised the French force up the Straits to nearly a hundred sail of the line, it was not very likely that the Mediterranean members of the League of Augsburg, if unassisted by their naval allies, would long remain faithful to the alliance. The only means of checking the French invasion of Catalonia and of preventing the wavering Duke of Savoy from coming to terms with France was to imitate Louis XIV by despatching to the Mediterranean the Main Fleet itself. In the original dispositions for the campaign of 1694 there is no indication of this radical

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\* Russell's letter of May 15th (Lords' MSS., 1692-1693, p. 204) shows that the numerical superiority of the allies at La Hogue has been exaggerated; the English had 57 ships of the line, not 64; the Dutch only 22 instead of (as is usually asserted) 36. Moreover, in the actual fighting the English were outnumbered, as only 40 ships were engaged (ib. p. 211).

change of strategy. The Main Fleet was intended rather to prevent Tourville from taking back to the Mediterranean the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, which had returned to the Atlantic ports during the winter because it was impossible to refit the whole fleet at Toulon. But the orders issued to Russell in April 'disclose the first definite conception of the new strategy'; he is ordered, 'in case the French fleet is at Brest, to attempt to burn or destroy it . . . in case he has trustworthy information that it is gone to the Mediterranean . . . to follow and attack it.' And when, on May 4, William, obtaining trustworthy information that the French had left Brest for the Straits, promptly, and on his own responsibility, sent orders to Russell to lose no time in following them, the admiral was not found wanting. By July 1 he was off the mouth of the Straits with 41 British and 24 Dutch ships of the line under his flag; and a week later a westerly breeze allowed him to carry out the memorable operation for which he deserves to live in the annals of Great Britain. It is not the victory of La Hogue that is his real title to fame; it is that he was the first British admiral to lead the Main Fleet into the Mediterranean.

The success of the movement was immediate. Tourville promptly retired to Toulon; De Noailles' attack on Barcelona, the effort for which Louis had sacrificed operations elsewhere, came to a standstill for want of naval assistance. But Russell's success was only negative. Tourville's retreat to Toulon was a most effective parry to the new strategy; and with it he inaugurated that defensive attitude which caused Collingwood and Nelson, and many another English admiral, to fret away their lives through weary months of anxious vigil before those French ports where lurked the enemy, to whom was to be offered, as Nelson said, 'every opportunity to put to sea.' Without a powerful landing force, Russell was impotent against Toulon; and Tourville could lie there snugly and happily till 'the waning of summer should force Russell to begin his homeward voyage,' confident that, in order to get his unhandy 'great ships' safely across the stormy Bay of Biscay before the autumn gales, Russell would have to quit the Mediterranean so early that the French would have ample time to resume and complete the Catalanian campaign.

Then it was that William took the momentous step which more than answered Tourville's cautious retreat to Toulon. He took it on his own initiative and his own responsibility, for the Council, before whom he laid the proposal, refused to give a definite answer, and, while on the whole approving the daring project, would not take on themselves the least responsibility for its adoption. William alone deserves the credit for so complete a breach with the tradition that the Main Fleet must be back in its harbours before the autumn storms. It was an order no admiral of the day would have ventured to give. Russell's complaint that the King 'fancies the defects of a ship are as easily repaired as mending a bridle or stirrup-leather' indicates the attitude of the sailors, in whose eyes the technical and professional objections to the step had an importance which the King did not attribute to them. William saw that, unless the fleet could keep its position, his great stroke would sink to the rank of a mere demonstration, and that at all hazards the advantage gained in the Mediterranean must be maintained. And so, when Russell reached Malaga on his way home, he was intercepted by a vessel which brought, 'under the sign manual and royal signet,' William's orders that the fleet should winter at Cadiz.

It is this, then, even more than the mere despatch of the fleet to the Mediterranean, which was the decisive stroke. With the allies in command of the Mediterranean, Louis' attempt to force Spain and Savoy to make peace was baffled. The invasion of Catalonia resulted in a failure which left the army of De Noailles demoralised. Savoy remained true to the Grand Alliance, and the French conquests in Italy were checked. Moreover, the refitting at Cadiz proved an easier task than Russell had feared; and 1695 saw the allies in complete control of the Mediterranean, though without troops Russell could not deal the blow against Marseilles by which he hoped to fetch Tourville out to sea. Savoy, on whose co-operation he counted, proved a broken reed, for Louis, foiled by William's brilliant strategy in his attempt to coerce Savoy into deserting the League, was now seeking to seduce the Duke by concessions of which the collusive surrender of Casale was the first. In September Russell was at last allowed to turn his face homeward with the

heavier ships; but Rooke and a fresh division replaced him, and William kept his hold on the Mediterranean.

Then it was that Louis had recourse to a daring counter-stroke by which he hoped to free France from 'the silent pressure of the chafing fleet that was felt to the farthest borders of the war, . . . withering the lilies on the walls of Namur. . . . In mid-winter, while the bulk of the British fleet was in harbour, a force was rapidly concentrated at Calais' for the undertaking by which, a century later, Napoleon also sought to shake off the pressure of British sea-power. To prevent this threatened invasion, the reinforcements for the Mediterranean had to be stopped and Rooke recalled. 'The situation in the Narrow Seas was saved, but that in the Mediterranean was lost.' Château-Rénault was able to quit Toulon and make his way to Brest, Rooke just failing to intercept him; and the financial situation in England made it impossible to repeat the splendid move which had done more than anything else to check Louis. 'Still its effects continued'; and the Peace of Ryswick was in no small measure a recognition of William's power to influence Europe through the Mediterranean.

Still more do the negotiations over the Spanish Succession testify to the fact that both Louis and William appreciated the possibilities of British naval action in the Mediterranean. Both saw clearly that the possession of the Peninsula meant the power to dominate 'the keyboard of Europe.' Cadiz, already important as the seat of Spain's American trade, had acquired even greater value from its position near the Straits. If it passed into French hands, William could not hope to repeat the strategy of 1694-1695 unless he could obtain an adequate substitute, not merely a port in the Mediterranean where a British squadron could winter and refit, but a station near enough to the Straits to enable him to profit by the division of the French seats of naval power by preventing the junction of the Brest and Toulon fleets. No one port exactly fulfilled both these conditions; but of the two which ultimately fell to England's lot in 1713, Port Mahon, the best harbour in the Mediterranean, was admirably placed for watching Toulon, and Gibraltar dominates the Straits as far as any fortress can. In the tortuous negotiations over the Partition Treaty,

William's indispensable condition was that, if Spain fell to the lot of a Frenchman, England must have at least Minorca. Louis resisted the demand with all his diplomatic skill, but William was inexorable; and in the end, rather than see England securely established in the Mediterranean, Louis agreed to let Spain and the Indies go to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. And, when the will of Charles II put Spain into Bourbon hands, the first act of Louis was to urge on the Junta the necessity of taking steps to secure Cadiz, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon.

The true story of the first important naval venture of the Spanish Succession war—for Mr Corbett has successfully discredited the ordinary accounts which see in Rooke's expedition against Cadiz merely a blow at the European *dépôt* of the Spanish trade with America—throws an extremely instructive light on William as a naval strategist. It shows how thoroughly he had appreciated the lessons of 1694. As planned by him, the expedition was primarily directed against France, not against Spain, to secure the all-important port at the entrance to the Mediterranean, the seizure of which would at once place England in a position of strategical advantage over the divided French squadrons and provide William's admirals with a harbour in which they could securely winter. The expedition would probably have sailed under William's auspices in the late summer of 1701, but for Rooke's reluctance to risk his 'great ships' to the southward so late in the season; and next year William's death and the consequent changes at the Admiralty again seriously retarded its departure.

When at last it set out, it resulted in a complete fiasco, which Rooke and Ormond were fortunate to be able to redeem in some degree by the brilliant exploit on the Plate fleet at Vigo. For the failure Captain Stephen Martin, in his *Life*,\* is inclined to throw the blame on Ormond and the troops; but, bad as their conduct was, Rooke's responsibility is quite as heavy. A man of little imagination, he failed to appreciate William's strategy as developed by Marlborough, disliked the plan he was

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\* Edited by Sir Clements Markham for the Navy Records Society in 1895, a work which has been used to good account by Mr Corbett, as has also another of the Society's volumes, the 'Journal of Sir George Rooke,' published in 1897.

ordered to execute, and sought to substitute for it one of his own, the main object of which was to intercept and capture the home-coming Plate fleet. Indeed he seems to have been in his bed all the time the expedition was at Cadiz, and, either from genuine ill-health or, what seems at least as probable, from ill-temper, did nothing to ensure success. It is not, indeed, fair to represent him as having stumbled on the Plate fleet by accident; he thought only too much about it and took every precaution to ensure its being found. Still, his success in this secondary undertaking cannot diminish his responsibility for the failure of the far more important attack on Cadiz, an undertaking which was part and parcel of a strategic design which Rooke was almost as incapable of appreciating as of framing.

As on land Marlborough took up the torch of William and won successes which have perhaps a little unfairly thrown into the shade the merits of his patient, indomitable, and unlucky predecessor, so in the field of naval strategy Marlborough eclipsed even the man who had first directed the Main Fleet to the Mediterranean and kept it there in spite of nervous admirals and faint-hearted councillors. William had grasped the strategical value of Minorca and Cadiz, and saw that, based on them, the British fleet might hold the navy of France in check and dominate the Mediterranean. Marlborough divined that Minorca and Cadiz were but milestones on the road to Toulon, the true key to the European situation.

Mr Corbett's last four chapters tell the tale of the great strategist's persistent endeavours to turn the key. They put the naval side of the Spanish Succession war in an entirely new light. Just as the Mediterranean, not the trade of Spanish America, had been the goal of William's designs on Cadiz, so the true object of Marlborough's Mediterranean strategy is not to be found in the support given by the fleet to the Hapsburg cause in Spain. That was a mere diversion, if not a hindrance to the success of the allied arms; 'it was the command of the Mediterranean that was the real object, and Toulon the ultimate objective.' Thus in every campaign from 1702 to 1707 it is on Toulon that Marlborough's hopes are fixed. It was with a view to attacking Toulon that he proposed in 1706 to transfer himself and his British

troops to the assistance of Prince Eugene in Italy—a project he would probably have carried out had not the sudden retreat of Louis of Baden alarmed the Dutch and made them withdraw their consent.

With his keen grip of strategical principles, Marlborough would never permit secondary or masking operations as long as there was any chance of a successful stroke at the heart. Far-reaching as was the importance of the capture of Gibraltar, it was not the object of the Mediterranean campaign of 1704. The results have obscured the true purpose of the operations of that year. Rooke's move on Barcelona was a mere feint; he had been sent out to co-operate with the Duke of Savoy in a direct attack on Toulon; and it was only when the Duke proved unable to provide the military force without which even the most powerful fleet can achieve but meagre results, that Rooke fell back on the alternative contemplated in his instructions and captured Gibraltar. That, in attempting Gibraltar, Rooke was displaying any fearless readiness to accept responsibility cannot be maintained. As Mr Corbett says, 'the idea was a commonplace, both in the Cabinet and in the service.'

The immediate importance of the capture was that it brought the Toulon fleet out and was the occasion of the only fleet-action of the war, the stoutly contested battle of Malaga. The tactical features of that engagement are admirably explained by Mr Corbett, who shows that, so far from being of 'no military interest,' and quite without any tactics worth the name, as Captain Mahan has represented it, it is of great importance as a phase in the development of the tactics of the line, and gave occasion for some very neat and skilful manœuvres. Nor was it indecisive. 'If battles are judged by their fruits, it was Rooke who had won' no inconsiderable victory. Toulouse had come out to retake Gibraltar; Rooke had fought to cover and retain it. Toulouse took his shattered fleet back to Toulon after declining to renew the action; Gibraltar remained in British hands. Moreover, never again in the war did the French venture a general action or seriously contest the control of the Mediterranean.

Next to the campaign of 1704 that of 1707 possesses most interest. In it Eugene at last got a chance of carrying out the darling project of his great colleague.



The failure of the attack on Toulon, a failure by a rather narrow margin, must not be laid to his door. Its causes were numerous. Galway's defeat at Almanza prevented any British troops being withdrawn from Spain for an object whose success would have done far more to place the Archduke on the Spanish throne than many a barren triumphal entry into Madrid. The Emperor's eagerness to secure Naples caused the diversion of the larger part of the Imperial forces to an enterprise of secondary importance, for Naples also might have been won at Toulon. Finally, the delays and obstinacy of the Duke of Savoy were largely instrumental in allowing Marshal Tessé to collect so large a defending force that surprise was made impossible and success hopeless.

Foiled in his effort to strike France at a vital point, Marlborough fell back on the less satisfactory 'expedient of masking the fortress with a naval force permanently on the spot'; and to do this it was essential to obtain a port in which the British fleet could winter and refit. Something more than a mere cruiser-station was wanted; for, great as is the strategical value of Gibraltar, it is only now, two hundred years after its capture, that it can be said to have become a real naval base. Louis knew well what England needed; and the French garrison he had thrown into Port Mahon proved the principal obstacle encountered by Stanhope, when, with Leake's invaluable aid, he made himself master of the island. The desperate struggles of the French negotiators at Utrecht against England's firm resolve to retain possession of the two naval stations which the war had placed in her hands, the jealous protests of the Dutch, the sullen hostility of the Emperor—these are sufficient testimony to the importance of England's new acquisitions. Not even the Tories' bitter hatred of Marlborough could blind them to the value of the work he had done in the Mediterranean; and so the Peace of Utrecht 'set the seal on the work which Ward, the pirate, had disreputably begun.' With the acquisition of a permanent foothold in 'the ancient basin of dominion,' the establishment of England's naval power as an abiding factor in the Mediterranean situation was complete.

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Art. II.—THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN.

1. *Baby-farming; Infant Life Insurance; The Child of the English Savage*, and other essays. By Rev. Benjamin Waugh. London: Kegan Paul, 1888-90.
2. *The Law Relating to Children*. By W. Clarke Hall. London: Stevens, 1894.
3. *Juvenile Offenders*. By W. D. Morrison. London: Fisher Unwin, 1896.
4. *The Queen's Reign for Children*. By W. Clarke Hall. London: Fisher Unwin, 1897.
5. *The Law Relating to Child-saving and Reformatory Efforts*. By A. J. S. Maddison, London Reformatory and Refuge Union, 1900.
6. *The Treatment of Juvenile Offenders*. By Rosa M. Barrett. (Howard Medal Essay.) London, 1900.
7. *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*. By Edwin Hodder. Three vols. London: Cassell, 1886.
8. *Reports of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children*, 1889-1905.
9. *Juvenile Offenders*. Howard Association Report, 1900.
10. *The Child's Guardian*. London, 1887-1905.

And other works and reports.

ONE of the last public functions in which Queen Victoria was engaged was a children's review held in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, during her visit to Ireland in the spring of 1900, when some 50,000 of her young subjects assembled from all parts of the country to see and welcome the great Queen. Those who had the good fortune to be present are not likely to forget that wonderful spectacle and the profound impressions which it made. It was a happy thought of the quick-witted Irish people to suggest a function, at once so commendable and so singularly in accordance with the whole life-work of the aged monarch. From her accession to the day of her death the happiness, the welfare, and the interests of the most helpless of all her subjects were never absent from her mind. It was therefore most pleasing to her to meet the children, for it was the means adopted by the nation of thankfully recognising the blessings she had bestowed upon them, by giving her royal assent to so many measures passed for their welfare during her memorable reign.

Tradition and custom die hard; and of all our traditions none has been more persistent than that which declares that an Englishman's home is his castle, and that a man has a right to do what he likes with his children. Parental control was practically unlimited among the races through which the Western nations have received most of their religion and many of their legal notions; and the extreme rights of the parent over the child were not only accepted, but were never seriously called in question until our own day. Parental rights were considered too sacred for interference; child-suffering was viewed with callous indifference; and a rigidity of discipline was practised which public opinion no longer permits. As a subject of the Crown, the child had practically no rights; and, until a few years ago, its claim for food, clothing, and such decent treatment as would make life just possible, were things unknown to English law. The change that has come over the mind of the nation in recent years in its attitude towards children is one of the most striking recorded in our annals; and the reforms that have been instituted in their condition are among the most beneficent in the late Queen's reign. On her accession in 1837, there was not a single Act on the Statute-book of England framed for the welfare of children; ere she died she had set her sign-manual to over one hundred. The full history of this great reformation has yet to be written, but the time is not yet; for, although the foundations have been well laid, and much of the superstructure raised, yet much remains to be done for the happiness and welfare of children. Mr Clarke Hall in his admirable sketch has traversed the field; and, if we appear to follow his lead, it is because our own enquiries long ago led us over the same ground.

There are many now living who are old enough to remember when children were, in all senses of the word, slaves in factories, mines, brickfields, and other occupations both by land and sea. The child-criminal was as much an object of prey for the talons of the law as the adult-criminal; he was tried like a felon, condemned like a felon, and transported or hanged like a felon. The apathy, the callous indifference, the ignorance and greed which fostered the child-slavery of the mines and workshops, fostered also the many homeless waifs who drifted

into such gangs as those of Fagin the Jew, made such a criminal youthful prodigy as the Artful Dodger possible, and flung upon the streets the child that grew into a ruffian like Bill Sykes. And so long as England has its armies of criminals, so long as hooliganism is rampant in its great centres of population, the legislative work for the welfare and reformation of children is incomplete.

Little in the way of public philanthropy was accomplished in England before the end of the eighteenth century; and the Hanoverian period as a whole was anything but fertile in measures for the reform of vicious habits or the suppression of vice. Many of those qualities of the race that we are inclined to consider virtues when we look back through the ages, would now be considered pre-eminently brutal; and Hogarth's 'Progress of Cruelty' is a satire as terrible as it is deserved. The great industrial revival that commenced at the end of the eighteenth century, the rapid increase of population, and the spread of great towns, brought with them new social problems of great complexity and difficulty. The demand for labour was immensely increased under the impetus of the new industries; and child-labour, resulting in the gravest evils, was only too readily employed for working machines which required little physical strength. The old Poor Law greatly aggravated the evil, for it not only put a premium on illegitimacy, but authorised the guardians to supply the factories with young children from five or six years old, like cattle or sheep, at so much a head, without the slightest restriction. Thousands of children were thus sent as 'apprentices' from all parts of the kingdom, especially to the busy centres of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the owners and overseers of the factories and workshops, whether kind or unkind, had unlimited power over them. Parents contracted for their children in the same manner; and to such an extent was the system carried, that in a noted case a number of children were put up for auction as part of a bankrupt's property. In another instance it was disclosed that a London parish had arranged to supply a factory in Lancashire with children, on the understanding that one idiot child should be taken off their hands with every twenty sound children sent.

Even in the best-regulated factories the life of the

children was one of slavery. The gangs often worked day and night in turn, the average number of hours being from twelve to fourteen; but sixteen to eighteen were not uncommon. The child 'apprentice' who survived years of excessive labour, bad air, and insufficient food, was, when he got his release at the age of twenty-one, generally so enfeebled, and so stunted in mind and body, that he was ill-qualified for the future struggle for existence. The death-rate among such children was abnormally high; and physical cruelty was often added to their other miseries. It was chiefly due to the efforts of Lord Ashley (afterwards Lord Shaftesbury) that, after a struggle of about thirty years, a good working Factory Act was passed (1844) to check these fearful evils; and the parliamentary enquiries and debates which led up to it furnish painful reading.

Evil as were the conditions under which children worked in factories, they were intensified in the mines; and the Report of the Commission of Enquiry (1842) reveals a revolting and scandalous state of affairs. Women and young children worked in the mines through long weary hours, filling and dragging the coal, and sometimes picking it like men. The girls engaged in dragging the coal wore trousers, and a belt was fastened round the waist, to which a chain was attached that passed between the legs and hooked on to the car. They crawled on all fours, pulling the heavy load behind them; the belt and chain frayed and blistered the skin; and the passages through which they crawled were often so low that the back was sore from knocking against the roof.\* Boys and girls, men and women, often worked together in a semi-nude state, the men occasionally being nearly naked. In many pits no attempt was made to check the worst evils of the system, or to improve the conditions under which the sexes, young and old, worked together—conditions which were an outrage on all decency. The bare facts alone, without any elaboration of details, are sufficient to create in the mind a hideous picture of the awful condition of the children doomed from infancy to labour in the mines—for even a child of three could hold a candle

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\* In that extraordinary and now forgotten work, 'The Mysteries of London,' G. W. M. Reynolds gives a revolting description of female labour in the mines, no doubt based upon the Report of the Commission.

and be a wage-earner—with never a sight of daylight except on Sunday; the physical fatigue and pain, the frequent cruelty of the miners under whom they worked. Many died under the strain; brutish dullness and pitiful despair marked the countenances of those who survived.

The evidence produced by Lord Ashley in his speech on the Bill of 1842 made a profound impression, not only in Parliament, but throughout the land. How it affected the Queen we know by a letter from the Prince Consort, published in Lord Shaftesbury's 'Life,' in which he says: 'I have no doubt but that the whole country must be with you; at all events, I can assure you that the Queen is, whom your statements have filled with the deepest sympathy.' The Report was one of the most effective ever presented to Parliament; and a Bill regulating labour in mines was carried, but only after a vigorous struggle. It was followed by another, thirty years later, and again by one in 1887. Female and child-labour have long been abolished, not only in mines, but also in the shunting of railway waggons at the pit's mouth.

There is no more significant example of the difficulty of carrying remedial measures for suffering children than the long and painful struggle on behalf of chimney-sweepers. So early as 1760 public attention was called to the evils under which children of tender years suffered at this most painful and deadly occupation; but not until more than a century had elapsed was this stone of reproach, after many ineffectual attempts, rolled away from the door that gave them liberty and life. Children were sold by parents or poor-law guardians to the master-sweepers; and kidnapping was a common enough practice in this cruel trade. The report of a select committee, published in 1817, is a revolting record of the miseries endured by, and the cruelties perpetrated on, the unfortunate children condemned to this abominable way of life. Boys and girls of five or six years old were sent up chimneys, sometimes so narrow that they got jammed and had to be cut out by breaking in the wall. Protected by nothing but a ragged shirt, the skin of knees and elbows was invariably broken; and the ankles became crooked from the distortion and strain of climbing. The children suffered intensely from the masters' practice of rubbing the bodies with brine in order to harden the skin; their

eyes got bleared from soot and dirt; and in time cancer was developed in the scrotum from want of cleanliness, and was a recognised disease of the trade. Straw was lighted to force them to ascend quickly; and they were beaten and bruised with the brush or other weapon for the slightest offence. Deaths occurred from time to time by choking and suffocation in the flues. It was a common practice to send them up chimneys on fire in order to extinguish it, when they were drenched with water poured down from above. They had to carry heavy loads of tools, cloths, and soot; they were ill-clad and suffered intensely from the cold in winter, as most of their work was done in the early hours of the morning; they were ill-fed and slept in sheds or cellars on the soot-bags in their wretched rags; and they went for months, and even a year, without the use of soap and water.

Charles Lamb saw the pathos of the child chimney-sweeper, and described his condition with his rare delicacy of feeling and all the charm of his imaginative fancy:—

‘I reverence these young Africans of our own growth—these almost clergy imps, who sport their cloth without assumption, and from their little pulpits (the tops of chimneys), in the nipping air of a December morning, preach a lesson of patience to mankind.’

The general attitude of the public, however, may be gauged from an article by Sidney Smith in the ‘*Edinburgh Review*’ (1819). While giving a qualified approval of the action of the friends of chimney-sweepers, and wishing for ‘the diminution of their numbers and the limitation of their trade,’ he says:—

‘After all, we must own that it was quite right to throw out the Bill for prohibiting the sweeping of chimneys by boys, because humanity is a modern invention, and there are many chimneys in old houses which cannot possibly be swept in any other manner. . . . Such a measure, we are convinced from the evidence, could not be carried into execution without great injury to property, and great increased risk of fire.’

Has there ever been a measure of reformation of any kind promoted that has not touched on some ‘property,’ vested interest, or individual rights? Mercy was withheld from the chimney-sweepers until Lord Ashley took

up their cause, and, after much opposition, carried two Acts, which, however, were ineffectual, chiefly from want of public sanction and apathy on the part of the authorities in enforcing them. Magistrates were often slow to convict; and, when they did so, the master-sweepers contributed to pay the fines. The principle of these and many other Acts of Parliament, passed to remedy the evils under which children suffered, rested upon the absurd assumption that the child knew the law and could take steps to have its rights vindicated; hence the failure of law alone to remedy children's wrongs, or to secure their happiness and welfare. It was not till 1875, when the heart of the nation had been stirred by the death of a boy at Cambridge, that Lord Shaftesbury succeeded in carrying a satisfactory measure. This Act, public opinion, and the general adoption of improved mechanical appliances, finally gave relief to the friendless and miserable beings who, for over a century, had appealed for it in vain.

There were other quarters also, even in the open air of heaven, where the evils arising from child-labour were every whit as deplorable as in mines, workshops, and chimney-sweeping. A system of agricultural labour had been organised in the eastern counties of England, under which gangs of labourers travelled about from place to place under the management of a 'gang-master,' or were formed by the farmers themselves. The gangs consisted of young women and children of both sexes, the ages of the latter varying from six to thirteen. It was estimated that about 20,000 persons were engaged in agricultural labour under this system. In 1865 Lord Shaftesbury obtained the extension of the reference to a Commission of Enquiry, appointed in 1862, so as to include within its scope the employment of children in agricultural gangs. This Commission reported in 1867-9. The evils disclosed were as shocking as anything brought to light by public enquiry into the conditions of child-labour in England. In weather wet or dry, in heat and cold, hunger and thirst, early and late, young children tramped the English shires, and were often dragged many miles to and from their daily labour. They often suffered brutal ill-treatment from the gang-master. Colds, rheumatism, chest or lung diseases, were generally their lot; and the death-



rate was abnormally high, as much as three times that of the normal conditions of life in a rural district. Work-houses and hospitals gave evidence of pitiful and revolting cases, in which the curse—for such it was to them—of motherhood had fallen on girls of thirteen and fourteen, blighting their young lives and stamping a double measure of iniquity upon them, by a cruel and relentless fate. On the strength of the Report of the Commission Lord Ashley succeeded, in 1867, in carrying an Act which put an end to this abominable system.

Equally injurious to the health and happiness of children was their labour in brickfields. Some 30,000 children, the greater number of whom were girls of ages from three and a half upwards, were sent to labour in brickfields from fourteen to sixteen hours a day.

‘I saw’ (said Lord Ashley, in introducing a measure for their relief in the House of Lords) ‘little children, three parts naked, tottering under the weight of wet clay, some of it on their heads and some on their shoulders, and little girls with large masses of wet, cold, and dripping clay pressing on the abdomen. Moreover, the unhappy children were exposed to the most sudden transitions of heat and cold; for, after carrying their burdens of wet clay, they had to endure the heat of the kiln and to enter places where the heat was so fierce that I was not myself able to remain more than two or three minutes.’

Parliament and the country had become more educated since Lord Ashley brought in the first Factory Act (1833), based on the Report of the Commission appointed at the instigation of Mr Sadler, member for Aldborough. The miseries of the brickfield children were ameliorated by the Factory and Workshops Act of 1871, and were finally removed by other measures.

Towards juvenile offenders the attitude of mind of the nation and the general administration of the law are very different from what these were a century ago. Then, and for long afterwards, no distinction was made between the child and the adult in cases of felony, and felony included what would now be trifling offences. Children, if convicted, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. While waiting for trial at the assizes, they were herded with the vilest refuse of the prison population; and thus,

whether innocent or guilty, during imprisonment they graduated in vice in the worst of all possible schools. The discovery of offenders and the forcible suppression of crime by vigorous punishment were the main objects of the authorities; to its ulterior causes and the possibility of their removal they paid little attention.

The Care and Education of Infants Convicted of Felony Act (1840) and the Juvenile Offenders Act (1847) were beneficial innovations. The Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 and the First Offenders Act (1887) still further extended the powers of magistrates. In dealing with youthful offenders, the justices now have a wide option. They may bind over the parents and make them responsible; they may inflict fines or whipping on the offenders themselves, or send them to prison or to reformatories or industrial schools. The criminal habit in the young differs greatly in degree, if not in kind, from that of the adult. In the former it is, at the outset, seldom of a serious nature; but it increases in strength as the child grows to manhood until it becomes almost ineradicable. Hence the urgent necessity of using every preventive means with vagrant and other children, who are likely to drift into the current of crime through the channels of vagabondage and petty thieving.

In 1837 Parkhurst was established as a prison for juvenile offenders under sentence of transportation; and the experience acquired was of importance in the reformatory scheme of which it was the precursor. In 1849 Red Hill was instituted, under the auspices of the Philanthropic Society; and, after several legislative attempts, the first Reformatory Schools Act was passed by Lord Palmerston in 1854. It is not necessary here to trace the history of the changes and reforms which have since been introduced into the reformatory and industrial schools systems. In the reformatory system the punitive idea was originally dominant; and, down to 1893, committal to the schools was preceded by a short term of imprisonment. This practice still holds in Ireland. It is not even yet fully recognised that much difference exists between the criminal acts of a child and those of an adult. A child has less reason for his actions; the tendency to imitate is strong; and with evil example ever before him he naturally turns to wrong-doing. He

has little sense of responsibility, and little idea of the evil effects of his misdoings upon himself and others. Nor can he always clearly distinguish between what is merely wrong and what constitutes a crime.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the truth that the child is unable to change the conditions which are the main factor in causing him to offend. These conditions, as we have already pointed out, are the same that give rise to other pressing social problems. The changes in the industrial life of the nation have led to the concentration of millions of people in very limited areas. In these the struggle for existence is intensified; poverty, disease, vice, and drink, lower or vitiate the standard of parental control, or deprive children of it altogether. The proportion of vagrants, waifs and strays, and orphans in cities is much greater than in rural districts; and in the struggle of life the odds are heavily against them. The great majority of juvenile offenders are of a low standard of physical development; and, as a class, they are both mentally and morally deficient. Most juvenile offenders learn bad habits in the streets of great cities. The child who has the run of the streets is almost sure to graduate in vice in some form or other. The child-beggar or seller of newspapers, matches, or bootlaces seldom turns to good account as he grows up to manhood. It has been found in some cities that from 60 to 70 per cent. of the children committed to industrial schools have been street-hawkers. We have grave doubts whether the attempts to regulate street-hawking by licenses will eliminate the evils attending the practice.

The facilities afforded by the industrial school system have been largely utilised. The committals average about 4500 a year; the number of youths and children detained is over 25,000; and a sum of about 550,000*l.* is annually spent upon the schools. Owing to the establishment of these classes of schools, to the introduction of punishment by whipping, and to the general working of the First Offenders Act, the number of juvenile prisoners is now only about a sixth of what it was some fifty years ago. But, notwithstanding the success attending the schools in this direction, the enormous number of offences committed by persons from sixteen to twenty-one years of age shows that much yet remains to be done with the youth of the

country who feed the criminal class. The police court, the dock, and the jail are the worst possible means of dealing with juvenile offenders. Familiarity breeds contempt; and the shock of the first conviction is soon obliterated by the second. Measures have recently been taken, especially in our larger cities, to change the surroundings attending the committal of children, to shorten the formalities, and to prevent all association with adult offenders. But, until we have special courts for children's cases, and a special state department for children (which the magnitude of the work to be done demands), we shall not have reached the goal to which we are struggling.

An important principle was introduced into the reformatory and industrial schools by the institution of a system of inspection in 1866. The wisdom of the step is evident; but it is difficult to see why, in the forty years that have since elapsed, the system has not been applied to all orphanages and homes for children. In regard to sanitation, food, air, light, and clothing—in short, to all that conduces to health and comfort, as much supervision is required in the one class of institutions as in the other. Cases discovered by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children show that institutions have existed in which, through ignorance or wilful neglect, disease, suffering, and death have fallen upon the unhappy inmates of these misnamed 'homes.' On grounds of mere precaution, as well as to give confidence to those on whom such houses depend for support, every home and kindred institution for children should be registered and subjected to periodic inspection.

Under the existing laws relating to industrial schools, as was pointed out by the Departmental Committee of Enquiry in 1896, nothing is easier than for parents to rid themselves of their responsibilities and have their children brought up at the expense of the ratepayers. To send them into the streets to beg, to let them wander habitually without proper guardianship or visible means of subsistence, to drive them, by ill-treatment or want, to commit some petty theft—such are some of the ready means by which cruel or heartless parents can rid themselves of their children. If all parents did their duty to their children, there would be little necessity for reformatories or industrial schools. Such a state of

perfection is not to be expected; but all facilities for evading responsibilities should be removed. That the magistrates and police authorities exercise discretion and judgment we fully believe; the faults lie in the law itself rather than in the administration of it. The preservation of the home, the inculcation of domestic habits, the strengthening of domestic ties, and the enforcement of parental responsibilities are weightier factors in the welfare of the State than the removal of children to any institution however perfect.

The several Acts for the prevention of cruelty to children prove an admirable check, when properly enforced, upon the tendency to evade parental duties. The fact that many hundreds of children who had been removed to places of safety while their parents were undergoing imprisonment for cruelty towards them, were returned, on the parents' release, with excellent results, shows what can be done by applying methods more rational and humane than the drastic one of severing all ties and committing the children to industrial schools. But that children, after acquiring good habits in industrial schools, should go back to parents who have deliberately got rid of them and contributed nothing to their support in the meantime, is open to obvious objections. It is only too likely that the children will return to the old thriftless habits, and that all the good done and the money spent in doing it will be thrown away. How best to deal with the worthless parents is a difficult problem. They have been permitted by society to become what they are—a disgrace to national civilisation and a menace to national prosperity and peace. The children of such men, driven into the streets to make a living at a time when they should be getting their first instruction at school, become very Ishmaelites, and early learn the lesson of warfare against society. Cruelly neglected, kicked, battered, and bruised, with every instinct for good crushed out and every instinct for evil stimulated by brutality, how can they be expected to grow up anything but savages, devoid of conscience and of respect for God or man?

Whatever difference of opinion there may be on the question of the reclamation of the adult criminal, there is none as to the use of methods of reformation for the young. To the hardened criminal punitive methods

seem alone applicable; yet their efficiency is limited, for they appeal only to the sense of fear. If the severity of punishment could prevent crime, it would long ago have disappeared in all civilised States. On a broad view of the question, it is evident that abnormal conditions of life constitute the main cause of crime, and contribute the permanent supply of criminals. How to amend these abnormal conditions is, through the growing complexity of our social life, a problem of ever-increasing difficulty which we cannot deal with here. But as the youthful offender is, directly or indirectly, the product of these abnormal conditions, his reformation is not only a moral duty, but on merely selfish grounds the business of the State. To punish children as criminals for what they could not help doing is as stupid as it is cruel; the only remedy is to take the young offender out of his evil environment, to educate him in habits of thrift and right conduct, and to make him useful both to himself and to his kind. Yet this is a principle which we have learnt from bitter experience only in recent times, and the application of which still leaves much to be desired.

The harmonising and simplification of the various Acts of Parliament relating to industrial schools is a matter of pressing necessity. Much confusion exists in regard to the proper classification of children admitted to them; and no real distinction is drawn between those who are tainted with vice and those who are merely orphans or destitute. All schools of the kind should be of modest dimensions, and should be made as homelike, and as free from prison-like surroundings, as is compatible with the safe housing and efficient training of the inmates. The same principle should be applied to workhouses; and the boarding-out, or cottage-home method should be adopted so far as possible. It is impossible for children mewed up within the huge walls of existing workhouses to grow up with domestic instincts, or to know the meaning of the word 'home.' As with orphanages, there should be frequent and systematic inspection.

The phases of child-suffering with which we have already dealt were so glaring as to call for remedial legislation, although redress came only after a long and painful struggle. But there are other evils as great,

wrongs as cruel, and suffering as acute, within the child's home, and hidden from the public eye, of which society has long seemed oblivious, and which the law, till lately, did not touch. Public opinion and the law of the land long ago made cruelty to animals a punishable offence, and prohibited the torture of animals in training for public performance in the circus or elsewhere. But the State looked with apathy and indifference on the child; it not only denied to children the common rights of citizenship, but it denied them within the home the rights which it conferred upon the meanest cur. The law confirmed the rights and authority of the parent over the child, and of the taskmaster over the apprentice, but it neglected to enforce parental duties and responsibilities, or to protect the child from ill-treatment at the hands of those who had given it life.

No one who had any experience of the lives of the poor in crowded cities doubted that much misery and suffering fell upon children; but it was a startling proposition that the children of this country required the strong arm of the law to shield them against parental tyranny. Admirable work was being done, notably by Dr Barnardo, whose death is a national loss, among out-cast, homeless, and ill-treated children. But, as the years went on, there was no diminution in the need for efforts on behalf of such children; obvious child-misery remained undiminished; and how to deal with the cause of the misery that lay concealed within the home was a problem still unsolved. It was not until a society was started, definitely pledged to the prevention of cruelty to children, that a policy was formulated which seemed to strike at the root of the evil—an evil which hundreds of State and voluntary institutions had hitherto done little to amend.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1884 by the Rev. Benjamin Waugh. He found in his work, as a Congregational minister in London, that children suffered many wrongs for which existing social machinery supplied no remedy. Gifted with a keen insight into children's wants, a passionate sympathy with child-suffering, and a quick perception of the remedies to be applied, and combining a lofty enthusiasm with sanity of judgment and organising power, he in a short time succeeded in showing, not only the

need for such a society, but the glaring defects of the law of the land as regards the natural rights of the child. Although at first it was regarded by the public with coolness and even dislike, the results of the society's work revealed in a few years a painful state of affairs, and profoundly affected all those who gave ear to the pitiful record. Cases of cruelty, suffering, and nameless wrongs were found not only in the vile slums of cities, in ruinous attic and murky cellar, but in the wide thoroughfares, in wealthy homes as well as in the homes of the poor, in rural villages, and in the select haunts of fashionable life. It was a shock to many to discover what was concealed beneath the thin veneer of our vaunted nineteenth century civilisation.

The apathy of generations, the mistaken notion of liberty which recognised the parent's rights and ignored the child's wrongs, and the encouragement given to wicked people by mistaken benevolence were largely responsible for the state of affairs disclosed by the Society. It was a bitter comment on the nation's attitude that it permitted thousands of men and women, in whom the springs of parental instinct were atrophied and the bonds of natural affection withered, not only to remain insensible to their children's pain and suffering, but to lay cruel hands upon them, and by violence and neglect to be the cause of physical injury, or even death. It was found that in 'Merry England,' ever ready to vindicate the rights of afflicted races against oppression and wrong, and willing to spend millions in stamping out African slavery, there existed a mass of bondage and cruelty as heartless as any that ever polluted Neapolitan prisons or American plantations. There is no more terrible reading in the social history of the nineteenth century than the Society's simple records; there is none so pathetic, none so well calculated to rouse the indignation of every right-minded man and woman who has heart to feel and head to grasp the intensity and the magnitude of this persistent evil. We quote a passage from a branch report, dated 1890-1, showing that London was not the only place where offences were committed against the lives and welfare of children, and every statement in which we can certify:—

'We have found children who, day after day and night after night, had to take shelter on staircases, in cellars, and



passages, driven there in terror by their parents. We have found an infant left in a cellar where no ray of light ever penetrated, lying in cold and dirt, and no hand to relieve it from its misery or tend its little wants. We have found children nearly naked crouching over the bars of a grate with a few cinders therein, cold, shivering, half-starved, diseased, covered with vermin and hard incrustations of scabs and dirt. We have found them locked in rooms from early morning till late at night without a fire, with wretched garments, so unwashed and unkempt that for two months neither soap nor water had been used upon them. We have found children literally starved to death. We have known an infant child two months old who, crying in its cradle, was struck by its brutal father on the spine and brought to the hospital in convulsions. We have found infants drunk at the breast while the besotted mothers lay helpless on the floor. We have known of children suffering from *delirium tremens* at the age of eight; of infants suffering from *meningitis* from a blow on the head; suffering from a broken thigh, and other injuries, from the kicks of drunken parents. We found one so emaciated that the prison doctor declared "it was not fit to be lifted out of the gutter." We have found them kicked into the streets "to sink or swim" as they liked; and one of the brightest-faced lads we have seen was suffering from *chorea* and deafness from such ill-treatment. Scars ran along each side of the head, one received from a heavy shop-weight thrown at him, and the other from a blow of a heavy mallet. Not a day passes that some such case does not come before us of children neglected, abused, ill-treated by cruel, selfish, brutal, and drunken parents.'

This horrible catalogue of child-suffering—and yet worse could be told—is more like the creation of some hideous nightmare, or the fanciful conception of a Dantean hell than the record of actual, ascertained fact. There is not a weapon ready to hand that has not been used by fireside tyrants upon their tender offspring. In a paper by Mr Waugh, 'On Some Conditions of Child Life in England' (1889), he says:—

'Besides canes, straps, whips, and boots, belts and thongs of rope, the instruments of torture have been hammers, pokers cold and hot, wire toasting-forks—in one case the prongs of the fork hammered out, the stem untwisted a little up, making a sort of birch of frayed wire; a file, with which the skin on projecting bones had been rasped raw; a hot stove,

on which the child's bare thighs were put; hot fire grates, against which little hands were held.'

The overwhelming majority of the offences against young children are committed by the earners of good wages. Poverty does not necessarily involve cruelty; and against the poor as a body no such charge can be made. Gambling and abandonment to drink and vice are the main causes of the wrongs done to children. But there are many cases in which these causes do not apply. There is a refinement of cruelty sometimes practised which can only be accounted for by the fact that the culprit takes pleasure in the infliction of pain, a physical delight in human suffering, all the more abominable in that the sufferer is powerless to defend himself against the torturer. The records of the National Society reveal the fact that this type of cruelty is more common than people think, and by no means confined to the working or lower classes. To such monsters in human guise the law should show no mercy.

The Society early recognised the magnitude of the evil of child-suffering, and perceived that it was a national one. As an organisation it differed, in the means which it adopted, from all others which had for their object the rescue and welfare of children. It invoked the aid of the law; it called upon Parliament to enact new statutes, since it found those existing totally inadequate; and it enforced them by means of an organisation designed for the purpose. The Society clearly saw that the unit of national corporate life is the home; and it has never attempted the impossible task of removing children to ideal surroundings specially created. To preserve the home, however humble, to render domestic conditions tolerable, to inculcate better principles in the parents, so that their children might grow up under healthier conditions—this was a policy as rational as it was rare among philanthropic organisations. To preserve the home is to work with nature and with nature's laws. Model institutions, however well-equipped, can never be a substitute for the home. In the home only can domestic habits be formed, domestic duties enforced and practised.

This is the fundamental idea upon which the Society laid the foundation of its great work. That Parliament and the nation as a whole accepted the policy was in

a large measure due to its originator, Mr Waugh. He disarmed prejudice by his enthusiasm, his common-sense, and his command of facts; he exposed the fallacies of honest critics and the attacks of those whose vested interests were at stake with the force of irresistible logic, dauntless irony, and a masterly power of epigram. He succeeded in a few years in gaining from Parliament the 'Children's Charter,' in principle probably the most revolutionary measure of social reform ever placed upon the statute-book of England.

Down to 1889 the parent or guardian of any child might grossly abuse his rights and not come within reach of the arm of the law. The child, as we have already pointed out, was incapable of invoking such law as existed; and those willing to help were hampered by the inadequacy of the Poor Law Amendment Act (1868) and the Offences Against the Person Act (1861). By the Act of 1889 cruelty and neglect were made offences; a child's evidence could be taken without the absurd restriction as to understanding the nature of an oath; and powers were given to remove children to a place of safety by warrant, or to remove them altogether out of the custody of those who brutally ill-treated or neglected them. In 1894 a consolidating Act was passed, of wider scope and more extended powers, to mitigate the domestic and other wrongs under which children suffered.

But these Acts would be powerless without the force of public opinion behind them. Thanks to the National Society, local organisations to enforce the Acts were established throughout the land; and a widespread sentiment was created which made them generally effective. Never were Acts of Parliament more justified by results; and never was a social policy more fully vindicated than that of the society. The last annual report of the N.S.P.C.C. shows that 44,255 cases of cruelty, involving the welfare of 124,598 children, were investigated in the year 1904. In 42,526 of these action was taken, 2853 cases were brought into court, and 2756 persons were convicted. About 85 per cent. are cases of neglect and starvation, but the remainder include manslaughter, gross ill-treatment, and nameless wrongs. In the sixteen years since the passing of the Act of 1889, the society has dealt with no less than 418,511 cases in the United

Kingdom, involving the welfare of 1,099,735 children. One shrinks from the contemplation of the appalling mass of child-suffering, misery, shame, and degradation which the figures reveal. Some satisfaction can, however, be gleaned from a consideration of these statistics. It is clear that the wrongs done to children no longer remain unknown, or go unprevented or unpunished. The law is now made a terror to evil-doers. The great majority of the cases, 81 per cent., are dealt with by warning, and this is generally found to be sufficient; for only a few are utterly impervious to an appeal to manhood, pity, or common-sense. In cases of the worst form of evil done to children, that coming under the category of moral wrongs, we are assured of a steady decline, the percentage now being only about 1·9. We hope that so terrible a blot upon the manhood of the nation as these cases imply may, before long, be finally stamped out.

Of the many prevalent sources of child-suffering, one is peculiarly nefarious, and it has grown to enormous dimensions in our own day. We refer to the practice commonly known as 'baby-farming.' In the great majority of cases—some 48,000 annually—the primary object in putting a child out to nurse is to hide the mother's shame; but other causes contribute their quota. With such numbers as these a regular business has been created. The extent and ramification of this trade is beyond belief. Cases of neglect ending in death, entailing a coroner's inquest and perhaps a prosecution, occur from time to time and arouse a moment's attention; but they are soon forgotten, and the trade suffers little or nothing by the exposure. The temptation to poor people to engage in it is great; it requires no capital to start a baby-farm; the stock is ready, and a premium is put on every head. To the wicked the business is profitable, for nothing is easier than to do to death a child on whom a substantial sum of money has been paid down. To expose a child to cold and damp, or to give it improper food, is as deadly and efficacious as poisoning, and has the advantage of being practically safe from detection. This is a terrible indictment to bring against a custom which the law sanctions and the public condones; but it is abundantly justified by a mass of incontrovertible evidence.

How best to deal with illegitimate children is as difficult a question for the legislator as it is for the moralist. To smooth the path of the transgressors and make it easy for them to get rid of the fruits of their sin is simply to corrupt public morals. To restrict unduly the out-nursing of children leads to infanticide or to the suicide of the mother. Brutal as it may seem, the women who, in a moment of frenzy and despair, face to face with life-long misery and shame, lay violent hands on their children are merciful compared to the callous wretches who, by the use of patent foods, biscuits, and syrups, poison babes by a lingering process, or by neglect and exposure produce chronic disease or death. It is a perversion of justice when the jury of a criminal court condemns the one, and the jury of a coroner's court condones the crime of the other. The quality of mercy is strained indeed when it turns aside from the tortured child and pardons the child-torturer.

In all matters relating to nursed-out children the duty of the State is clear as regards the child; it is to see that, whatever arrangements are made for it, it shall at least have a chance of healthy life. Down to 1871 no restrictions were placed on the baby-farming traffic. But the frequent murders of children so stirred the public mind that a committee was appointed 'to inquire as to the best means of preventing the destruction of the lives of infants put out to nurse for hire by their parents.' The cases of Margaret Waters and Mary Hall revealed a scandalous state of affairs existing between the lying-in homes and the baby-farmers of London. Sums totally insufficient were paid for the support of the children given out to the traders. Hand-nursed children have a greater mortality than those nursed under natural conditions; little chance, then, have children when the conditions are abnormally bad, and are deliberately created by a cold calculating instinct and a greedy thirst for gain. The committee pointed out that 'improper and insufficient food, opiates, drugs, crowded rooms, bad air, want of cleanliness, and wilful neglect are sure to be followed in a few months by diarrhoea, convulsions, and wasting away.'

This report led to the passing of the Infant Life Protection Act in 1872. But it was a most inadequate measure. It provided that nurses who received payment

for more than one child under twelve months old should be registered. But little action was taken to enforce even this limited provision. The age limit was much too low; for as much care and attention should be given to a child immediately over one year as under it. The Act did not attempt to deal with the evil as a whole, for the majority of children farmed out are taken singly; and cruelty and neglect leading to death can be practised on one at a time. So inoperative was the Act that in Ireland no proceedings were taken under it for twenty-two years. Then, at last, the Society put it in force. It was shown, in a case that came under its notice, that nineteen children had died under the charge of one woman. These children were secretly done to death; yet in the end nothing worse than a technical breach of the law could be proved against this wicked woman, who escaped with a 5*l.* fine. The Act has been amended by that of 1897, by which the age is raised to five years; and powers are given to local authorities to appoint inspectors to see to the welfare of nursed-out children in registered homes. But the law still falls short of what is required; for it is generally inoperative unless more than one child is taken to be nursed for hire; though it applies in regard to single children for whom one payment of not more than 20*l.* is made. With this exception, no local supervision or registration can be enforced; and the worst evils may continue as before.

Another important question in this connexion is that of infant life-insurance. On it controversy has long raged, but Parliament has hitherto refused to legislate. This omission cannot be traced to want of information, for there are several parliamentary reports upon the subject. The principle laid down by the statute 14 Geo. III regarding life-insurance was sound; under this Act no insurance could be made by any person on any life in which the person for whose benefit the insurance was made had no interest; and children who were not wage-earners could not be insured. By the Friendly Societies Act of 1875 this principle was abandoned, for it allowed the children of the working classes to be insured. It thus created a pecuniary interest in the child's death; and burial-clubs and infant life-insurance became general in the industrial centres throughout the land. We recognise

the general soundness of domestic life in the British working-man's home; we admit that, as a rule, the happiness of the children is as much an object of consideration in such homes as in those of the higher ranks in life. But the contention that to legislate now on infant life-insurance is class legislation is to forget that the Act which created it was distinctly such. Why should the children of the working-man, especially those of the poorer class, or the thriftless idle class, be subjected to dangers from which the children of the well-to-do are free? If, in the eye of the law, all citizens are equal, this should especially be the case with children. As we have already pointed out, the State should be especially zealous about its children; and their danger is imminent when they are at the mercy of the callous, brutal, or indifferent, who have a monetary interest in their ceasing to live.

Infant life-insurance is open to the crushing objection that the person who determines whether the child is to live or die, by giving it or not giving it proper food, care, and attention, will profit by its death. It is entirely indefensible that the lives of helpless infant children should be jeopardised for the sake of a paltry pecuniary gain. It has been contended by those who have vested interests in child life-insurance that the practice does not conduce to the death, the neglect, or the ill-treatment of children. The evidence of cases brought into court gives the lie direct to such a contention. It is a startling and suggestive fact that, in the sixteen years of the National Society's work, 265,906 children, or 25 per cent. of those dealt with, were insured for a total sum of 1,383,021*l.* Many judges, magistrates, coroners, medical officers of health, and other officials, have again and again condemned the practice of infant life-insurance, as inciting men and women to the neglect, ill-treatment, and murder of children. The cases arising out of it, and published in the 'Child's Guardian' and other publications by Mr Waugh, are horrible to read, and more than justify Mr Justice Day's condemnation of the system in the words, 'Those pests of society, those deadly societies which insure children, which seemed to be instituted for the destruction of children, for the perpetration of murder.'

Grave indeed must be the danger to children, and painful the experience, to have drawn from a judge in

open assize court so weighty an indictment of a system established by the law of the land. Many journals have also spoken with no uncertain sound about the crimes committed on children by inhuman parents and others, who traffic in their lives for a burial fee. The weight of evidence of the best experience in the land is sufficient to carry reform in this matter; but vested interests and the cant about 'libelling the British working-man' block the way. The system is the last stronghold of the many vested interests which long subjected children to death, suffering, and shame. It is to be hoped that the increasing force of enlightened public opinion may soon sweep it away along with the rest. The insurance of a child's life may arise from the honest desire of well-disposed parents to make provision against a possible visitation of death, or it may arise from the deliberate intention of an unnatural and criminal parent to kill a child for the sake of the insurance policy. With a system capable of such abuse there can be no compromise.

The system of infant life-insurance has been defended on the ground of thrift; it is asserted that it saves the rates from having to bear the cost of many child-burials. Thrift consists in right saving and good management; there is no principle of speculation in it. Now in infant life-insurance there is no return unless the child dies. It has all the elements of a swindling, gambling transaction, in that the speculator can fraudulently secure a share of the stakes. In all other forms of insurance the companies take good care to be protected against bad investors and dishonest speculators. But as for the children of people living under the worst possible conditions, children who are sickly or dying, children who are illegitimate and whose death would be a relief, children who are farmed out—on the lives of such children, one and all, policies can be taken out without question or fear of refusal. The consequence is that a large proportion of premiums are paid in cases of children who die from preventible diseases. The societies would collapse at once were it not, in the first place, for the pence of those subscribers who treat their children well, and, in the second place, the sums accruing from lapsed policies. Never was there a greater abuse of terms than to describe such a system by the name of 'thrift.'



Well indeed did 'Punch' long ago satirise this so-called 'thrift' in lines from which we take the following :—

"Thrift, thrift!" Oh, convenient Death!  
Wise counsel he whispereth under his breath  
Into pitiful poverty's ear!  
Poverty makes even parentage keen  
At catching his sinister hints. . . .  
"Thrift, thrift!" It is surely the last subtle shift  
Of the Spectre to pose as a preacher of Thrift!

In calling for the abolition of a system which is a menace to child-life, we are convinced that it does not pass the wit of man to establish a general principle, applicable to all working-men's burial-clubs, which would place them above reproach and above suspicion. We recognise the good intentions of the Legislature, which aimed at lightening the burden of the poor, especially in towns where the cost of burial is high; we sympathise with those parents who are anxious to preserve their children from a pauper's grave. Respect for the dead has in all ages, and among all nations, been one of the most profound of human instincts. But infant life-insurance does not stimulate this instinct; it trades on it and degrades it. The local authorities might surely devise some means of burial which would meet the natural desire of the self-respecting poor who shrink from the ignominy of a pauper's grave. Let the burial fee go to the undertaker, and not a single penny of the insurance money to those who have the care of the child.

We have now discussed the chief causes of child-suffering and the various legislative measures passed to remedy them. No greater service to the cause of social reform has been done in the Victorian era than in this one department. Numerous have been the means adopted for the relief of suffering children in the hospitals and homes established throughout the length and breadth of the land. The strides that have been taken in the matter of education in the last half-century have been immense; and, if the greatness of a nation may in one sense be measured by the happiness of its children, the measures taken during the reign of Queen Victoria have done much to ensure that greatness. But, as we have

shown, and the daily records of the National Society continue to show, a vast mass of cruelty, suffering, and neglect still remains, and is bound to remain, under our present social conditions. Nothing but a sound state policy for children, and the further extension of a sound public opinion to enforce that policy, can mitigate the evils or check their increase.

A state department for children, as we have already indicated, which would keep in touch with and direct the various organisations now at work on their behalf, is a pressing necessity. The field covered by the National Society alone is so vast that this voluntary organisation finds the burden of support more than it can bear. Philanthropic work is best done when done voluntarily; but in enforcing the many Acts of Parliament dealing with children, in the efforts to obtain the passing of new statutes and the amendment of old, and in the many matters concerning the control and disposal of children, the help of the State, either through a special department or a branch of the Home Office, is sorely needed. The Society is not only doing the work of the State, but it is taxed by the State in doing it. The responsibility which the Society takes upon itself in carrying out the law under royal charter is immense; it should not be left to bear the whole weight of that responsibility. It is time that the nation should follow the example of some of our colonies and some of the American states, and institute a state department for children; it should extend the principle of dealing with all matters touching their welfare through the supervision and subvention of voluntary agencies, as it has already done with industrial and reformatory schools.

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Art. III.—GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND THE LEGEND OF ARTHUR.

1. *The British History, translated into English from the Latin, of Jeffrey of Monmouth, with a large preface.* By Aaron Thompson. London : Bowyer, 1718.
2. *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum.* Edidit J. A. Giles. London : Nutt, 1844.
3. *Gottfrieds von Monmouth Historia Regum Britannia.* Herausgegeben von San-Marte (A. Schulz). Halle, 1854.
4. *Six Old English Chronicles.* Edited, with illustrative notes, by J. A. Giles. New edition. London : Bell, 1891.
5. *Geoffrey of Monmouth.* Translated by Sebastian Evans, LL.D. London : Dent, 1903.
6. *Studies in the Arthurian Legend.* By John Rhys, M.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1891.

AMONG the literary celebrities who find a place in the great hall of Chaucer's 'House of Fame,' Geoffrey of Monmouth holds a station of equal dignity with Homer. Both stand on iron pillars, and both are 'besy for to bere up Troye.' The distinction thus bestowed upon 'English Gaufride' loses something of its glamour when we discover that it is shared by persons of such very doubtful credentials as Dares and Dictys and Guido de Colonna. Dares the Phrygian and Dictys the Cretan have long been known to be plausible pseudonyms, covering two rival accounts of the siege of Troy; while Guido is an unblushing plagiarist from Benoit de Sainte More. Geoffrey may well be held to have more in common with the plagiarists and the forgers than with Homer; but such nice questions of literary authenticity did not greatly trouble Chaucer. He does, indeed, hint that all the presenters of the tale of Troy do not command equally implicit confidence, for 'betwix hem was a litel envye,' and some currency had been given to the insinuation that even the great Homer 'made lyes.' But Geoffrey, for all Chaucer knows or cares, is as reputable an author as any in his Trojan gallery; he is even good enough to have precedence over Virgil, whose meaner 'pillar' is but of 'tinned yren clere.' This preference appears somewhat unfair to Virgil, when we remember that Geoffrey was the most audacious of the medieval manipu-

lators of the legend, originally suggested by the 'Æneid,' of the Trojan ancestry of the British race. Chaucer, however, took Geoffrey for an Englishman; and the dearth in his day of native literary claimants to the high places of the temple of fame may account in some degree for his assigning an iron pedestal to the chronicler of the kings of Britain.

Geoffrey's title to enduring renown rests, as it happens, on far other grounds than his slender connexion with the tale of Troy. He owes his place in the 'House of Fame' to Chaucer's own predilection for the legends of Troy, which formed a part of 'the matter of Rome the great,' as against the newer 'matter of Britain.' The author of 'Troilus and Criseyde' and of 'al the love of Palamon and Arcyte' found little to attract him in ancient British fable or in the later developments of Arthurian romance. 'The Wife of Bath's Tale' has, indeed, an adventitious setting in the court of King Arthur; but Chaucer's true sentiments about romance are reflected in his burlesque 'Tale of Sir Thopas.'

It is, however, just what Chaucer ignored or despised in his British 'History' that now constitutes Geoffrey's chief claim to literary consideration. His elaborate genealogy of what Milton, in his 'History of Britain,' called 'the Brute Kings of this island' has long since been consigned to the limbo of historical curiosities. But his deposition from the ranks of trustworthy historians has only served to enhance his distinction and his privilege as a purveyor and inspirer of romance. For some four centuries after his death, his 'History' served as a quarry for sober historians and romantic poets alike. Although William of Newbury\* and Giraldus Cambrensis†

\* William roundly denounces Geoffrey as a 'saucy and shameless liar.' ('*Historia Rerum Anglicarum*,' Proemium.)

† Gerald, in his '*Itinerarium Cambriae*,' tells of a certain Welshman at Caerleon, named Melerius, who, 'having always an extraordinary familiarity with evil spirits, by seeing them, knowing them, talking with them, and calling each by his proper name, was enabled through their assistance to foretell future events. . . . He knew when any one spoke falsely in his presence, for he saw the devil, as it were, leaping and exulting on the tongue of the liar. . . . If the evil spirits oppressed him too much, the Gospel of St John was placed on his bosom, when, like birds, they immediately vanished; but when the book was removed, and the "*History of the Britons*," by Geoffrey Arthur, was substituted in its place, they instantly reappeared in greater numbers, and remained a longer time than usual on his body and on the book.'

had, even before the twelfth century was out, sought to discredit him, confidence in Geoffrey's 'History' was not generally shaken until the scholars and antiquaries of the sixteenth century, headed by Camden, trained their guns upon him. Yet this was the very period of his greatest vogue and popularity with the higher order of poets. Sackville and Spenser, Drayton and Warner, caring little for his credibility as an historian—although Drayton, indeed, is at some pains to defend him\*—accept his fables in the spirit with which, we may conceive, they were offered. Geoffrey came to his own when, rejected by critical historians, he was adopted by the poets of England's greatest romantic age.

The Elizabethan age was, in more ways than one, an epoch eminently favourable to the resuscitation of interest in such a book as Geoffrey's. Not only had Malory's monumental compilation—the popularity of which is attested by Ascham, who knew 'when God's Bible was banished the Court and "Morte Arthure" received into the Prince's chamber'—served to invest Arthurian romance with a literary grace and dignity hitherto unapproached in English; the heightened patriotic sentiment of the time gave to native British legends a charm and a significance such as they had never possessed before. Moreover, a Tudor dynasty held the throne; and Spenser was not alone in reminding Elizabeth that she could boast of a genuine 'British' pedigree.

'Thy name, O souveraine Queene! thy realme, and race,  
From this renowned Prince derived arre,  
Who mightily upheld that royall mace  
Which now thou bear'st, to thee descended farre  
From mighty kings and conquerours in warre,  
Thy fathers and great Grandfathers of old,  
Whose noble deeds above the Northern starre  
Immortall fame for ever hath enrold;  
As in that old man's booke they were in order told.'

Geoffrey, as the dedications of his 'History' and of his 'Prophecies of Merlin' sufficiently prove, was himself

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\* 'That Geoffrey Monmouth, first, our Brutus did devise,  
Not heard of till his time, our adversary says;  
When pregnantly we prove, ere that historian's days,  
A thousand ling'ring years, our prophets clearly sung  
The Britain-founding Brute,' etc. ('Polyolbion,' Song x.)

not unskilled in courtly flattery, and could have wished for no higher compliment to his book than to have it thus cited as a great poet's warrant for 'blazoning' the name of a British queen.

One noteworthy result of the accession of the Tudors was to make Wales conscious for the first time that it had an hereditary interest in the English crown, strengthened as it was by the parliamentary union which, in the glowing words of Burke, caused 'the day-star of the English constitution to arise' in Welsh hearts. It was under the Tudors that the name Britain began to have a political meaning, a century before official sanction was given to it in the proclamation of James I as 'King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.' At such a time it was but natural that imaginative writers of all kinds should turn to 'British' stories as the common inheritance both of the English race and of the lineal descendants of the ancient Britons. Literature, no less than legislation and royal favour, could help in bringing about a fusion of the nations. Be the causes, however, what they may, these 'wan legends' of the British prime exerted a potent influence over the poets of the Elizabethan era. Even Shakespeare fell under their fascination. It is in Geoffrey's fabulous chronicle that we find the first rude outlines of the main plot of his most terrible tragedy. There also, but very faintly sketched, appears for the first time the titular character of one of the most delectable of his romances. No rearrangement of pedestals or niches in the 'House of Fame' can altogether dislodge one who suggested to our greatest dramatist, even if only through the medium of Holinshed, the stories of 'Cymbeline' and 'Lear.'

It is significant that Shakespeare, in company with the other leading playwrights of his time, should have left the story of Arthur severely alone.\* But, when we come to analyse the constituent elements of the Arthurian legend as it presented itself to the Elizabethans, its rejection by the dramatists is not difficult to explain.

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\* The only considerable Elizabethan plays based upon Geoffrey's British matter are 'The Misfortunes of Arthur,' by Thomas Hughes (1587), and the first printed English tragedy, 'Gorboduc, or Ferrex and Porrex,' by Sackville and Norton (1565)—both tragedies after the Senecan pattern—and the pseudo-Shakespearean 'Lochrine' and 'The Birth of Merlin.'

Geoffrey's earlier British legends came down to them in a fairly uncontaminated form; but around the figure of Arthur there clung so vast a mass of alien and fantastic accretions as to make him almost unrecognisable as a national British hero. Malory, though preserving the traditional legends of his British birth and retaining, in the main, the British topography of primitive versions of the story, presents Arthur as a character and in a *milieu* which are anything but British. In the 'Morte d'Arthur,' as in the later medieval romances generally, the British prince and his knights move about in a featureless land 'of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye,' citizens of no determinate realm, surrounded by all the phantasmagoria of fairy-lore, of chivalry, of ecclesiastical symbolism, of Oriental magic. Even Geoffrey, in his ambition to make of him another Charlemagne by including continental conquests among his exploits, cannot be acquitted of the charge of having abetted the denationalisation of Arthur.

The playwright, intent above everything upon realistic effect, must have been bewildered by the enormous accumulation of fanciful ornament and far-fetched lore with which Arthurian romance had come to be loaded during its progress through the Middle Ages. Exploited for the uses of a cosmopolitan culture, the characters and incidents of Arthurian story had become too fantastic and remote for vivid dramatic presentment. Not indeed that all the branches of the later composite legend can be said to be altogether destitute of dramatic possibilities. The bare story of Lancelot and Guinevere had in it the elements of a tragedy that might well have challenged the highest powers of a Shakespeare, while the genius of a Wagner has proved to a later age the poignant dramatic interest of the tragic love of Tristram and Iseult. But the fact remains that no English drama of the first order has been built upon any Arthurian theme.

Nor has Arthurian story inspired a great epic. Blackmore, the 'City Bard or Knight Physician,' as Dryden calls him, had the rashness to attempt what Dryden himself had planned and Milton had dreamt of. As to Blackmore's two epics, 'Prince Arthur' (1695) and 'King Arthur' (1697), posterity has generally acquiesced in Dryden's pious aspiration, 'Peace be to the *Manes* of his Arthurs.'

There is no great Arthurian epic any more than there is a great Arthurian drama, and for the same reason. Epic and drama alike demand clear, well-defined themes, and characters sufficiently actual and life-like to appeal to 'the businesses and bosoms' of men and women who act and think and feel. Romance is essentially the product of dreamland; and its heroes, however much they may charm us in our moments of ecstasy or indolent reverie, are felt to have no concern with what affects the will or effectually stirs the heart. Arthur, more than any other medieval hero, is the constitutional sovereign of the fairest realm of romance, the king of fairyland by the universal acclaim of the host of its enfranchised literary citizens. He is thus outside the pale of moving epic and stirring drama.

Mr Swinburne would indeed put the entire series of British legends out of court on the strength of a somewhat similar argument. In the dedication to his tragedy of 'Lochrine' he writes :—

'No part have these wan legends in the sun  
Whose glory lightens Greece and gleams on Rome.  
Their elders live; but these—their day is done!'

Such, however, was not the opinion of more than one of the greater poets of the past. Patriotic motives induced both Milton and Dryden to toy with the design of an Arthurian epic. But Milton, although haunted by Arthurian memories to the last, soon felt the unreality of a task in which it were

'chief mastery to dissect  
With long and tedious havoc fabl'd knights  
In battles feign'd';

and, had Dryden ever seriously essayed to write an *Arthuriad* 'for the honour of his native country,' he would almost certainly have found more cogent reasons for abandoning the work than those which actually discouraged him from the attempt.\* Tennyson alone of modern poets, seems to have accurately gauged the

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\* In his 'Discourse on Satire' Dryden tells us that what prevented him from even beginning his projected epic was 'being encouraged only with fair words by King Charles II, my little salary ill paid, and no prospect of a future subsistence.'



poetical possibilities of the Arthurian matter. By presenting the chief incidents and characters of the legend in a series of idylls strung along a slender thread of allegoric meaning, he has infused into them as much dramatic interest as perhaps they were capable of containing. At any rate his experiment has its justification in the history of the legend's development during the ages of chivalry; for the peculiarity of the Arthurian, as distinguished from the other romantic cycles, is that the circumstances of its growth inevitably tended to give to many of its primary features a symbolic significance.

The popularity of Arthurian romance dates from a time which marks a momentous change in literary tastes and fashions. The twelfth century is to the student of imaginative literature a period only less rich in interest than the age of the great Italian Renaissance. It was an epoch of immense literary activity and, above all, of adventurous enterprise in the cultivation of new literary forms and the exploitation of new themes. It was the twelfth rather than the fifteenth century that witnessed, for literature at least, the break with the long tyranny of an effete Latin culture and the birth of 'the modern spirit.' It was the age of the Crusades, which brought together from every part of western Europe men who, till then, had never ventured beyond the limits of their own tribal domains. Contact with each other and with foreign life quickened their imagination and sharpened their wit. The folk-tales of every European country began to circulate far and wide, to form in time an international stock of lively *fabliaux*. From the East came strange tales of magic and princely splendour, while the lore of Arabia, of Byzantium, and of Alexandria, helped to swell the literary capital of monkish scribes. It was indeed the very seed-time of romance; and out of the soil first watered by the recital of the deeds of Alexander and of Charlemagne there grew a prolific crop of legends and marvellous *gestes*. The fruits were garnered by the romantic schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, composed of men who knew their business as well as any modern literary coterie bent upon a common aim. But of all the romantic growth of the time, the most characteristically *bizarre* product was the Arthurian legend, with its heterogeneous elements of

Celtic myth and fable, of magic and wizardry, of strange quests and hair-breadth adventures, of light loves and of saintly devotion to celibate ideals.

Long before the rise of any romantic school, there floated about among the Celtic races of the West vague traditions about Arthur. The written records of his deeds appear to have been scanty, but his name was kept well before the popular imagination in folklore, in triads, and in sundry snatches of poetry. It was when Norman culture came into contact with the Celtic genius that the idea took shape of creating a romantic 'matter of Britain,' as attractive and as imposing as the better known matters 'of France' and 'of Rome.' No better account has been given of the causes of the sudden efflorescence of Arthurian romance in the latter half of the twelfth century, and of Geoffrey's relation to it, than that of Gibbon.

'The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors prompted them to enquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tiber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the *Æneid*; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces and Imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and the memorable institution of his Knights of the Round Table, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son appear less incredible than the adventures which were achieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage and the holy wars introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table; their

names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity.'

Gibbon, as this passage shows, regarded Geoffrey as primarily a romancer; at least, he saw that his contribution to Arthurian romance dwarfed everything in his Chronicle that might have any claim to rank as authentic history. Not only has this opinion been confirmed by subsequent research; it is the only opinion possible when Geoffrey's 'History' is read in the light of the general literary history of his time. He is the first writer to perceive the romantic value of the Arthurian stories, of their possibilities as matter of literary entertainment. It is impossible to read the later portions of his Chronicle without feeling that Geoffrey, once he had embarked upon the history of Merlin and of Arthur, was fully conscious of having lit upon a genuine *trouvaille*. Being an accomplished rhetorician, he responded to the demands of the hour with an address which would have done credit to the most alert of modern journalists, and produced a chronicle which breathes all the careless charm of a novel. There is even some slight ground for supposing that his original design was to weave his British legends into a romantic poem in Latin hexameters, and that fragments of this projected poem are imbedded in the text of his first book.\*

Such an assumption, however, is not required to convince us that Geoffrey's 'History,' as it stands, is in spirit and motive much nearer akin to the metrical romances than to the compilations of any prose chronicler. His adoption of the chronicle form has indeed been a curious snare to many of his imitators and critics alike. A little imagination might have suggested to them that, in an age of literary experiment, an adventurous scribe might well conceive the idea of using that time-honoured literary form for an excursion in fiction. That Geoffrey did conceive something of the kind is apparent from the

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\* Dr Sebastian Evans advances this opinion with some confidence in the epilogue to his translation of the 'History,' p. 361. It is worth noting that a poem in hexameter verse, the 'Vita Merlini,' is on the best authority assigned to Geoffrey.

tone of his epilogue, where he bids reputable historians like William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon 'be silent as to the Kings of the Britons, since they have not that book in the British speech which Walter, Arch-deacon of Oxford, did convey hither out of Brittany.' In other words, he tells orthodox chroniclers to mind their own business, and not to pry into the romantic enclosure of which he alone has the key.

Geoffrey's distinction, therefore, in literary history is that he is the first to guide the stream of Arthurian fable into the main channels of European literature. He gave Arthur his passport to the commonwealth of letters, and seeking, after the manner of other romantic scribes, for a stamp of authenticity, he found his certificate in the real or alleged 'British book' given him by the Arch-deacon of Oxford. The fully-developed legend became, as we have seen, something very different from what it is in Geoffrey's hands. But, before the appearance of the 'History,' Arthur, as a literary hero, is virtually unknown. Afterwards everything is changed. Arthur becomes the centre of the most splendid of the romantic cycles. His knights multiply; he founds the Round Table; his court becomes the rendezvous of peers whose parts and prowess all but overshadow his own. Some of Geoffrey's detractors attempt to minimise his influence upon Arthurian romance by pointing out that he knows nothing of some of the most striking incidents and characters of the full-grown legend; that he is altogether silent about Lancelot, about Tristram, about the Holy Grail. But to have made a beginning is, in such a matter, more than half the whole. Geoffrey it is who gives us our first full-length literary portrait of King Arthur; and that alone establishes his claim to a place in the front rank of romantic writers. So intimately indeed did his name become bound up with the fame of Arthur in the generation after his death that William of Newbury states that he had the by-name of 'Arturus,' because he had 'cloaked fables about Arthur with the honest name of history.\*' The

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\* 'Hist. Rer. Anglicarum,' Proemium. Geoffrey was known to his contemporaries, Henry of Huntingdon and Robert of Torigny—who are both referred to on a later page—as 'Geoffrey Arthur'; and Dr Sebastian Evans, rejecting the theory that 'Arthur' was a patronymic, somewhat fancifully maintains, on the strength of an entry in the foundation charter

question of Geoffrey's honesty largely depends upon the temper and the sense of humour of those who seek to determine it. For ourselves we prefer to take his *Chronicle* as a more or less deliberate work of fiction, and therefore as a contribution of the first importance to romantic literature.

Of Geoffrey's personal history we know almost as little as of the mysterious 'British book' upon which he professes to found his romantic *Chronicle*. He was almost certainly of Welsh birth.\* He was, as the 'History' indicates, a friend of Walter, known as Walter Calenius,† Archdeacon of Oxford, and his name follows that of Walter in the list of witnesses to the foundation charter of the abbey of Osney, near Oxford, in 1129.‡ His life seems to have been quite uneventful and to have presented no opportunities of any notable public activity until its (apparently untimely) close. We have authentic record of his ordination as priest, and of his consecration as Bishop of St Asaph—both in the month of February 1152. He was a sufficiently important personage to appear as a witness to the compact made in November 1153 between King Stephen and his successor, Henry. He died at Llandaff in 1155.

The date of the composition of his 'History' is a matter of some controversy. It is certain that it must have been complete in the form now known to us by 1148 at the latest, but it is equally certain that it existed in some form as early as 1139. A letter from Henry of Huntingdon, prefixed to the *Chronicle* of Robert of

of the abbey of Osney, that, 'as early as 1129, Geoffrey had already set hand to a work of which Arthur was, or was to be, the hero.' Even though the evidence of certain Welsh documents that his father's name was Arthur be rejected as untrustworthy, it is hard to believe that he could, as early as 1129, or even 1139, when Henry of Huntingdon saw a copy of his 'History,' have signed himself 'Geoffrey Arthur' in the confident expectation of a literary immortality to be derived from his glorification of Arthur's deeds.

\* The evidence of Welsh documents on the point is not conclusive; but his acquaintance with Welsh place-names and with Welsh traditions goes far to prove that he was a Welshman. He is called 'of Monmouth' probably because he was educated at the Benedictine monastery of that place. He is often wrongly styled 'Archdeacon of Monmouth.' There never was an archdeaconry of Monmouth.

† Walter Calenius has often been confounded with Walter Map, who became Archdeacon of Oxford in 1197.

‡ His name appears here as 'Geoffrey Arthur.' Cf. next par.

Torigny,\* gives a short abstract of 'a big book' (*liber grandis*) by one 'Geoffrey Arthur,' which he, Henry, found in the year 1139 at the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Henry had long been anxious to discover some authentic account of the kings who reigned in this island 'betwixt Brutus and the days of Julius,' but although he had

'many a time and oft made inquiry as to those ages, yet never had he found any one who could tell him, nor any book wherein was written aught about them. Howbeit' (he continues), 'in this very year, which is the eleven hundred and thirty-ninth from the Incarnation of our Lord, when I was journeying to Rome with Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Bec, where the said Archbishop had formerly been Abbot, to my amazement I found the written record of these events.'

The occasion and the motive of the composition of the 'History' form the subject of some ingenious and not altogether improbable conjectures by Dr Sebastian Evans in his recently published translation. The least tenable of Dr Evans's speculations seems to us to be his explanation of Geoffrey's dedications of the book as so many deliberate bids for ecclesiastical preferment. He even suspects that Geoffrey had at one time been haunted by 'archiepiscopal visions,' for in no other way can he account for the 'dithyrambic eulogy of the City of Legions, Caerleon-upon-Usk,' in the ninth book of the 'History.'† The course of events had altogether shattered these dreams long before 1148; 'but if the archbishopric *in posse*,' continues Dr Evans, 'had disappeared, there were still English and Welsh bishoprics *in esse* not altogether hopelessly beyond Geoffrey's reach. Here was Bishop Alexander of Lincoln just dead; why should not Geoffrey succeed him?' He would at least call the attention of the two 'pillars of the realm' to

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\* The letter is addressed to one Warinus, otherwise unknown, and is published in the 'Chronicles of Stephen' (Rolls Series), iv, 65.

† Caerleon is called by Geoffrey 'the third metropolitan see of Britain.' Whatever Geoffrey's own ambitions may have been, there certainly were Welshmen in the twelfth century—Giraldus Cambrensis for one—who cherished the dream of establishing a metropolitan see in Wales. It was, however, to be, not at Caerleon, but at St David's, in fulfilment of a prophecy of Merlin, '*Manevia pallio urbis Legionum induetur*' (see Geoffrey, vii, 8).

his claims. So, accepting the unique dedication of the Bern ms. as genuine, Dr Evans maintains that Geoffrey

'took his courage and his book into both hands and dedicated the new edition with his left hand to King Stephen and with his right to Robert of Gloucester, appending a *post-mortem* dedication to the newly incorporated "Prophecies of Merlin" to Bishop Alexander by way of a hint that the writer of the prophecies would be an excellent and useful successor to the see of Lincoln.'

The princely see of Lincoln, one would think, was too splendid a prize in those days for a mere literary cleric to aspire to; but that Geoffrey's literary venture was not unconnected with hopes of ecclesiastical promotion is highly probable. At least we know of no better claim to his actual reward, the bishopric of St Asaph.

Of greater interest to the literary student is Dr Evans's surmise that Geoffrey's 'History' was written as a 'national epos,' intended to celebrate the united glories of the composite Norman kingdom which attained its widest extent under Henry II. Geoffrey was, on this supposition, originally inspired by Henry Beauclerc, who, more than any other prince of his line, sought to enlist the services of men of learning and of letters in the cause of Norman civilisation. Hence, to compare small things with great, Henry played Augustus to Geoffrey's Virgil. Geoffrey was to write a national prose epic in which Norman and Englishman, Breton and Welshman, could take common pride. The essential homogeneity of the new Norman 'empire' was to be shown by an account of the descent of its constituent races from a branch of that Trojan stock which had laid the foundations of the greatness of Imperial Rome. Brutus, whose eponymous connexion with the country had already been suggested by Nennius, was to be for Britain what Æneas was for Rome. Hence in time all records of the early British kings, whether in prose or verse, which had this mythic starting-point came to be called 'Bruts'—presumably in imitation of the title of Virgil's epic.

Geoffrey's Chronicle therefore is the first 'Brut,' the first 'inspired' adaptation of the Brutus legend for the glorification of Britain. Dr Evans, however, finds it somewhat difficult to establish any very close analogy

between Geoffrey's 'Brut' and the 'Æneid.' He is constrained to admit that the real hero of Geoffrey's book—the postulate 'traditional hero of the Anglo-Welsh-Norman-Breton nucleus of empire'—was not Brutus but King Arthur, as much 'Geoffrey's creation as Æneas was that of Virgil.' And the assumption that Geoffrey deliberately 'created' his Arthur in the interests of Norman Imperialism is certainly a plausible explanation of his expansion of the British king's continental exploits. For, with Geoffrey, Arthur, although a prince of British birth, is no mere *comes Britannia*, an insular potentate who

'Drew all their petty princedoms under him,  
Their king and head, and made a realm, and reign'd.'

His name resounds through every part of Europe, and the hosts of the Roman Empire itself are no match for his victorious arms.

The weakness of this theory of an Anglo-Norman 'epos' lies in the difficulty of reconciling it, not so much with the Arthurian part of the 'History' as with the scope and character of the work as a whole. For the Arthurian chapters—albeit the most remarkable feature in the book—form but a comparatively small section of the entire 'History.' The book is a 'History of the Kings of Britain,' and ostensibly represents the ambition of a writer of British birth to glorify the native traditions of his race. The Brutus legend is borrowed as affording at once the most plausible and the most illustrious account of the origin of the British kings and of the ancient name of Britain. Then follow, in a long series, the histories of the kings from Brutus to Cadwaladr. Strange tales and wonders are interwoven with what purports to be a precise and ordered record of actual events; many famous place-names on the early map of Britain are ingeniously related to some fabulous incident or to some dim traditional hero. Through six books the narrative proceeds, strictly confined to the insular history of Britain and its rulers, until, in the seventh book, we suddenly come upon the 'Prophecies of Merlin.'

Geoffrey is now in the very heart of 'the enchanted ground,' as remote from the haunts of the pedestrian chronicler as he could well be. Here, at last, comes his



opportunity for romantic expansion. Merlin's magic arts are made largely contributory to the birth of 'the most renowned Arthur, who was not only famous in after years, but was well worthy of all the fame he did achieve by his surpassing prowess.' The ninth and tenth books are entirely taken up with Arthur's exploits; and Geoffrey's concern seems to us to be far less to make of Arthur the international hero desiderated by Dr Evans than to exalt a British prince into a romantic figure, overshadowing even Alexander and Charlemagne, who were already the centres of profitably worked romantic 'cycles.' How well Geoffrey succeeded in this romantic design appears from William of Newbury's pathetic protestation that he had 'made the little finger of his Arthur stouter than the back of Alexander the Great.'

This explanation of the motive of Geoffrey's 'History' derives additional support from the fact that it is all based upon a certain 'most ancient book in the British tongue,' which was most considerately placed at his disposal by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. Faithful and matter-of-fact annalists like Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury were, as we have seen, interdicted the use of this book. The history of the 'Kings of the Saxons' could safely be committed to such writers, but the continuation of the story of the kings 'who succeeded in Wales' was beyond the powers of any but a *protégé* and a disciple of Geoffrey himself, Caradoc of Llancarvan. That the reference to the 'British book' is altogether a ruse, deliberately resorted to for the mystification of readers and later writers, we do not believe. Geoffrey doubtless drew upon some documents, possibly Welsh, which have since been lost. He borrowed all he could from Bede and Nennius; but that the 'British book,' if it ever existed, must have been something more than a copy of Nennius is obvious from the fact that Geoffrey expressly states that it was written in 'the British tongue.' The evidence of the best texts (not the printed ones) goes to show that Geoffrey, whatever may have been the extent of his mastery of the Welsh language, had a surprisingly intimate acquaintance with Welsh place-names and with Welsh folklore. One need not, however, claim an exclusively Welsh origin for his matter. Arthurian and other ancient British legends

were common alike to Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany; and the 'British book' might well have served as a convenient label for embroideries culled from every section of the variegated Celtic fringe.

Although the more specifically romantic portions of the 'History' are those which recount the achievements of Arthur, the work throughout reveals the hand of one who felt that he was giving to the world something very different from a bare, matter-of-fact chronicle. Geoffrey's very assumption of an orthodox chronicler's pose, and his imitation of some of the minor practices and devices of authentic historians, only serve to discover, to any attentive reader, the thinness of his disguise. His introductory chapter, for example, with its apologetic note, reads like a calculated attempt, almost worthy of Defoe, to disarm the sceptical reader by vouching an authority, at once ancient and well-accredited, for the strange legends that were to follow and for the ornate manner of their telling. This elaborate prologue is worth quoting in full, as it really strikes the keynote to the style and motive of the whole work.

' Oftentimes in turning over in mine own mind the many themes that might be subject-matter of a book, my thoughts would fall upon the plan of writing a history of the Kings of Britain; and in my musings thereupon mesecemed it a marvel that, beyond such mention as Gildas and Bede have made of them in their luminous tractate, naught could I find as concerning the kings that had dwelt in Britain before the Incarnation of Christ, nor naught even as concerning Arthur and the many others that did succeed him after the Incarnation, albeit that their deeds be worthy of praise everlasting and be as pleasantly rehearsed from memory by word of mouth in the traditions of many peoples as though they had been written down. Now, whilst I was thus thinking upon such matters, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man learned not only in the art of eloquence, but in the histories of foreign lands, offered me a certain most ancient book in the British language that did set forth the doings of them all in due succession and order from Brute, the first King of the Britons, onward to Cadwallader, the son of Cadwallo, all told in stories of exceeding beauty. At his request, therefore, albeit that never have I gathered gay flowers of speech in other men's little gardens, and am content with mine own rustic manner of speech and mine own writing-reeds, have I been

at the pains to translate this volume into the Latin tongue. For, had I besprinkled my page with high-flown phrases, I should only have engendered a weariness in my readers by compelling them to spend more time over the meaning of the words than upon understanding the drift of my story.\*

Again, Geoffrey endeavours, especially in the earlier chapters of his book, to give an air of authenticity and circumstantiality to his narrative by gravely recording contemporaneous events in sacred and profane history. The practice was, of course, common enough among ancient chroniclers, Nennius among their number; but Geoffrey resorts to it in a way which suggests deliberate parody. Thus we read that when Gwendolen, after a reign of fifteen years, handed over the sceptre to her son Maddan, 'Samuel the prophet reigned in Judæa, and Silvius Æneas was still living. And Homer was held to be a famous teller of histories and poet.' Leil 'builded a city in the northern parts of Britain called after his name Kaerleil,' what time 'Solomon began to build the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem and the Queen of Sheba came thither to hearken unto his wisdom.' Hudibras founded 'the fortress of Mount Paladur, which is now called Shaftesbury. There, while the wall was a-building, an eagle spake, the sayings whereof'—here we have a flagrant instance of Geoffrey's method of throwing dust in the ingenuous reader's eyes—'had I believed them to be true, I would not have shrunk from committing to written memory along with the rest. At that time reigned Capys, the son of Epitus; and Haggai, Amos, Joel, and Azarias did prophesy.' Once he is well embarked on the full tide of his narrative Geoffrey gradually ceases to give us these chronological data, but he occasionally recollects himself, even when far advanced; he stops to remind us, for example, towards the close of his fourth book, that the city of Gloucester was built about the time that 'Paul the Apostle did found the Church of Antioch, and, coming afterward unto Rome, did there hold the bishopric thereof, sending Mark the Evangelist into Egypt to preach the Gospel he had written.'

A feature of Geoffrey's book, which is well illustrated

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\* This and other extracts are quoted from Dr Sebastian Evans's excellent translation.

by one of the passages just quoted, is his fondness for ingenious topographical explanations. In some of the earlier Welsh folk-tales—in the older ‘Mabinogion,’ for example—it is usual to find the story-teller tracing the origin of a familiar place-name to some mythic character or romantic incident. ‘He required (says Professor Rhys) the topography to connote story or history.’ Geoffrey obeys the same impulse. Thus the fight of Corineus (the original of ‘Jack the Giant-killer’) with the giant Goëmagot is made to account for the name, still preserved in more than one locality, of ‘Gog-Magog’s Leap’ (Llam-Goëmagot). London, originally called Trinovantum or New Troy by Brutus, was renamed Kaerlud by its second founder, Lud, the brother of Cassibelaunus;\* the body of this same Lud was buried ‘nigh unto that gate which even yet is called Porthlud in British, but in Saxon Ludgate.’ In the city of Trinovantum, Belinus, who, with his brother Brennius, sacked Rome, built ‘a gate of marvellous workmanship,’ which was called after him Belinesgata, otherwise Billingsgate; and so on. Several of these topographical legends, however, have an interest quite apart from the names they profess to explain; they take us back to an antiquity, of which Geoffrey does not fully possess the secret, and embody traditions which are but flotsam and jetsam cast up in some remote past on ‘the shores of old romance.’ Such is the story of the

‘Virgin daughter of Lochrine  
Sprung of old Anchises’ line,’

who gave her name to the Severn. This is how Geoffrey tells it, and his is the first version of the story known to literature.

‘Years later, after Corineus was dead, Lochrine deserted Gwendolen and raised Estrildis to be Queen. Gwendolen thereupon, being beyond measure indignant, went into Cornwall, and gathering together all the youth of that kingdom, began to harass Lochrine by leading forays into his land. At last, after both had mustered their armies, a battle was fought on the river Stour, and Lochrine, smitten by an arrow, lost his

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\* Book I, 17, and III, 20. Geoffrey’s acquaintance with Welsh place-names at least, if not with the Welsh language, is attested by such forms as *Llamgoëmagot*, *Porthlud*, etc.

life and all the joys thereof. Whereupon Gwendolen laid hold on the helm of state, maddened by the same revengeful fury as her father, insomuch as that she bade Estrildis and Sabrina her daughter be flung into the river that is now called Severn, issuing an edict throughout all Britain that the river should be called by the damsel's name. For she was minded that it should bear her name for ever, for that it was her own husband that begat her; whereby it cometh to pass that even unto this day the river in the British tongue is called Sabren, which by corruption in other speech is called Severn.'

The story of King Lear, again, possesses an intrinsic interest far transcending the association of the king's name with the town of Leicester.\* Even Geoffrey's rude presentment of it strikes the note of great tragedy which caught the ear of Shakespeare, and is made to reverberate through the tumultuous strains of his mighty drama. Witness the lament of the British king in his adversity.

'Ye destinies that do pursue your wonted way marked out by irrevocable decree, wherefore was it your will ever to uplift me to happiness so fleeting? For a keener grief it is to call to mind that lost happiness than to suffer the presence of the unhappiness that cometh after. For the memory of the days when, in the midst of hundreds of thousands of warriors, I went to batter down the walls of cities and to lay waste the provinces of mine enemies is more grievous unto me than the calamity that hath overtaken me in the meanness of mine estate, which hath incited them that but now were grovelling under my feet to desert my feebleness. O, angry fortune! will the day ever come wherein I may requite the evil turn that hath thus driven forth the length of my days and my poverty? O, Cordelia, my daughter, how true were the words wherein thou didst make answer unto me, when I did ask of thee how much thou didst love me! For thou saidst, So much as thou hast so much art thou worth, and so much do I love thee. So long, therefore, as I had that which was mine own to give, so long seemed I of worth unto them that were the lovers, not of myself, but of my gifts. They loved me at times, but better loved they the presents I made unto them. Now that the presents are no longer forthcoming, they too have gone their ways. But with what face, O thou dearest of my

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\* Lear, Lelr, or in Welsh, Llyr, was the son of Prince Bladud who founded Bath, and 'he it was that builded the city on the river Soar, that in the British is called Kaer Lyr, but in the Saxon, Leicester' (II, xi).

children, shall I dare appear before thee? I who, wroth with thee for these thy words, was minded to marry thee less honourably than thy sisters, who, after all the kindnesses I have conferred upon them, have allowed me to become an outcast and a beggar?’

But to revert to the story of Arthur. It is here, as we have said, that Geoffrey assumes the manner and the liberties of a deliberate romancer. He concentrates all the resources of his art, such as they are—and he is, to say the least, no mean rhetorician—upon the exaltation of the prowess and the dignity of the British prince. That Geoffrey had a good conceit of the qualities of his own race, and was ambitious of subduing his readers into a belief in the transcendent valour and doughtiness of the ancient Britons, is obvious from several incidental passages in the ‘History.’ Thus, when he tells of the resistance offered by the Britons to Julius Cæsar, he breaks out into the following dithyrambic strain of praise :—

‘O, but in those days was the British race worthy of all admiration, which had twice driven in flight before them him who had subjected the whole world beside unto himself, and even in defeat now withstood him whom no nation of the earth had been able to withstand, ready to die for their country and their freedom! To their praise it was that Lucan sang how Cæsar,

‘Scared when he found the Britons that he sought for,  
Only displayed his craven back before them.’

Again, when deploring the sorry straits of the Britons in their struggles with the marauding Picts and Scots after the departure of the Romans, he exclaims :—

O, the vengeance of God upon past sins! Such was the doom that befell through the wicked madness of Maximian that had drained the kingdom of so many gallant warriors, for, had they been present in so sore a strait, no people could have fallen upon them that they would not have forced to flee, as was well seen, so long as they remained in the land.’

But a warrior was to arise who would once more assert the supremacy of the British people, and would not only crush the power of Scots and Picts and of every other race from the North that afflicted the peace of

Britain, but would even compel the once victorious Romans to pay tribute to himself, and would fulfil the prophecies that 'for the third time should one of British race be born who should obtain the empire of Rome.' That warrior was Arthur. So contagious was his might that the entire nation renewed its youth under his sway and surpassed the glories of its prime. For, in the last battle with the Romans,

'the Britons pursue them, take them prisoners, plunder them, put them miserably to the sword, insomuch as that the more part of them stretch forth their hands womanishwise to be bound so only they might have yet a little space longer to live. The which, verily, might seem to have been ordained by providence divine, seeing that whereas in days of yore the Romans had persecuted the grandsires of the Britons with their unjust oppressions, so now did the Britons in defence of the freedom whereof they would have bereft them, and refusing the tribute that they did unrighteously demand, take vengeance on the grandchildren of the Romans.'

In character with all this is the glorification of the personal prowess of Arthur himself. His first great exploit, as recorded by Geoffrey, was at the battle of Badon Hill or Bath, where he 'slew four hundred and seventy men single-handed with his sword Caliburn.' His accoutrements in this battle are enumerated with an attention to picturesque detail which anticipates the elaborate descriptions of the later romances. His 'Caliburn, best of swords,' had been forged 'within the Isle of Avalon'; and the 'lance that did grace his right hand was called Ron,\* a tall lance and a stout, full meet to do slaughter withal.' Upon his head was 'a helm of gold graven with the semblance of a dragon'; his shield was called 'Priwen, wherein was painted the image of holy Mary, Mother of God, that many a time and oft did call her back unto his memory.'† The figure which Geoffrey thus calls up before his imagination becomes, by a natural

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\* The names of Arthur's weapons must have been long current in Welsh folklore, for we find them in the archaic romance of 'Kulhwch and Olwen.' 'Priwen' in that tale is the name given to Arthur's ship, not his shield.

† Cf. Wordsworth, 'Ecclesiastical Sonnets,' I, 10 :—

'Amazement runs before the towering casque  
Of Arthur, bearing through the stormy field  
The Virgin sculptured on his Christian shield.'

process of extension, the flower and the pattern of knight-hood. For Arthur,

‘inviting unto him all soever of most prowess from far-off kingdoms, began to multiply his household retinue, and to hold such courtly fashion in his household as begat rivalry amongst peoples at a distance, insomuch as the noblest in the land, fain to vie with him, would hold himself as naught, save in the cut of his clothes and the manner of his arms he followed the pattern of Arthur’s knights.’

He thus becomes not only the head of a brilliant knightly court, but, drawing many principedoms under him, he becomes the war-lord of a host of military chieftains until ‘his prowess was upon every man’s tongue even unto the uttermost ends of the earth, and a fear fell upon the kings of realms oversea lest he might fall upon them in arms.’ So ‘his heart was uplifted for that he was a terror to them all, and he set his desire upon subduing the whole of Europe unto himself.’ Norway, Denmark, Gaul, in fact the whole of western Europe, fall under his sway, until at last he becomes powerful enough to challenge and to conquer the hosts of Rome itself.

But, before telling of the expedition against Rome, Geoffrey pauses to give an account of Arthur’s coronation at Caerleon-upon-Usk and of the glories of his court at that ‘passing pleasant place.’ In these chapters on Arthur at Caerleon we have all the pomp of high romance, and all the colour and splendour of the dawning age of chivalry. Magnificent ceremonials, sumptuous banquets, tourneys, and games, give life and brilliance to the picture. Caerleon itself, ‘abounding in wealth above all other cities, was the place most meet for so high a solemnity.’ The magnificence of its kingly palaces ‘with the gilded verges of the roofs that imitated Rome’; its cathedral church of ‘the third metropolitan see of Britain’; its college of ‘two hundred philosophers learned in astronomy and other arts’—all ‘did by true inferences foretell the prodigies which at that time were about to befall unto King Arthur.’ When the bidding to the coronation went out, ‘not a single prince of any price on this side Spain remained at home and came not upon the proclamation; and no marvel, for Arthur’s bounty was of common report throughout the whole wide world,



and all men for his sake were fain to come.' The description of the ceremonial itself is pitched in the same high key; indeed words altogether fail Geoffrey to conjure up all the superlative splendours of the scene.

'In the palace of the Queen no less did numberless pages, clad in divers brave liveries, offer their service, each after his office, the which were I to go about to describe I might draw out my history into an endless prolixity. For at that time was Britain exalted unto so high a pitch of dignity as that it did surpass all other kingdoms in plenty of riches, in luxury of adornment, and in the courteous wit of them that dwelt therein. Whatsoever knight in the land was of renown for his prowess did wear his clothes and his arms all of one same colour. And the dames no less witty, would apparel them in like manner in a single colour, nor would they deign have the love of none save he had thrice approved him in the wars. Wherefore at that time did dames wax chaste and knights the nobler for their love.'

No passage affords a better illustration than this of the manner in which Geoffrey prepared the way for the entry of his Arthur to the sovereignty of the kingdom of chivalric romance. The mounting tale of his far-reaching exploits, and the place assigned to him as the head of a great retinue of princes and courtly knights, make the transition easy to the conception of the Round Table and to all the other extensions of the romantic schools. Nor is the element of wonder and of strange adventure, so largely developed by later romancers, absent from Geoffrey's narrative. The 'marvels of Britain,' as originally recounted by Nennius, are woven into the story of Arthur's victorious marches, with, of course, many rhetorical embellishments. Arthur himself is represented as performing deeds as hazardous as those of any knight-errant of the romances. He engages in single combat with the Roman tribune, Flollo, a man of 'mighty stature, hardihood, and valour,' whose skull is cloven in twain by the terrible Caliburn. He fights and kills a Spanish giant at St Michael's Mount upon being told that the monster had carried away and killed the niece of Hoel, Duke of Armorica. The issue of this combat leads Arthur to recall his victory over a still more formidable foe, the giant Ritho of Mount Eryri, who 'had fashioned him a furred cloak of the beards of the kings he had

slain.' In the battles with the Romans, again, the British king does Homeric deeds, for 'naught might armour avail' his enemies, 'but that Caliburn would carve their souls from out them with their blood.'

Thus, by his own individual prowess and the gathering might of his arms, the British king pursues his triumphal progress through Europe until he meditates a descent upon the city of Rome itself. He had actually begun to climb the Alps 'when message was brought him that his nephew Mordred, unto whom he had committed the charge of Britain, had tyrannously and traitorously set the crown of the kingdom upon his own head, and had linked him in unhallowed union with Guinevere, the Queen, in despite of her former marriage.' The tragic end of his victorious career is now within sight. He gives battle to the traitor at the river Camel. Mordred is defeated and slain; but in the same battle 'the renowned King Arthur himself was wounded unto death and was borne thence unto the island of Avalon for the healing of his wounds.' In these last words we hear an echo of the famous Celtic tradition about 'Arthur's return.' 'Unknown is the grave of Arthur,' sang an old Welsh bard; or, as Professor Rhys would, still more significantly, translate the words, 'not wise the thought of a grave for Arthur.' The greatest marvel of all Arthur's life is that of his passing:

'And where is he who knows?

From the great deep to the great deep he goes.'

'Some men say yet' (writes Malory in his quaint way) 'that King Arthur is not dead, but had by the will of our Lord Jesu into another place. And men say that he shall come again, and he shall win the holy cross. I will not say it shall be so, but rather I will say, here in this world he changed his life. But many men say that there is written upon his tomb this verse, "*Hic jacet Arthurus Rex quondam Rexque futurus.*"'

The extracts we have given suffice to show that Geoffrey's contribution to Arthurian romance is large and original enough to establish beyond question his title to be called the literary father of the 'matter of Britain.' His place in literary history is to be determined not by any pedantic investigation of his 'origins,' his credentials his authenticity, but by a frank recognition of his immense

influence upon imaginative literature. And, in English at least, few works can boast of so various and distinguished a literary progeny as the 'History of the Kings of Britain.' The long line of chroniclers, in both prose and verse, from Layamon and Robert of Gloucester down to Grafton and Holinshed, who believed that Geoffrey had, in all good faith, 'revealed the marvellous current of forgotten things,' alone forms a signal monument to his genius. But it is from the poets that he receives the tribute which best accords with the character and the spirit of his work. The direct debt which most of them owe to Geoffrey may, on a strict computation, seem to be small; but no other early British writer can be said to have so persistently haunted the imagination of so many English poets of the first rank. Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Wordsworth, Tennyson, are all 'busy for to bere up' Geoffrey's fame. Spenser's tribute to his book has been already quoted. Let us conclude with Wordsworth's praise, in 'Artegal and Elidure,' of the

'British record long concealed  
In old Armorica, whose secret springs  
No Gothic conqueror ever drank':

in which, he continues,

'We read of Spenser's fairy themes,  
And those that Milton loved in youthful years;  
The sage enchanter Merlin's subtle schemes;  
The feats of Arthur and his knightly peers;  
Of Arthur, who, to upper light restored,  
With that terrific sword  
Which yet he brandishes for future war  
Shall lift his country's fame above the polar star!'

W. LEWIS JONES.

#### Art. IV.—THE ORIGINS OF THE IRISH RACE.

1. *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*. By P. W. Joyce LL.D. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1903.
2. *The Life of St Patrick and his Place in History*. By J. B. Bury, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1905.
3. *The Life and Writings of St Patrick*. By the Most Rev. Dr Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: Gill, 1905.
4. *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Year 1547*. By the Rev. E. A. D'Alton, C.C. Vol. 1. Dublin: Sealy, 1903.

'IRELAND,' says Dr Joyce in the book which stands at the head of our list, and which, in its way, forms an admirable compendium or catalogue of all that has hitherto been found bearing upon the manners and customs, the religion, laws, literature, industrial arts, and social life of the ancient Irish, 'presents the spectacle of an arrested civilisation.' It is a neat phrase, and expresses what may be regarded as the orthodox view on the subject. Whether it is the correct one is another matter; and we propose, as briefly as may be, to examine it in the light of modern historical research, and in connexion with the following statements, on which it may be said to rest.

'The institutions, arts, and customs of ancient Ireland, with few exceptions, grew up from within, almost wholly unaffected by external influence' (p. 3). 'The ancient Irish were a branch of the continental Celts, and they brought with them the language, mythology, and customs of their original home, all of which, however, became modified in course of ages after the separation' (p. 24). 'One momentous effect of the Danish and Anglo-Norman invasions must here be noted: they arrested the progress of native learning and art, which, though disturbed by the Danes, still lingered on for several centuries after the first English settlements, but gradually declined, and finally died out. Ireland presents the spectacle of an arrested civilisation. What that civilisation would have come to if allowed to follow out uninterruptedly its natural course of development it is now impossible to tell, and useless to conjecture; but there is no reason to think that in this respect Irishmen would not have kept well abreast with the rest of the world' (p. 5).

In other words, we are told to regard the ancient Irish as a homogeneous race, of Celtic origin, bringing with them to Ireland their customs, arts, and institutions, and developing them there uninterruptedly until the arrival of the Danes and Anglo-Normans first interfered with and finally put an end to a civilisation which otherwise might have grown into something great and lasting. This, then, is the general view on the subject which we propose to consider. It may perhaps be well if we at once state the conclusions we have formed, merely premising that nothing is offered dogmatically in a matter so obscure, but rather by way of suggestion and as a possible means of rescuing early Irish history from the *cul de sac* into which it has found its way. First, then, there is every reason to believe that the ancient Irish (using the words in the sense of Dr Joyce) were not a single, homogeneous, nor in the main a Celtic people; secondly, we have good grounds for concluding that when the Celtic or, more probably, Celtiberian conquerors arrived in Ireland they found the inhabitants of the country in a comparatively well-advanced state of civilisation; thirdly, there are good reasons for regarding the Celtic or Celtiberian conquest of Ireland as the work of a relatively small body of invaders, resembling the Norman conquests of England and Sicily; fourthly, there is little doubt that Irish Christianity and what is called 'late Celtic' art are essentially Eastern in their origin and have little or nothing to do with Rome or Constantinople; fifthly, there is little question that the Danish invasions (apart from mere acts of piracy) served rather to develop Irish civilisation and increase the chance of national unity than the reverse; and finally, we hold that Irish civilisation perished of its own effeteness and inability to stand against a superior and more highly developed civilisation. These six propositions we propose to treat singly and in the order given; but, before doing so, we desire to refer for a moment to the account given by Keating and other Irish historians of the early invasions of Ireland. We know the twofold danger we hereby run, of trying the reader's patience and apparently prejudicing our argument. But we mean merely to state the gist of the story, and to leave it to the reader to draw his own inferences in the light of what follows.

Irish legendary (or perhaps we should rather say traditional) history tells of six separate invasions—a prediluvian, a Partholonian, a Nemedian, a Firbolgan, a Dedannan, and a Milesian or Gadelian. Dismissing the first invasion as purely fabulous, Keating says of the later invaders that they were members of the same family, being all alike descended from Magog, the son of Japhet. Of Partholon it is only necessary to remark that he and his whole colony were destroyed by pestilence. To Partholon succeeded Nemedius, who, like him, came somehow or other from the neighbourhood of the Euxine. During the Nemedian period Ireland was overrun by a race of pirates called the Fomorians. To these Fomorians is ascribed the erection of the earliest stone forts in Ireland. Under pressure of their attacks the Nemedians quitted Ireland and went to Greece, whence they returned later as the Firbolgs.

According to Keating, the Firbolgs were never entirely extirpated; and he mentions three clans which in his day were believed to descend from them. During the reign of their last king, Eochaidh, who was the first monarch to give laws to the people, Ireland was invaded and conquered by the Dedannans. Now the Dedannans were a race of wizards, who came to Ireland from the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Corinth by way of Scandinavia. At their departure from Norway they took with them four 'curiosities,' viz. the *lia fail* or stone of destiny, a sword, a spear, and a cauldron. Touching the north of Scotland, they finally reached Ireland, where they put an end to the Firbolgs in one battle, and to the Fomorians in another.

We come last to the Milesians. Baath, the eldest son of Magog and the ancestor of the Milesians, had a son, Fenius Farsaidh, King of Scythia, a man of profound learning, who, after spending long years in Babylonia, where he founded numerous schools and assisted at the invention of an alphabet, returned to Scythia and died. He left two sons, Neanul, who succeeded him, and Niul, who, having no portion, went with his followers to seek his fortune in Egypt. It would exhaust the patience of the reader to describe the wanderings of his descendants from the time they left Egypt till they arrived in Spain; all that it is necessary to remark is that they reached the

latter country by following a northerly route like the Dedannans when they came to Ireland. Their king, Breogan, under whom they conquered nearly the whole of Spain, had ten sons, of whom we need mention only Ith and Bile.

The son of Bile was the famous Gallamh, called Milesius of Spain. Determining to visit Scythia, Milesius sailed thither through the Mediterranean. The story of his wanderings through Egypt, Crete, and the Euxine to Gothland and thence back to Spain is merely a repetition, *totidem verbis*, of that of Niul and his descendants. Returning to Spain he found his people hard put to it to hold their own against certain invaders. After consultation it was resolved to go in search of an island lying in the West, which an old prophecy declared they should one day possess. The command of the expedition was given to Ith. Reaching Ireland safely, he was surprised to find that the inhabitants spoke the same language as himself. Having visited the three Dedannan princes, he was returning to his ships when he was waylaid by them and mortally wounded. He died on his way back to Spain, and his son Lughaidh, bringing his body ashore, declared the manner of his death 'before an assembly of the descendants of Milesius and the sons of Breogan.'

The indignation of the Milesians knew no bounds; and, having fitted out an expedition, they sailed with their wives and families from Tor Breogan in Galicia for the purpose of wresting the island from the Dedannans. After narrowly escaping complete shipwreck they succeeded in effecting a landing—Heber at Inbher Sceine in Munster, Heremon at Inbher Colpa, now Drogheda. Uniting their forces they overthrew the Dedannans at Tailten and divided the kingdom between them, Heremon taking Leinster and Connaught, and Heber the two provinces of Munster, while Ulster was assigned to Heber, the grandson of Milesius. After reigning together peaceably for one year, Heber and Heremon quarrelled, and, the former having been killed at the battle of Geisiol, Heremon became sole monarch of Ireland. But the descendants of Heber remained in the land and gave many sovereigns to the people. Such is the gist of the story of the invasions as given by Keating. Its significance will appear as we proceed.

Coming to Ireland itself, we find, scattered up and down the country, and preserved in its museums, tangible evidence of the presence of a prehistoric race. Of the existence of palæolithic man in Ireland we have no certain proof. We will not say he never existed there; but, so far as our present knowledge goes, Irish history or prehistory begins with man of the later neolithic age. Evidence of his presence, as we have said, meets us on all sides, in the shape of pillar-stones, cromlechs or dolmens, stone forts, *souterrains*, 'crannog' dwellings, burial urns, and articles of stone, bone, bronze, iron, etc. All these remains have been carefully studied by distinguished archæologists, such as Boyd Dawkins, James Fergusson, Jewitt, Brash, Wood-Martin, Coffey, Westropp, and others. Their conclusions possess the greatest importance for us; but at present we are chiefly concerned in trying to find out if these prehistoric remains can be ascribed to any particular race, and, if so, whence that race came, and how it reached Ireland. We must turn our eyes to the East, to that *officina gentium*, the valley of the Euphrates, for a starting-point.

'It is' (says Prof. Gurlitt, 'Geschichte der Kunst') 'becoming every day clearer that the centre of the oldest civilisation is the lower valley of the Euphrates. . . . Comparative philology enables us to describe the people who had here established themselves as probably Turko-Mongolian.'

Now, while we are not prepared to accept this theory (for more than theory it can hardly yet be called) so entirely as does Gurlitt, still, so far as the trend of modern research goes, there seems good ground to believe that the historical starting-point of human civilisation is to be looked for precisely where he places it; and to ascribe the earliest form of culture, including the invention of cuneiform writing, to a non-Semitic race whose language may properly be called the Sumerian.\* Further than this we cannot go with certainty; but Hommel's view ('Geschichte Babylonien') possesses great attraction for us; and, if it should actually turn out, as he conjectures and Ernst Bonnell more confidently asserts, that there is a direct relationship between the Sumerian language and the Basque, we have here a fact which may

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\* Cf. Weissbach, 'Die Sumerische Frage' (Leipzig, 1898).



help considerably in solving the problem, who were the earliest inhabitants of Ireland, and whence they came.

We have to imagine that in the dim past, long before the dawn of history proper, a mountain people of Scythian\* origin, abandoning their nomadic habits, came down from their seats between the Ural and Altai mountains and formed a settlement in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. One branch of the family (the Sumerian or Sumero-Akkadian) appeared as the pioneers of civilisation in the valley of the Euphrates; another (to which the name Pelasgo-Alarodian has been given, including the Pelasgians, Etruscans, and Iberians) pushed its way into Greece, Italy, and Spain; a third (the Finno-Ugrian) took a northward course to the shores of the Baltic and White Sea; while a fourth (the Mongolian) journeyed eastward to the shores of the Yellow Sea. Subsequently, in historic times, two other nations, the Hungarian and Turko-Tartar, emerged from the same cradle of the race. By what routes and in what order these migrations took place we do not know; but, so far as Europe is concerned, we can only conjecture that it was at first by following the course of some great river like the Volga or Danube, or by skirting the shores of the Mediterranean, while, from their position on the Atlantic sea-board, it may reasonably be presumed that the Iberians were in the van of the movement. But centuries must have elapsed before they reached their final homes on the shores of the Atlantic.

It is with this Iberian or, as it is variously called, Lappanoid, or Ibero-Insular, or Atlanto-Mediterranean race that we are now specially concerned. Of its existence as the earliest and lowest stratum of population over the greater part of western Europe, there can be no question. It was a long-headed, long-faced race of medium and rather slender stature, with dark-brown or black hair, dark eyes and rather broad nose.† To these characteristics we may add that it was a seafaring, sea-loving, dolmen-building race, accustomed to bury and not to burn its dead, speaking a language of an agglutinative

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\* We use the attribute advisedly. Cf. Hoernes, 'Urgeschichte,' pp. 314, 453.

† W. Z. Ripley, 'Races of Europe' (London, 1900).

type, and having for religion a sort of Shamanism or ancestor-worship. Vestiges of it are still to be traced in the Basques of the Pyrenees; but, except as skeleton or framework, its identity has long ago been lost in the mixture of races that Europe has since undergone. The race, as race, has disappeared, and its language has died out. But its works still survive; and a map of the dolmens of Europe, such as is to be found in Fergusson's 'Rude Stone Monuments,' may be taken to describe pretty accurately the territorial limits of the Iberian dominion. With its centre in what is now the department of Morbihan, it extended northwards through Holland, Denmark, and Pomerania into Scandinavia, with offshoots to the south-west of England and Wales, the north of Scotland (including the Orkneys) and Ireland; southwards through central France to the Gulf of Lyons, along the Pyrenees, round the coast of Spain, and even as far as Africa and Corsica.

That Ireland was inhabited by the Iberians may be regarded as a well established fact, for not only are the same evidences of their presence to be found there as on the Continent, but, if Prof. Rhys is right in his conjecture,\* the very name of the island—Hibernia, Juverna, 'Ιέρνη ('Ιféρνη) Iverna or Ivvera, Iverio—is conclusive on this point; and there seems really no reason why we should not at this time speak of the country as Iverna and the people as Ivernians. Taking it for granted, then, that Ireland or Iverna formed part of what we may call greater Iberia, we have now to ask if it is possible to find out how these Iberians or Ivernians came thither. The subject has recently attracted considerable attention owing to the discovery of certain scratchings or sculpturings on the stones composing the tumuli of New Grange and Dowth in County Louth and elsewhere, the importance of which has been more clearly revealed by the systematic study of comparative types of ornamentation. Reproductions of these scratchings are impossible here, and we must claim the indulgence of the reader for referring him to Mr Coffey's admirably illustrated articles in the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.'

Of these sculpturings the most instructive is that

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\* 'Studies in Early Irish History.' Proc. Brit. Acad., vol. i (1905).

representing the spiral motive. The history of the spiral ascends to the very remotest times. It has been found on Egyptian scarabs dating from the fifth dynasty, among Cretan remains of about 2500 years B.C., in Scandinavia, and in prehistoric Ireland. The study of primitive ornamentation is still in its infancy, and we do not feel sure that many inferences drawn from it, especially such as connect particular types with particular race movements, are altogether justifiable, for, as a matter of fact, the spiral is to be found nearly everywhere. At the same time it must be admitted that the attempt to use it as a clue in tracing the progress of civilisation has been attended with considerable success. For us it is specially interesting as tending to show that the earliest civilising influences that reached Ireland are directly traceable through Scandinavia \* along the great trade route of the Elbe and Danube to Mycenæ and thence probably to Babylonia, either directly or indirectly, through Crete and Egypt. In confirmation of this view Mr Westropp has convincingly shown† that 'the chain of ruined forts (of the same type as are found in Ireland) extends without a break from Thessaly and Bosnia, through Hungary and Prussia, the Low Countries, France, Switzerland, and the British Isles.' In other words, he has shown that the forts follow the same lines as the spiral. But, if we need have little hesitation in believing that the earliest civilisation reached Ireland mainly by a northerly route, there are good grounds for concluding that a sort of back-current existed between Ireland and Morbihan. The fact is (as we shall more than once have occasion to observe) that Ireland, from its position, has always served as a sort of scrap-heap for Europe. Systems that have worked themselves out elsewhere have survived there into quite recent times. In any case, we must always be careful not to identify movements of races with currents of civilisation. The two are sometimes, but not always or necessarily, to be found in connexion.

To resume. We have good reason to believe that Ireland in prehistoric times was, like most of western

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\* Cf. Montelius, 'Les temps préhistoriques en Suède.'

† 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' XXXI, part xiv.

Europe, inhabited by a dark-skinned, dark-haired, long-headed race of Scythian origin, to whom the name Ivernian seems most appropriate. From their original homes about the Caspian they had migrated thither, probably by following the course of the Danube and Elbe, through Scandinavia, in a thin intermittent stream. At first their settlements were confined to the coast, but gradually they pushed their way into the interior through a densely-wooded country. When we first find traces of them they had long since passed beyond the nomadic stage. Though chiefly a pastoral people they were acquainted with the arts of navigation, agriculture, and weaving. They lived together in settled communities, each probably under its own chief or king. They knew how to build houses of stone and earth; and round each group or village they threw up a strong rampart or palisade of stone or earth, as the conditions of the ground dictated. Amongst their domestic animals they counted the cow, the sheep, the goat, the dog, and the horse. Their weapons and household utensils consisted of stone, bone, and bronze, the last of which they brought to a high state of development. They buried their dead as often as not in their own dwellings, and over their heroes or chiefs they raised huge megalithic buildings or tumuli. Their religion took the form of ancestor-worship, and culminated in what we know as Druidism, which probably involved human sacrifices. They worshipped no visible gods made with their own hands, but they believed that the earth and sea were inhabited by good spirits, and that the evil genii dwelt in the air and wind. Finally, they probably possessed some means of communicating their thoughts in writing, of which Ogam is a later development.

As we have remarked, Ireland has always been somewhat behind the rest of Europe; and what we have called greater Iberia had passed away before she felt the shock of a new invasion. When the change came, about 300-200 B.C., it came gradually. The old life went on developing itself, owing to the reception of new elements, into a higher form of civilisation; but, throughout what we are pleased to call Celtic times, the old element subsisted as basis and groundwork of the nation. To the consideration of this change we now turn.

Whether we are entitled to speak of a 'Celtic race' is a question that will be answered in a different sense according as we approach it from the standpoint of history or from that of anthropology. It is indisputable that, after Europe had been to a great extent peopled by a long-headed race, a new race with relatively round heads, broad faces, light chestnut-coloured hair, hazel-grey eyes, of medium height and rather bulky, appeared on the scene. Whether we like to call this new race Celtic, or Celto-Slavic, or Alpine, is a matter of indifference; only we must be careful to distinguish between it and the Celts of history; for it is every day becoming clearer that the view broached by Roget de Belloguet so far back as 1869, to the effect that the Celts of history never at any time formed more than a comparatively small governing class in Europe, is the correct one. It is not our intention to discuss the Celtic question here, except in so far as Ireland is concerned; but, as it is still the custom to talk vaguely but dogmatically of Celts and Aryans, it will be useful to ask how the problem is regarded by scholars on the Continent.

'There is some reason' (say MM. Bertrand and Reinach \*) 'to believe that we are on the right track [i.e. in following de Belloguet]. For not only have the Celts never formed the bulk of the population in Gaul, but they are, in a sense, quite recent arrivals there. When we meet with them on the left bank of the Rhine they are always mixed with earlier peoples.'

In a similar strain Niese writes:—

'We are led to conclude that the Celts of South Germany, Bohemia, Pannonia, and the neighbouring Alpine lands, had established themselves there at as early a period as those on the left bank of the Rhine in Gaul. By what route they arrived there we cannot say with certainty; but it is utterly impossible to believe with Müllenhoff, on the authority of Livy's narrative, that they came thither from the Rhine. On the contrary, it is extremely probable that the movement was in the opposite direction. Müllenhoff and others have convincingly shown that the Celts had not established themselves in South France till after 500 B.C. Only in later times did they succeed in reaching the coast, and there is every reason to

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\* 'Les Celtes dans les vallées du Pô et du Danube' (Paris, 1894).

suppose that the movement was due to pressure of other tribes pushing their way across the Rhine.\*

It is true that de Jubainville has quite recently† developed a theory of a double invasion of the British Isles by the Celts, the first prior to 800 B.C., the second about 300 B.C. The first invasion is a mare's nest. The whole theory rests on a suggestion thrown out by Reinach that 'kassiteros,' found in Homer ('Iliad,' xxiii, 561), meaning tin, is at the same time a Celtic word for Britain, and, but for de Jubainville's deservedly high reputation, would deserve no notice. For our own part we think that the view represented by Niese, which has also the sanction of Bertrand, is the only sound one; and that we are justified in concluding that it was not till about 400 B.C. that the Celts succeeded in establishing themselves along the Atlantic sea-board.

The question now arises, how and from what part of the Continent they managed eventually to reach Ireland. The usual view is that the Irish Celts or Goidels (or Gaels) made their way from the north of France and Belgium across the Channel to Britain, whence they were compelled to move to Ireland owing to the British Celts or Brythons pressing on them from behind. From the side of history as well as from that of philology the view is untenable. Professor Rhys ‡ seems aware of the fact; but he has placed himself in the dilemma of having either to suppose 'that, before the Galli and Belgæ came west, the Celtæ (Goidels) must be regarded as having made themselves masters of the coast from the Rhine to the Seine'—which is a wholly unwarranted assumption, and contrary to his argument—or of having to transport them from the west of France to Ireland by sea, which he regards as impossible. Now, so far as the Celts are concerned, we believe he is perfectly correct in supposing that the Bay of Biscay must have been an insuperable obstacle. For, in contradistinction to the Iberians, the Celts were no sailors; and it is a curious fact that, in Cæsar's time, the only Gallic tribe possessing anything

\* 'Keltische Wanderung' in 'Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum,' vol. 42, p. 151.

† 'Les Celtes'; cf. 'Les premiers habitants de l'Europe.'

‡ 'Celtæ and Galli.' Proc. Brit. Acad., vol. II.

like a fleet were the Veneti, who, there is good reason to believe, were not Celts at all, but Iberians.

But we venture to suggest that there is another way out of the difficulty. Hitherto, in this discussion, we have purposely refrained from referring to Irish legendary history, and, if we refer to it now, it is only to call attention to the fact that in the legends special stress is laid on the north-west corner of the Spanish peninsula as the point of departure, and the south-west corner of Ireland as the point of arrival, of the Milesian invaders. We are inclined to attach great weight to this statement; first, because the historic memory of peoples in an early stage can be trusted to remember roughly what happened three or four hundred years earlier; and secondly, because we believe it accurately expresses what actually occurred.

Describing the course of the river Ister, Herodotus, writing about 400 B.C., says that it took its rise among the Celts in the neighbourhood of the city of Pyrene. Now the Celts, he proceeds (ii, 33), are a people beyond the Pillars of Hercules, bordering on the Cynetes, who dwell farthest west of the inhabitants of Europe. Avienus, in his '*Ora Maritima*,' embodying an earlier account, is even more precise. We have therefore little hesitation in concluding that, about 400 B.C., the Celts had pushed their way westwards across the Pyrenees till they came in contact with a people or tribe called the Cynetes. That these Cynetes were Iberians seems certain; and from the position assigned to them we infer that they occupied that part of the Spanish peninsula whence the sons of Milesius are said to have come. What followed on this impact may be gathered from Diodorus Siculus, who, writing about 20 B.C., says:—

The two nations, Celts and Iberians, heretofore breaking forth into a war about the boundaries of their countries, at length agreed to inhabit together promiscuously, and so marrying one with another, their issue and posterity (they say) afterwards were called Celtiberians. Two potent nations being thus united, and possessed likewise of a rich and fertile country, these Celtiberians became very famous and renowned, so that the Romans had much ado to subdue them after long and tedious wars with them.' (Booth's translation, bk. v, ch. 2.)

In this union of Celt with Iberian, in which the former was so far the dominant element as to impress its language on the whole group, we have got what we take to be the real origin of the legend of the sons of Milesius. Remembering, as Lamprecht has pointed out,\* that genealogy is one of the earliest forms in which history expresses itself, we can easily understand how, in trying to give historical form to the tradition of the invasion of Ireland by a mixed race, the Irish historians should have assigned to Airemon or Heremon (representing the Celtic element) and Emher or Heber (representing the Iberian) a common father, Galamh or Milesius, meaning simply a man of valour.† The presence of Ith in the story evidently points to a pre-Celtiberian, i.e. pure Iberian, period both in Spain and Ireland.

The only difficulty that now confronts us is how to get our Celtiberians from Spain to Ireland. The difficulty was felt by Keating, and all who have touched the subject, to be a serious one. But, if the invasion we have to do with was not pure Celtic, and if, as we have shown,‡ the Iberians were pre-eminently a maritime race, then it cannot be regarded as insuperable. No doubt the voyage was in those days, as long afterwards, a formidable undertaking; and we think we see evidence in the story that it narrowly escaped being an entire failure. But the real difficulty followed the landing. The Iberians were no despicable opponents, as Diodorus lets us see. In the end, however, thanks to their superior weapons and civilisation, the little band of invaders succeeded in making themselves masters of the country. But there was no question of driving out or extirpating the old Iberian population. Though relatively few in number, they were overwhelmingly more numerous than the invaders. The old process of assimilation that had gone on in Spain repeated itself in Ireland. For a time the two elements in the invasion worked together harmoniously, but in the end the Celt got the upper hand. But it was more a victory of civilisation than of race. There was no breach with the past. New elements were added, but the old life went on in a continuous stream. In the

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\* 'Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft.'

† Cf. Rhys, 'Studies in Early Irish History.'

‡ For further evidence cf. de Jubainville 'Les premiers habitants' 1 25.



six hundred years that elapsed between the invasion and the coming of St Patrick, Ireland became a Celtic country so far as its governing class, its language, and its political institutions were concerned ; but the basis of its population remained, as it had been from the first, Iberian.

Cut off, as she has always in large measure been, from the main current of European history, Ireland proceeded to work out her own destiny, undisturbed by foreign influences and the tramp of the Roman legions. We are not indeed to suppose that she was so far isolated as to hear no rumours of what was going on in the great world across the seas. The old channels of communication that connected her with Scandinavia, with Britain, and with the west of Gaul, still remained open ; and there is little doubt that she carried on, even in these early times, a considerable commerce in gold, slaves, and other articles of luxury. Roman coins, dating from the Republic down to Honorius, have been found in different parts of the island ; and it is hardly conceivable that some knowledge of the great change that had come over the world after the formal adoption of Christianity by Constantine should not have reached her. Lying outside the Empire, she was nevertheless in touch with it ; and it would be unreasonable, even if we cannot draw such weighty inferences as some writers have drawn from the mission of Palladius as first bishop 'ad Scotos in Christum credentes,' to doubt that Christianising influences had made themselves felt in Ireland even before Patrick's time. Be this as it may, it was Patrick who first drew Ireland within the circle of the Christian Church of the Empire. We are not going to presume on the reader's patience by commenting at any length on the life of the apostle. An occasional reference to Prof. Bury's scholarly but, for the unwary, perhaps rather dangerous work will suffice. For us Patrick is here chiefly interesting as opening up a new channel of civilisation for Ireland.

At what precise date and by what means Christianity first found access into Gaul is still far from clear. On the whole, however, it seems probable that its introduction was in the main due to Greek and Syrian merchants trading between the East and Marseilles towards the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. As

elsewhere, its progress was at first slow and painful. Even after its recognition by Constantine and the liberty of conscience secured to its professors by the edict of Milan, its influence was for a long time restricted to the cities along the Gulf of Lyons and the valley of the Rhone.\* Gradually, however, and largely through the example of St Martin of Tours, missionary enterprise succeeded in partly dispelling the darkness. From the south the light spread northwards. As the power of the Church grew, its organisation in the fourth century became more perfectly developed. But with security came a certain measure of laxity. Abuses of one sort and another crept in; and a period of decline, accelerated by the inroads of the Barbarians, the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans, commenced. The quiet contemplation of the divine mysteries became impossible; and, in the growing unrest and dissatisfaction with the world at large, the ground was prepared for the reception of monasticism.

Now it is important to bear in mind that, as the Church of Gaul from the beginning looked to Asia Minor and not to Rome as her spiritual mother, so Gaulish monasticism was a direct importation from Egypt, and, as such, entailed practices and doctrines as to the orthodoxy of which the opinion of the Bishop of Rome had neither been asked nor offered. We are compelled to emphasise this point as a protest against the exaggerated importance attached by Prof. Bury to the position and influence of the Church of Rome at the end of the fourth century, and the conclusions he has thence drawn as to the character of St Patrick's mission (pp. 60-66, 169). In saying this we do not mean to deny to the Roman Church, as, in a measure, the representative to the world of the power and dignity and universality of the Roman Empire, an exceptional position in the minds of all Christians. This priority no one in those days would ever have dreamt of denying her. What we mean is that her own views as to her position had not taken definite shape. It was a question, not of authority, but of respect; and we are of opinion that, whatever respect may have been, and actually was, shown to the Roman decretals by the

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\* Cf. Harnack, 'Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums' (Leipzig, 1902).

bishops of Gaul in the fourth century, it was not until after Leo's quarrel with Hilary of Arles, and the sanction given to his decision by the edict of Valentinian III in 445, that the doctrine of the primacy of the Roman see began to acquire any practical value.

However we regard this matter, one thing is certain, viz. that when Patrick, escaping from his captors, took refuge in the newly-founded monastery of Lerins (accepting it as a fact that he did so), Southern Gaul was saturated with oriental theology, customs, and art. As Prof. Strzygowski says: 'So far as art is concerned, Gaul, in the fourth century, may be regarded as a province almost of the Oriental Church.'\* The fact, indeed, is too well established to be questioned for a moment. Standing on Gallic soil, where the Latin language prevailed, with one hand stretched out towards the East and the other towards Ireland, Patrick represents for us the channel through which a new and higher culture found its way to the island of the West.

Holding these views on the subject, we confess that the so-called 'Roman mission' of St Patrick possesses little interest for us. Both Dr Healy and Prof. Bury believe that Patrick visited Rome; but, whereas the former places the visit about 432, before Patrick started on his missionary enterprise, the latter considers it to have occurred in 441, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo the Great, and after he had already been labouring eight years in Ireland. We cannot say that the arguments of the one are more convincing than those of the other. For ourselves, we are quite content to believe that, notwithstanding his longing to visit his native country, and even to go as far as Gaul, to look upon the faces of the brethren there, he held to his resolution not to do so;† and, having once entered on his missionary labours, he never again quitted Ireland. Where there was no motive there could be no necessity; and we insist that the idea of a visit to Rome, either in preparation for, or in confirmation of, his mission, is utterly foreign to the spirit of his times. From beginning to end Rome had nothing to do with Patrick's mission; and the attempt

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\* 'Kleinasien ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte' (Leipzig, 1903).

† 'Confession,' sect. 43.

to prove the contrary is wasted labour. The man who really directed the mission was Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre. Apart from the fact that the evidence points to Auxerre (lying on the great road that connected Marseilles with the north) as the metropolis of the Celtic Church generally, it was at the feet of Germanus that Patrick had studied; it was Germanus who crushed Pelagianism in Britain; it was he who probably arranged the mission of Palladius; and it was he who consecrated Patrick and set him on his way to Ireland. Eight years later, when news of the success of the mission reached Rome, Pope Leo conferred his benediction on it — 'et probatus est in fide catolica Patricius episcopus.'

Coming to Ireland, Patrick brought with him the only form of Christianity with which he was acquainted, viz. that of the Church of Gaul. But he brought with him also a fiery zeal to preach Christ and Him crucified. First and foremost he was a missionary, not a theologian, not even an ecclesiastical organiser. Uncultured and unlearned, as he calls himself (and with reason), he had long mistrusted his ability to answer the call which he felt to be addressed to him. Friends, fearing the perils of the undertaking, had tried hard to dissuade him; enemies, grudging him the honour, had laid obstacles in his way. But, in the end, the grace of God prevailed; and he went, as he says, 'to preach the Gospel to the Irish tribes and to bear the insults of the unbelievers,' ready, if he should be found worthy, to lay down his life for Christ, but desirous rather to spend it in His service. Prof. Bury, whose belief in the 'Roman mission' (though he nowhere, we think, calls it such) leads him to conclude apparently that Patrick must have come to Ireland with his wallet full of the latest Roman fashions, is somewhat at a loss to account for the eccentric position occupied by the Irish Church in the sixth and seventh centuries, and suggests a relapse into a sort of pre-Patrician Christianity after Patrick's death (pp. 183, 215). This, we venture to say, is rather a substantial structure to raise on such a slight foundation as is afforded by the probable existence of Christian communities in Ireland before Patrick's arrival. Anyhow, the argument would have carried more weight if the 'relapse' had been restricted to the south, to which part it is generally agreed that these

communities were confined, whereas it was the north that offered the most stubborn resistance to romanising ideas in the seventh century.

The task that Patrick had undertaken was not a light one. Years passed away, and no information of his whereabouts seems to have reached his friends in Gaul. Perhaps it was this uncertainty, and the anxiety to know what had become of him, that led to the sending of Iserninus and Auxilius in 439; perhaps also it was his favourite pupil, Sachellus, who was the bearer of the glad news of his safety. In any case it was only about 440 that any definite report of the success of his mission reached the Continent. A year or so later Pope Leo, as we have seen, formally expressed his approbation of the mission; two years later still an Ulster annalist noted that Patrick was preaching the Gospel successfully in his province.

The way had been opened. Ireland, hitherto lying in heathen darkness, had been brought into communion with the Christian world. Slowly but surely the seed he had been at such pains to sow took root and ripened into a rich harvest. Patrick passed away; but there were others ready to take his place. As the wave of barbarian invasion, carrying destruction and desolation in its track, spread westwards over Europe, the intercourse between Gaul and Ireland, following the direct route from the mouth of the Loire to Wexford, became closer and more frequent. Crowds of fugitive monks, scholars, and artists, fleeing before the invading Frank, sought refuge in the only corner of the West that offered them a safe asylum. Soon even this refuge was denied them. Roman Britain, which had long been exposed to the attacks of the Saxon marauders, at last succumbed to them. The narrow seas swarmed with their galleys, cutting off Britain from all communication with Europe for more than a century. Ireland, sharing her fate in this respect, was happier in being spared the horrors of an invasion. The storm that was shaking Europe left her undisturbed; and, while Britain was being forcibly transformed into England, Ireland enjoyed a tranquillity unknown to the remainder of the Western world.

When an Irishman waxes eloquent over his own country, it is to Ireland, from the sixth to the ninth

century, that he points in justification. And rightly so. It is the golden period of the Irish Church, of Irish art, and Irish literature; the period in which Ireland made good her claim to the proud title of the Island of the Saints. Hitherto left behind in the race of civilisation, she became for a time the one luminous spot in a world of darkness. This she owed, not to her own resources, but to the skill and learning that had come from Gaul.

In saying this we do not wish to depreciate the skill and learning of Irish artists and scholars. On the contrary, notwithstanding all the praise lavished on them, we think the real merits of the Irish in this respect are not yet fully appreciated. What we are trying to do is simply to account for the fact that when, in the time of Gregory the Great, the wall of Saxon and Frankish heathenism began to break down, and the missionaries of Rome succeeded in pushing their way into England and Gaul, they were surprised at being confronted with a culture and an ecclesiastical organisation wholly strange to them, and in some respects, notably in the knowledge of Greek, higher than their own. The Irish were apt scholars, intelligent and enthusiastic; but it is ridiculous to suppose that a people just emerging from a state of semi-barbarism could of its own unaided efforts have produced such a masterpiece of art as the 'Book of Kells,' or have made itself master of all the learning of the civilised world. We take it to be indisputable that the origin of Irish art (of what is called 'late Celtic,' or *opus hibernicum*) is as unmistakably Gaulish as that of Irish Christianity; and that, just as the latter was due to the direct influence of the Church of Gaul, so the former is directly attributable to Gaulish exiles fleeing before the Frankish invader.

As we have said, the Irish were apt pupils. Their love of learning was intense. Wherever they could find a master, thither they flocked together by hundreds. Content with the flimsiest protection against the inclemency of the weather, they were daunted by no obstacles in the pursuit of learning. Gradually the fame of their schools spread to the neighbouring island and brought a fresh access of students. From Iona the light

spread to Northumbria, to Scandinavia,\* and, at a somewhat later date, even to Iceland.

We have now come to the parting of the ways. From the beginning of the seventh century, though art and learning are still largely the handmaidens of the Church, Christianity and civilisation cease to be synonymous terms. The Rome of Gregory differed widely from the Rome of pre-Leonine times. What to Leo himself had been little better than an ideal was to Gregory in large measure a reality.† The respect which had been shown to Celestine, as metropolitan of the first Church of the West, and the representative of the mighty traditions of the past, had changed to obedience. Rome had learned to command; and the command went forth that there was to be an end of the eccentric position of the Irish Church. The struggle was a fierce and protracted one; and it was not till the twelfth century that conformity in all respects was established. While the struggle was at its fiercest, scores of Irish missionaries—SS. Columbanus, Gall, Cataldus, Fridolin, Colman, Kilian, and a host of others—quitted their country to preach the gospel in the darkest corners of the Continent. But it is not with their efforts, nor with those of Rome, that we are here directly concerned. We would rather call attention to the fact that, after communication had been re-established with the Continent, a fresh stream of civilising influence began to affect Ireland. In other words, at the time when Ireland was giving of her best, she was receiving fresh elements of strength from abroad.

Let the reader consider for a moment the secular learning of Dicuil, the geographer, and Scotus Erigena, the existence of cenobitic establishments in the islands of the West, the character and ornamentation of the 'Book of MacDurnan,' the Ardagh chalice, the cross of Cong, the high cross of Monasterboice, finally, the architectural style of the remains of Cormac's chapel on the Rock of Cashel; and then let him ask himself what it all means, and how it all came to be found in Ireland at

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\* Cf. Montelius, 'Die älteren Kulturperioden,' where the presence of the *opus hibernicum* in Sweden is referred to the third age of iron, i.e. from the beginning of the fifth to the commencement of the eighth century.

† Cf. Gregorovius, 'Geschichte der Stadt Rom,' ii, ch. 3.

a time when literature, art, and science had almost disappeared in Europe. The eastern origin of the beehive cells and the round towers has long been a recognised fact; art critics have referred the illustrations of the 'Book of Kells' and the 'Book of MacDurnan' and the ornamentation of the cross of Cong to Byzantine influences; and architects have dubbed Cormac's chapel Irish-Romanesque. What we wish to point out is that all these things—the learning of Scotus, the illuminations of the 'Book of MacDurnan,' the ornamentation of the cross of Cong, and the architecture of Cormac's chapel—are as clearly traceable to the East, viz. to Syria and Asia Minor, as the beehive cells in the Isle of Aran or the round tower of Clondalkin. The whole forms part of a much wider movement, which it is here only possible to hint at. But it is interesting to find in Ireland a confirmation of those views as to the development of art and architecture in western Europe of which Prof. Strzygowski is the most eminent exponent.

'We have' (he says) 'to learn to regard as the real sources of so-called Romanesque art neither Roman nor, as it was originally called, and as many will still have it, Byzantine art, but the foundations of both, viz. the Hellenistic art of the Mediterranean area, and secondly, the vigorous impulse given by the Orient to Christianity. . . . Bréhier has shown how, in the first eight centuries, the West was overflowed by Orientals, including Armenians; and how, next to merchants and monks, artists were the chief propagators of the movement; . . . and I am pretty certain that Scheffer-Boichorst is very much mistaken when he supposes that the lively influx of Syrians underwent a diminution in consequence of the conquest of Syria by the Arabs. On the contrary, it was perhaps in the first centuries after this event that just the best Christian element emigrated to the Frankish Empire, *as to other seats of Christian culture.*' ('Der Dom zu Aachen,' pp. 6, 42, 52.)

We have italicised the concluding words because we believe that it is just on these lines that we have to look for an explanation of those characteristics of Irish civilisation to which we have above referred. Attention has often been drawn to the Litany of Aengus the Culdee, written about 800 A.D., as furnishing direct and indisputable evidence of the presence in Ireland of crowds of Orientals, including seven Egyptian monks buried at



Disert Ulidh. We recall Ussher's astonishment at discovering that the Irish monk and geometer, Vergil (Fergil), afterwards first Bishop of Salzburg, was accompanied thither from Ireland by a Greek. But we need use only the evidence of our own eyes to convince us that Ireland, from the seventh to the ninth century, and perhaps even later, was saturated with eastern learning and art. We shudder, remembering to what accidents we owe the preservation of such costly treasures as the Tara brooch, the Ardagh chalice, the cross of Cong, the 'Book of Kells,' and Cormac's chapel, to think how many beautiful works of art have perished through time, mischance, and the hand of the barbarian. But enough remains to show us that, if we are ever to appreciate the real significance of the golden age of Irish civilisation, we have to go, not to Rome or even Constantinople, but to Asia Minor, to Syria and Egypt. We repeat that we are far from wishing to disparage the learning and skill of Irish scholars and artists. They were excellent pupils. How successfully they could copy, the cross of Cong shows us; but they invented nothing themselves. An exotic plant from the beginning, the stream that nourished it no sooner began to dry up than Irish civilisation and culture drooped and died.

From what we have said it will be understood that we do not regard the Danish invasions as directly responsible for the decay of learning and art in Ireland. Indeed, with the cross of Cong (1123) and Cormac's chapel (dedicated in 1134), we have long passed beyond the Danish period. On the contrary, we think it can be shown that in some respects the Danish invasions tended to promote the cause of Irish civilisation. We do not allude to the fact that the round towers owe their origin to the necessity under which Irish ecclesiastics lay of providing a place of shelter for themselves and their treasures against the marauding Danes—and we may add, against the attacks of hostile native tribes; and that an impulse was thereby given to the art of building in stone and to the transition from wooden to stone churches—but rather to the political influence exerted by the Danes after they had effected a settlement in the island, as furnishing a chance of substituting the idea of national unity for the narrower one of the tribe.

We have said that Ireland has fully justified her claim to the title of 'Island of the Saints'; but this is far from saying that Ireland was what we should call a Christian country. Indeed we have every reason to believe that the progress of Christianity was extremely slow and erratic. This was a natural consequence of the tribal system and the absence of any central authority. In religion, as in other matters, each chief did as seemed good in his own eyes; with the result that, while undisturbed by foreign invasions, Ireland was seldom at peace within her own borders. Father D'Alton, whose merits as a historical student compel us to regret his having undertaken such a thankless and superfluous work as a history of Ireland in more than one volume, gives himself no illusions on the subject

'Untroubled' (he writes) 'by either Frank or Saxon, Ireland was allowed to pursue its destiny in peace; and yet it is only the truth to say that, from the sixth to the ninth century, its record was one of turbulence and blood. A crowd of chieftains or petty kings, careless of the national welfare and intent only on preserving the lawless independence of their clans, were for ever contending with each other. In the Brehon Law it is stated that he is no king who has not hostages; and these were usually had by war. The more of these hostages a king or a chief had, the greater was he acknowledged to be; he regarded their number with as much complacency as the Red Indian regarded the number of scalps that hung at his belt. . . . Of the twelve kings who ruled in the sixth century, all but two were murdered or fell in battle, and their successors in the two following centuries were pursued with similar misfortune' (p. 73).

And yet, we repeat, this was the golden age of the Irish Church and of Irish culture—the age when Ireland was flooding Europe with her saints and scholars and producing works of art which are our astonishment to-day. All that it proves is that a high state of culture is compatible with intestine disturbance. But we must not exaggerate either the one or the other. The culture we have spoken of was the possession only of the few, and left the bulk of the people untouched; while, so far as internal dissension went, the Irish were no worse than their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. At the same time it shows that we must not regard the Danish invasions as

a merely destructive element. England was exposed to them just as much as Ireland; and yet England emerged a united nation, whereas Ireland remained what she had always been, a mere congeries of warring tribes. It was external pressure that moulded England into one homogeneous whole. But in her West-Saxon sovereigns, from Egberht to Eadred, she possessed for a century and a half a race of rulers such as it was never Ireland's good fortune to have. Herein lay the difference, and not in any supposed racial superiority. At Clontarf, Brian Boromhe destroyed the Danish power more effectually than ever it was destroyed in England. But he died in the hour of victory, and there was no one to continue the work he had begun. The danger past, Ireland fell back into her old distracted state. The opportunity of building up a strong homogeneous kingdom under one powerful native sovereign was lost; and it never recurred.

But the Danes left their mark on the country. To them Ireland owes the beginnings of its municipal life. Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick trace their origin to the pirates of the north. Still, their influence never spread to the country at large; and, when the Anglo-Normans came, Ireland fell an easy prey. Unfortunately it was not with a united country that the new invaders had to deal. On the one side there was no resistance worth speaking of; on the other, no conquest complete and final, as that of England had been. The invaders were simply absorbed by the invaded, to become in time more Irish than the Irish themselves. But there is no question that, where they settled, they introduced the elements of a more perfectly developed civilisation. As we have said, Irish learning and art survived almost into Anglo-Norman times, but they were dying of inanition. Further development on the old lines was impossible. It was political organisation that Ireland lacked. The pity was that the invaders were not strong enough everywhere to enforce their political ideas on the mass of the people. Where they did so, there a young and vigorous civilisation sprang up, to which justice has never been fully done.

ROBERT DUNLOP.

## Art. V.—NORTHUMBERLAND.

*A History of Northumberland.* Issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee. Vols I-VII. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Reid, 1893-1904.

It is a real delight to meet with a book conceived on the scale and carried out with the leisurely care of this history of Northumberland. Industrialism, luxury, and the growth of population are rapidly wiping out the traces of the past in our country. It is a matter of pressing importance that the local historian and archæologist should diligently record what remains, as well as do his utmost to stay the hand of the destroyer.

In no other part of England can the history of the past be so well read on the face of the country as in Northumberland. Few other counties have won, as it has done, the love of those who dwell in it. As its history carries us back to the sources of our civilisation, so do the character of its people, the subtle charm of its wild scenery, the life-giving freshness of its sweeping winds, seem to carry us back to the realities of things, to the consideration of the real forces of nature, of the real power of man. But Northumberland has waited long for its complete county history. The present great work is a continuation, not a beginning; it only carries on the undertaking begun by John Hodgson, of whose history of Northumberland it has been said that, 'for excellence of design and completeness of execution, it is a model of what a county history should be.'

John Hodgson was not himself a Northumbrian. Born in 1779, he was the son of a stone-mason in Westmoreland. The grammar-school at Brampton made it possible even for a stone-mason's son to obtain that good education which the northern working-folk were keen to secure for at least one member of a family. But there was no means of sending young Hodgson to the university; and at the age of twenty he had to begin to earn his livelihood as a village schoolmaster. A few years afterwards, he refused a tempting offer to enter a business career, saying that he wished 'to pursue a literary rather than a mercantile life'; and, finally, he took orders. In his first parish at Lanchester, near Durham, a fine Roman camp

kindled in him an enthusiasm for the study of Roman antiquities. His historical sense was still further gratified when, on being presented to the living of Jarrow, he could feel that he was building on foundations laid by Benedict Biscop and Bede. He seized opportunities to travel about Northumberland and to write on what he observed, and in 1813 he aided in the foundation of a Society of Antiquaries in Newcastle. Slowly there grew up in his mind the thought of the great work of his life, the history of Northumberland. In 1817 he announced his plans and asked for subscribers to his book.

He proposed to divide the history into three parts: the first to consist of a general history of the county, the second of topography and local antiquities arranged under parishes, the third of a collection of records and illustrative documents. He began with the publication of documents, 'ancient records and historical papers,' thus laying a sure foundation for his later work. In his preface he writes: 'That the contents of this volume in their present form are of a dry and unamusing kind is readily admitted. But, while they fail to entertain, I expect they will be considered as free from the attribute of offending.' He is confident that, by the inferences he will be able to draw from them, he will 'rescue them from the character of dullness.' He goes on to speak of the 'magnitude of his undertaking, pursued, not under the influences of ease and uninterrupted leisure, but under the laborious avocations of a minister in a very extensive and populous parish, and of a father and tutor in a numerous family.' He did not spare himself in his efforts to make his book complete, and with his own hands he cut facsimiles of seals and vignettes in wood to illustrate it.

A gift of 200*l.* from Dr Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, made the continuance of his work possible. But it grew before him; and, when he issued the second volume, he stated that experience had shown him the impossibility of completing it within the limits he had set himself. He realised that he could hope for no remuneration for his own labours in the prosecution of such a work, but he was content to go on if he could get sufficient patronage and not suffer loss. He justified the detailed nature of his work by saying, with profound truth, 'How much of the elements of geography, of

statistics, of the general and natural history of a country, and especially of the real history of the human race . . . is to be found in parochial history.' But he spoke with the utmost humility of his task, saying that he knew that that species of literature to which he has devoted his attention could not 'be ranked high in the scale of letters.' Yet no man discerned better the real value of such work. He wrote in his preface:—

'What man is there who, when he hears the place of his birth and the hills and lands of his forefathers made the subjects of these various histories and enquiries, does not glory in them and feel a love and veneration for them far above aught that the dull and incurious people can imagine, who have no such recitals about the places in which they were born or the fields that nurtured them? What is it but this rational and virtuous pride for one's country, which is the flame and soul of patriotism.'

A delay in the appearance of the third volume is explained by the fact that 'his leisure hours were wholly occupied in procuring means for rebuilding the chapel of Heworth, and in seeing it carried out.' In 1823 Bishop Barrington gave him the county living of Kirk Whelpington, in the centre of Northumberland; and later he was appointed to the parish of Hartburn, where he received a better income, which gave him more facilities for proceeding with his work. In the preface to the volume published in 1827 he says that 'few days during the past seven years have passed by without finding me engaged in some research connected with the subject of this work'; but he owns that

'the thirst for collecting materials for works of this kind is often stronger than the resolution to begin to put them into proper historical form. . . . The antiquary often digs up more of the crude ore of the history of former ages in the zeal of early life, than the study and contemplation of riper years . . . can fuse and form into useful or ornamental or curious literature.'

It is not surprising that when, after several years of suffering, he died in 1845, he should have left his great book unfinished. The work had been a constant source of joy to him, and he had been much cheered by the help

alike in money, sympathy, and literary assistance, given him by many friends and fellow-students. But, though his task was a labour of love, the growing sense of its magnitude was sometimes almost overwhelming. Such a work, he wrote, should be undertaken by some one rich and childless. 'I rise to this labour every morning with increasing desire to complete it. It keeps in delightful employment a mind that finds it as impossible to be idle as to be soured by disappointment or insensible to encouragement.' He left behind him a hundred manuscript volumes of documents and other material for the completion of the history.

A book such as his could not be expected to have a wide or immediate success. But other antiquaries and historians recognised its value and were inspired by it to further work. The Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne commissioned Mr John Hodgson-Hinde to write the volume containing a general history of the county, which Hodgson had projected but never composed. This appeared in 1858; but the parochial history remained unfinished. Dr J. C. Bruce and Mr John Clayton did important work on the history of the Roman Wall; and others, too numerous to be mentioned, worked at local histories and points of detail, till, in the minds of those who had loved their county, a scheme was formed to complete 'that great history of Northumberland, monumental alike in its conception and execution, which Mr Hodgson was unable to finish in his lifetime.' Under the guidance of Dr Thomas Hodgkin, the distinguished historian, long a resident in Northumberland, and a lover if not a native of the county, a committee was formed for this purpose in 1890. Liberal help, both in money and work, has been forthcoming; and Hodgson's grandson has entrusted to the committee all the material which he had accumulated.

The first volume of the new history appeared in 1893. The idea was to complete, if possible, in twelve volumes, the parochial history, 'to be supplemented at some future time, if practicable, by a volume in which the fruits of minute research will be summarised and tabulated.' But the committee seem likely to find, as Mr Hodgson did, that they will not be able to complete their undertaking within the limits which they have set themselves. Seven

volumes have now appeared; and much of the county still remains to be treated. Three different editors have in turn undertaken the volumes which have already been published; and the majority of the committee have helped in one way or another, some by much active work, in their production. It is inevitable that a book composed in this way should lack the individual note which gives a special charm to Hodgson's volumes. On the other hand, it stands as a noble monument of the patriotism of a band of men all distinguished, in various ways, for services to their county.

It was in 1895 that the last living link between the original work of Hodgson and the present history disappeared. The death of Mr William Woodman of Morpeth is mentioned in the third volume of the new issue; sixty years earlier, in the preface to his second volume, Hodgson had spoken of the help received from Mr Woodman. During all this period Mr Woodman, a devoted antiquary and, through his position as a solicitor, intimately acquainted with the history of many Northumbrian families, had accumulated material illustrative of the history of his county. Time had failed him to make use of this material. When an old man he made acquaintance with Dr Creighton, and hoped that his collections might be used by him. Dr Creighton wrote to a friend from Embleton vicarage in 1884:—

'An old solicitor, aged eighty-one, puts his papers of a life-time into my hands. If I don't use them, they will be lost. Though I can only use them inadequately, yet I may kindle others to investigate what will soon be past investigation.'

Dr Creighton's own investigations fired him with a desire to write a history of the Border, a work which he hoped to undertake when his 'History of the Papacy' was finished. When circumstances made this impossible, he lent his aid, as well as Mr Woodman's materials, to the committee which is producing the present history.

The work itself, and the way in which its production has been assisted and supported, form a strong testimony to the fascination which Northumberland exercises over those who know it. It would be going too far to say that a book of this kind can do much, if anything, to reveal the secret of that fascination. We hope that it may enter



into the plans of the committee to issue, not only a final volume, in which 'the fruits of minute research will be summarised and tabulated,' but also to entrust to some historian, able to make his subject live, the writing of a volume which may make known to the general reader the historical significance of the records here brought together. A county history is bound to be a mine from which the student may extract the material he needs, rather than a book for the reader to enjoy. But we ask ourselves whether, in a work which is allowed to wander on with such a delightful sense of space and leisure, a little more room for points of human interest might not have been found. We welcome the rare extracts from Archdeacon Singleton's minute-book, with his shrewd remarks on the clergy and the condition of their parishes in 1828. We do not know whether it is done purposely, but it seems a pity that no attempt should be made to explain the origin of many of the quaint names of townships that survive in Northumberland, such as Spindleston, Glowrurum, Blowearie, Canada, etc. We hope also that in some future volume the interesting questions connected with land tenure that are illustrated by the history and records of Northumberland may be taken up. Dr Creighton wrote in 1884:—

'I think that I am on the track of discovering survivals up to the beginning of the century in Northumberland of *free* village communities, scarcely touched by the manorial system.'

The material collected for this history should make it easy to investigate this and other kindred points.

It may be truly said that there is little in the history of the growth of our civilisation upon which light may not be thrown by a study of Northumberland. We are carried far back into the mysterious past by the strange markings of the inscribed stones which lie strewn amongst the heather upon many of the high and desolate moors. These rude incisions, strange groupings of concentric circles, made by stone implements upon sandstone rocks, have been explained in various ways. One thing only is certain, that they carry us back before the days of bronze, far back before the coming of the Celts, as do also some of the barrows and hut circles on the moors. History speaks more clearly in the British camps, which show how

the sturdy tribes of the north resisted the coming of the Roman, whose rule meant to them forced conscription and the tax-gatherer. We find their traces on the hill-tops, so situated that signals could be seen from one camp to another; and on the hills facing them may be found remains of the camps of the invading Romans.

But mightiest of all the silent teachers of history that our land possesses is that great monument both of the power of Rome and of the resource and courage of the peoples she wished to subdue—the stupendous wall which, with its vallum, its fosse, its camps, its castles, its sentry-boxes, formed one continuous line of guarded and patrolled fortifications from the Tyne to the Solway. The description of the remains of the Roman Wall is contained in the last of Hodgson's volumes. He seemed to have clearly established the claim of Hadrian to be considered the builder of the wall, a view in which Dr Bruce and Mr Clayton agreed. Later scholars have come to doubt this conclusion, but have, as a rule, abstained from starting any definite theory in its place. The interest of the wall and the lessons it teaches do not, however, depend upon the name of its builder. Time has not been able to efface these lessons, even though for centuries the wall has been used as a quarry by the dwellers in its neighbourhood. Stones which bear the mark of the Roman chisel are built into the walls of farmhouses and barns; many more have been broken up to mend the roads. Still, enough remains to show us the nature of the fortification and the way in which the garrison, computed by Dr Bruce at over ten thousand men, lived along its line. Then, all across the now desolate moors, the whole extent of seventy-three miles was patrolled day and night by sentinels. Should an attack be threatened at any point, they could in a moment pass along the signal to the larger bodies of men gathered in the mile castles, and from thence, if necessary, to one of the stations or permanent fortified camps.

In those days, the district which surrounded the wall and was intersected by the great roads which marked everywhere the advance of the Roman armies, must have been busy with the coming and going of the traders needed to supply the wants of a large army. Now, except at the two ends, the line of the wall passes through a very thinly populated region. The most complete remains are

to be found where the wall skirts a basalt ridge near the Northumbrian lakes, between Chesters and Gilsland. At present only a lonely farmhouse here and there breaks the solitude; and sheep graze on the grassy moor once occupied with the busy life of a Roman station. The most solitary of the stations on the wall, Borcovicus, is, in consequence, the most perfect. The opposite hill is dotted with the remains of the comfortable villas built for the chief officers of the garrison. In the splendid museum at Chesters, which contains the antiquities so indefatigably collected by Mr Clayton, as well as in the British Museum, in the museums at Carlisle and Newcastle and elsewhere, and in the collections of the Duke of Northumberland and others, we can study the manner of life of the Roman dwellers in the north. The ornaments, the utensils, the sculptures, the plans of the buildings which have been discovered, show that cultivated men and women tried, in this cold and desolate region, to make homes for themselves which might remind them of the civilisation they had left behind. From the days when the Romans, sore pressed at home, were forced to give up this distant outpost, the line of the wall has lain desolate. Even the military road running along by its southern flank was destroyed; and for centuries nothing took its place. In 1745 General Wade, owing to the bad state of the roads, could not drag his guns from Hexham to Carlisle to aid in the defence of the city against the Pretender. He determined to prevent the recurrence of such difficulties, and ordered a road to be made between Newcastle and Carlisle. This was the first attempt to restore in some faint degree the civilised conditions which had prevailed under Roman rule.

Once again, after the days of the Romans, Northumberland may be said to have been the most important centre of government in England. The first volume of the new issue of the history tells us the story of that great building, which must rank second in importance in the county to the Roman Wall, the Castle of Bamborough. The coast of Northumberland is fringed with sandhills, held together in some places by the bent grass, grey against the blue sea, and in others, where rock has mingled with the sand, carpeted with soft grass and flowers. But here and there along the coast the basalt,

the presence of which at intervals all over the county is one of its most striking geological features, crops out. Sometimes it appears as a great cliff or point of rock running out into the sea ; sometimes as a 'heugh,' as the long ridges of rock are called, which, sloping on the sea side, drop down suddenly far inland in a perpendicular cliff ; sometimes in loose masses of rock strewn upon the shore, as if they had been poured forth molten from the cauldron of a volcano. At Bamborough a solitary cliff, its perpendicular side facing inland, rises suddenly in a wide stretch of sand. It is a site which seems to compel a castle ; and here in 547 Ida, king of the scattered tribes of the Angles who, after years spent in plundering, were being transformed into permanent settlers, planted his standard and enclosed his settlement first with a hedge and afterwards with a wall. All along the coast and up the river valleys the 'tons' and the 'hams' in the name-terminations mark the completeness of the English conquest. No part of England is more truly English than Northumberland. Untouched in later years by the invasions of the Danes, who settled in Durham and Yorkshire, too remote to be much influenced by the Normans, the Northumbrians are for the most part pure Angles ; and their dialect is one of the purest and richest forms of the English tongue.

The stronghold of the Northumbrian kings, the greatest rulers of their day in England, was called Bebbanburh or Bamborough, after Bebba, Queen of Ethelfrith, Ida's grandson. It was the royal city, a centre of beneficent influence for the north. As we look out from the castle rock, we are reminded on every side of the old greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom. To the north the sands of Budle Bay, the haunt of the curlew and the plover and of countless sea-birds, stretch out towards the flat sandy reach of Lindisfarne or Holy Island, where Aidan, summoned from Iona by Oswald to teach his people, set up his bishop's stool. Straight in front, purple-black amongst the waves, lie the scattered Farne Islands, where St Cuthbert, wearied with his labours, sought peace for his soul. We do not wonder when we see the rocky sides of the islands, densely covered with the myriads of sea-birds that gather there to breed, and our ears are deafened with their dis-

cordant cries, that the fancy of the time peopled the islands with evil spirits, and that St Cuthbert found it hard to save the crops which he tried to raise. The legend tells us that he remonstrated with the birds for the damage that they wrought, after which they flew away and never returned to pilfer. To the west of the castle of Bamborough, beyond the tiny village, lies the church called by St Aidan's name, and probably founded by him. The existing church, built in the twelfth century, is one of the largest and finest in the county. Besides the castle and the church and a few bits of old wall built into farm-buildings here and there, nothing remains to tell of the former importance of Bamborough.

Bamborough remained a royal castle even after the Norman conquest, when the glorious days of the northern kingdom were followed by a long agony. The Northumbrian desire for independence was punished by the terrible harrying of William I; and the land from the Humber to the Tees was laid waste. The mighty Norman keep which frowns so strangely down on the encircling railways of the modern Newcastle, speaks of the determination of the Norman kings to make their power felt in the north. The desolation of the county consequent on William's harrying is probably one of the reasons why it was not included in the Domesday survey—a fact which adds to the difficulty of investigating its early conditions. Wide lands were granted to Norman barons; and the Vesci, lords of Alnwick, founded a second Norman town round the walls of their castle on the Aln.

With the Norman barons came the monastic orders; and they at least did something for the well-being of the people. They found sheltered and fertile sites for their houses in the deep, wooded valleys, through which the little rivers of Northumberland make their way from the moors to the sea. Few things are more unexpected in Northumbrian scenery than these river valleys. The open undulating county of field or moor seems to stretch away unbroken and almost treeless to the blue line of the Cheviots and the high moors. But suddenly we may come upon a deep gorge, its sides covered with fine trees and rich undergrowth, at the bottom of which the brown waters of a peaty stream sing amongst the stones. In such spots as these the Carmelites, the Black and White

Friars, and other orders, found shelter not only from the wild northern winds, but even, so safely were they hidden amongst the trees, from the devastating bands of the Scottish raiders. Of Blanchland Abbey, in its beautiful seclusion on the Derwent, little is left; but the grey ruins of Hulne Abbey in Alnwick Park, and the beautiful abbey church of Brinkburn on the Coquet, as well as the noble ruins of Tynemouth and the abbey on Holy Island, remain to show that here, too, the skill of the monastic builder did not fail. Finest of all, the great abbey which the Augustinian canons raised on the site of Wilfrid's church still dominates the little town of Hexham. Of the many chapels built to serve the needs of the scattered population, few traces remain; but the fact that they existed shows that something must have been done for the comfort and the teaching of the people.

Clergy and people alike were in constant danger from the raids of the Scots. Again and again the old records tell us of parishes devastated and utterly destroyed, or laid waste with fire and sword. These raids led to the erection of the strong towers called 'peels,' which form one of the most interesting features of the Border. No certain explanation can be given of the name 'peel,' but it seems likely that it has the same origin as 'pile.' The peel was a tower sufficiently strong to afford shelter from a passing raid. When the signal was passed on from one watcher to another, the men with their cattle and their few possessions of value had the right to take refuge within the walls of the neighbouring peel. The peel-towers or their ruins are scattered all over the face of the county, and are as a rule fine masses of well-built masonry. Sometimes, as at Rothbury and Embleton, they form part of the vicarage house; sometimes, as at Longhoughton and Bywell, they serve as towers to the parish church. In other cases they are built into farm or manor-house, or are left standing as solitary ruins.

The inhabitants of the parish of Bamborough had the right to store their goods for safety within the walls of the castle, and would at times carry there even the beams of their houses, an interesting testimony to the scarcity of wood in a country which was always being burnt and harried. The lord who held the castle for the king was apt to charge exorbitant fees for this shelter;

and the people had, moreover, to pay a second time to the porters and servants for permission to take their goods out again. There were times when the raids of the Scots made it absolutely unsafe for any one to live outside the castle walls. So, even though Bamborough was a royal castle, visited once or twice at least by kings and queens, and though the town of Bamborough received charters and privileges, and in 1295 was one of the three places in Northumberland bidden to send two members to Edward I's model parliament, it is not wonderful that its population was never large. In the thirteenth century probably about two hundred people were living within the borough boundaries.

As we look southwards from the rock of Bamborough, the jagged towers of the lonely ruin of Dunstanborough can be seen rising above the black line of its basalt cliff. Probably from prehistoric times this strange cliff, with its sweeping line of basalt columns dropping straight into the sea, had been fortified; but we hear of no Norman castle there. As part of the barony of Embleton, it came by exchange for some lands in the south into the hands of Simon de Montfort, and after him passed to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. Thomas of Lancaster planned a mighty castle there; but, before it could be finished and used as he intended, as a strong place in his rebellion against Edward II, he was executed at Pontefract, and Dunstanborough became a royal castle. Later it passed to John of Gaunt, who took a personal interest in its fortification; and then, with the duchy of Lancaster, it became a royal possession at the accession of Henry IV. So it was that, in their struggle with the house of York, the Lancastrians hoped to find many friends to help them in this district. Margaret of Anjou held the three castles of Bamborough, Dunstanborough, and Alnwick; and many stories, some true and some, no doubt, legendary, are told of her adventures in Northumberland.

The greatness of the two castles by the sea perished with the cause of Henry VI. Dunstanborough, held first by one side, then by the other, had to suffer many sieges. For some years after the conclusion of peace, constables were still appointed for it; but, when it was no longer needed as a fortress, it quickly fell into decay. Wolsey gave permission that the lead from Dunstan-

borough castle should be taken to repair the roof of the donjon at Wark; and in a report to Henry VIII in 1538 it was described as 'a very ruinous house and of small strength.' But its stones and its timbers, as well as the lead on its roof, were still of value; and these seem to have been used as a quarry for buildings in the neighbourhood. It is a striking testimony to the wonderful strength of the masonry erected by Thomas of Lancaster that the great gatehouse and the fine tower on the northern side of the castle, together with much of the curtain wall, should still be standing.

The great days of Dunstanborough castle were few and troubled, but the loneliness of its site has gifted it with an immortal beauty. No road leads to it, and the only approach is by a track over the links from Embleton, or along the fields above the rock-bound coast between the castle and the tiny fishing village of Craster. It lies on a peninsula of rock stretching out into the sea, whose waves break with vain force upon the hard surface of the basalt. Ten acres of grass are enclosed within the castle walls, and here a few sheep graze; but otherwise all is desolation. There are days when the sea under the north-east wind rivals the Mediterranean in the brilliancy of its blues, and the sun shining on the basalt brings out strange tints of purple and red, whilst the greys of the weather-beaten walls and towers are soft and warm against the clear sky, and the cliffs are gay with the sea-pinks. But it is perhaps when the north-west wind is sweeping up the clouds, and cliff and rocks are black against the silver sea, with its soft sudden gleams under the driving clouds, and the waves dash themselves with a great roar in mountains of white foam upon the rocks, that the peculiar fascination of Dunstanborough makes itself most truly felt. Turner and many other artists have painted it; but its secret is still its own, revealed only to the patient love of those who watch it in all its moods. We must earnestly hope that those into whose hands the possession of this unique spot has passed, as part of a great landed estate, will realise their responsibility to preserve unharmed and undesecrated one of the most splendid heritages of the past.

Bamborough, beautiful as it must always be, would perhaps have had still greater charm had it shared the



desolation of Dunstanborough. It had been besieged by Warwick and shot at by the king's great guns till 'the stones of the wall flew into the sea.' Small wonder that in 1538 the constable wrote that the castle 'is sore in ruine and in such decaye that in all the sayd chastell there is neyther lodgyng for man or horse.' In spite of repeated suggestions and even orders for restoration, nothing was done; and in 1610 James I gave the castle to one of the Forsters, the great landowners of the neighbourhood, who had bought the estates of the Austin canons at Bamborough at the dissolution. In 1704 the Forsters had to sell their lands to pay their debts; and their estates were bought by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham. At his death he left the greater part of his property to trustees for charitable purposes. The royal castle on the rock of Bamborough became a charitable institution; and, though the mighty keep was left comparatively untouched, the ruins of the great hall and other buildings were converted into a charity school. Since then the castle has undergone another transformation, for it has been bought by Lord Armstrong and converted into a modern dwelling-house. Nature herself has interfered somewhat with the grandeur of the site, for the winds and waves have driven the sand over much of the rock and the ruined walls on the seaward side. Nevertheless, the site, the massive lines of the keep, the outlook over the sea to Lindisfarne and the Farne Islands will always recall the departed glories of the royal city of Northumberland.

The two other chief Northumbrian castles, Alnwick and Warkworth, are connected with the name of one of the most famous of Northumbrian families, the Percies. The story of Warkworth, which was granted to the Percies by Edward III in 1328, is narrated in the fifth volume of the history; that of Alnwick still remains to be told. The fact that Alnwick has been restored as the dwelling-place of the Dukes of Northumberland makes Warkworth the more interesting of the two to the student of the past. The generosity of the present duke has enriched the history with numerous pictures which enable the reader to gain some idea of the rare interest of the castle and the little town. Warkworth possesses everything that the soul of the archæologist

could desire. The brown waters of the Coquet are spanned by a fourteenth century stone bridge of beautiful shape which ends in a gatehouse, and through this we pass into the steep street of the little grey town which mounts up to the castle. Close to the bridge lies the Norman church, with its long, narrow nave and its small round-headed Norman windows. A nameless stone crusader, clothed in early fourteenth century armour, sleeps within its walls.

The castle on its mound, girt on three sides by the Coquet, does not frown down upon the town like a stern master. The grace and beauty of its architecture seem rather to suggest the kind friend at whose feet the little houses have clustered for safety. It is a ruin, but a ruin which preserves so much of its architectural beauty, as well as of its internal arrangements, that it teaches us more perhaps than any other building in England about the nature of an Edwardian castle. The donjon is the most elaborately planned tower-house in existence. Viollet-le-Duc adapted its plans for his ideal country-house. It is an intricate maze of chambers and passages, the masterpiece of a great architect, with features of rare beauty; but we do not know who built it, or even when it was built. The mighty cellars show the space necessary to contain the stores of provisions for a great household in the past. The large prisons suggest the need of ample accommodation for the numerous captives of Border warfare.

Standing apart from the donjon are the ruins of the great hall, its tower ornamented with the Percy emblem, the lion; and near it are the foundations of a large chapel running right across the castle enclosure, a work begun in days of splendour, and probably never completed. Already, when James I passed through Warkworth in 1617 on one of his journeys to Scotland, the castle was in a miserable condition. The Earl of Northumberland had been concerned in the Guy Fawkes plot; and, to meet the heavy fine imposed upon him, he was reduced to selling the lead from the roofs of the ruinous part of the castle. After this it seems never to have been regularly inhabited. Cromwell had a garrison there in 1648; and the treatment of his rough soldiery was not likely to improve its condition. Finally, in 1672, the widow of the

last earl of the house of Louvain gave away to a certain John Clarke the materials of the castle. A long train of 272 waggons, furnished on compulsion by the tenants in the neighbourhood, carried away lead, timber, and 'such other materialls as shall be fit to be removed.' The later members of the house of Northumberland have respected the beauty of their ruined castle, and have even at times thought of restoring it as a dwelling-house. We are grateful that it has been left as it is, to teach the student so many secrets about the domestic life and the artistic feeling of the Middle Ages.

The Coquet, a stream dear to the fisherman, which winds round the castle mound, is one of the fairest of Northumbrian rivers. Not only are its wooded banks adorned by the castle of Warkworth and the great abbey of Brinkburn, but within a cliff a few hundred yards above Warkworth castle lies a building which forms one of the most fascinating treasures of Northumberland. No record tells who was the hermit who made for himself such a beautiful retreat. At first it seems to have been rough-hewn out of the solid rock; it was afterwards ornamented with pillars and vaulting. A window with rich tracery has been cut in the wall which divides the inner from the outer chapel. By the side of the stone altar, the only one in Northumberland which was not overthrown or defaced during the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, is the recumbent figure of a woman with a man kneeling at her feet; and between them is the head of a bull. There is no certain tradition to explain the significance of these figures. Bishop Percy, in his ballad, 'The Hermit of Warkworth,' has told a romantic story, which people have been glad to accept in the absence of any truthful record; but it has no foundation in fact. Amongst the Northumbrian papers there are records, so late as 1531, of the names of persons to whom the hermitage was granted. It is described in 1537 as 'a verey propre howse, buylded out of a rocke of stone, with many comodyties thereto belongynge.' In all England no hermitage can compare with it in charm and interest, except perhaps that in Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, now also a possession of the Percy family.

The castles of which we have spoken are amongst the most famous in Northumberland, but there are many

others. Some, like Houghton and Chipchase on the beautiful reaches of the North Tyne, and Chillingham, famous for its wild cattle, lying below the heather-covered hill of Ross Castle, which towers over the surrounding moors, a landmark for many miles, have been transformed into commodious dwelling-houses. Many gaunt ruins, like Prudhoe, Twizel, and Norham, have little more than their walls left standing.

The county houses in Northumberland are few and scattered. In the great days of our Renaissance there was nothing to induce the gentry to build themselves fine Tudor houses amidst the moors and woods made desolate by the long Border warfare. Record after record speaks of the raids of the borderers, and of the means, generally insufficient, taken to prevent them. There seems to have been a period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, when the rule of the Norman barons and the civilising influences of the monastic orders brought some brief prosperity to Northumberland. But the Scottish wars of Edward I meant ruin to the Border. The county is described in 1318 as wasted and wholly destroyed. The Lord Warden of the Marches, whose office was established by Edward I, had a difficult task to discover some means to protect the wretched population. It was then that the peel-towers were, for the most part, built. The barbarous condition of the county can best be judged by the description published in his Commentaries by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, of his journey through Northumberland to London from Edinburgh, whither he had been sent on a secret mission to the Scottish king. Travelling in the disguise of a merchant, he describes how, after crossing the Tweed in a boat,

‘he turned aside towards sunset to a large manor and alighted at the farmhouse. There he had supper with his host and the priest of the place. Many victuals and fowls and geese were brought in, but there was neither wine nor bread. Then all the women flocked together from all sides to the manor as if for a strange spectacle; and as our countrymen are wont to wonder at the Ethiopians or Indians, so they gazed in amazement at Æneas, inquiring from the priest to what country he belonged, what he had come to do, and whether he knew the Christian faith. But Æneas, knowing the scarcity

that he would meet with on the journey, had procured at a monastery some loaves and a barrel of red wine; and, when these were brought, still greater wonder possessed the natives, who had seen neither wine nor white bread. . . . When supper had been prolonged to the second hour of the night, the priest and his host took leave of Æneas and hastened to depart with the children and the men. They said they were fleeing to a tower a long distance off, in fear of the Scots, who, when the river grew shallower as the tide ebbed, were in the habit of crossing over and plundering. And though Æneas besought them with many entreaties, they refused to take him with them on any consideration; nor did they take any of the women with them, although there were girls and several comely women, for these they thought would suffer no wrong at the hands of the enemy ("qui stuprum inter mala non ducunt"). So Æneas remained there alone with his two servants and one guide, amidst a hundred women who made a ring round the fire, and they spent the night without sleep, chatting with the interpreter, and cleaning hemp. After midnight the dogs began to bark and the geese to cackle, and a huge noise arose; and then all the women rushed headlong in different directions. The guide also fled, and the whole place was full of uproar as if the enemy were upon them. . . . Almost immediately the women returned with the interpreter and announced that there was no danger, for that it was friends, not enemies, who had come. When day broke Æneas ventured to continue his journey, and arrived at Newcastle. . . . There, for the first time, he seemed to recognise the world again, and a land that looked as if men could live in it.'

Æneas found Northumberland 'uninhabitable, horrible, uncultivated.' It was long before there was much improvement. It is true that a special code of laws had grown up for the Borders, which were administered by Wardens of the Marches, appointed for each side of the Border by the English and Scottish kings respectively. But it was only now and then that the wardens were men of a kind to administer these laws with justice and severity. In the upland villages of Liddesdale, Tynedale, and Redesdale, districts which even in these days are wild and desolate enough, lived a lawless race of moss-trooper, constantly engaged in Border-raids.

Amongst the brutal acts done by Henry VIII, none was more brutal than the cold-blooded way in which he

used the border-raids as a means of weakening the Scottish power. James IV of Scotland had invaded England with an army of forty thousand men whilst Henry VIII was away in France. But the Earl of Surrey hastily gathered an army together and marched into Northumberland and attacked the Scots, who lay encamped on the hill of Flodden between the Twizel and the Till. In the battle which followed, James IV was killed and his army scattered; but Surrey was too weak to pursue his advantage. Then, since a regular invasion of Scotland was impossible, Henry VIII bade Thomas, Lord Dacre, the Warden of the Marches, lay waste the Scottish Border; and the command was fulfilled with the utmost thoroughness. Dacre writes that land for 630 ploughs 'lies all and every one of them waste now, and no corn sown upon none of the said grounds.' During his stern rule the English side was at least in comparative peace. We are told that 'for the last few years not more than eighty cottages had been burnt in these marches, and that for one taken by the Scots he has taken a hundred, for one sheep, two hundred.' It is no wonder that, whenever and wherever vigilance relaxed, the Scots took their revenge.

The destruction wrought is incredible. Monasteries, villages, castles, and market-towns were destroyed; and things only began to improve when, under Elizabeth, peace was made between England and Scotland. During her efficient administration the wardenship of the English Marches was given to capable officials, who revived and put in force the old Border-laws. The country was mapped out into wardships; the townships were obliged to keep the watches at fords and mountain-passes by day and night. An elaborate system of beacons passed on the alarm of a raid from one peel-tower to another; blood-hounds were kept to pursue fugitives. But it took long years for the spirit of unrest to die out; and, in the first Stewart rising against the Hanoverians, it was not difficult to find men to come out at the bidding of Mr Forster of Bamborough and the luckless Lord Derwentwater, to fight for the cause of James III. Wandering bodies of moss-troopers still lived amongst the Cheviots and along the river valleys; and their roving, thieving habits died hard. Their sturdy vigour,

and their great powers of endurance, as well as something of their roughness, may still be seen in their descendants; but the lonely traveller can wander amongst the wildest valleys and most desolate moors of Northumberland in perfect safety and complete reliance upon the honesty and real kindness of the peasantry.

The old names still linger, but there is nothing to tell that the townships which survive, and are recognised as poor-law parishes even when they consist only of a single farm, were once inhabited by sturdy freeholders. The fortunes of these families of freeholders may be traced in many genealogies given in the 'History of Northumberland.' All points to the importance in former days of the smallest unit of territorial division, the township, organised on account of the special conditions of the county with at least some powers of self-government. Dr Creighton was of opinion that in no part of England did 'the manorial system sit so lightly or work such little change. Traces of primitive institutions and primitive tenures are found in abundance whenever we penetrate beneath the surface.\*' He maintained that the 'townships were village communities, each an agrarian unit.'

At the present time there are few if any small freeholders remaining in Northumberland. The land is held in large estates; and the farms are remarkable for their extent. Scattered cottages are rare; the houses needed for the farm-labourers cluster round the farmhouses, generally a row of plain slate-roofed stone cottages with no attempt at ornament, though well-built and comfortable inside. Most of the cottages have been rebuilt and improved within the last fifty years. Some of the older hinds still recall how, at the shiftings from one farm to another in the spring, made common by the custom of annual hiring, they used to take with them, not only their great box-beds and other furniture, but even their window-frames, and trust to fit them somehow into the bare walls of their new abode. The farmhouse itself is generally surrounded by trees, which are allowed to grow thick and close as shelter from the winds. But there is

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\* See 'The Northumbrian Border: Historical Essays and Reviews' (Longmans), p. 257.

nothing of the comfortable homely look of the south-country farm, with its thatches and tiled roofs; all is grim and businesslike.

Grimmer still is the modern pit-village, the great sign of the changed Northumberland, with its long succession of rows of ugly slate-roofed cottages. These have sprung up chiefly in the southern part of the county, wherever there is a seam of coal to be worked. They generally keep the name of the old township in which they are situated. No art of man, no love for flowers and gardening, has done anything to mitigate their ugliness. The pitman is intelligent, shrewd, and hardworking; he has the characteristics of his race, for the pit-villages are peopled by the descendants of the peasants who flocked to earn higher wages in the coal-mines; but he has no sense of beauty, unless his love for dancing can be reckoned such. He is still famous for his skill in the performance of sword-dances with intricate figures and wonderful steps. What is more important, he is a keen believer in the value of education, and anxious to secure the best for himself and his children.

Coals had long been worked in Northumberland. Henry III, in 1239, granted a charter to dig coal, then and long afterwards known as sea-coal, because it could only be conveyed to London by sea. It was a Northumbrian, and one marked by the best characteristics of his race, George Stephenson, who, by the invention of the locomotive, made possible the great development of the coal trade with all its consequences in the history of industry. Many of the old industries of Northumberland—the lead-mines of Allendale, the leather trade of Hexham, the sword manufactory started by Germans at Shotley Mill, have passed away; but round the mighty Norman keep from which Newcastle took its name, round the home of Benedict Biscop and Bede at Jarrow, have grown up the busy industries of the Tyne; and the black hand of modern industrialism reaches, with its devastating touch, farther and farther up that lovely river valley. No city in England has a more beautiful site than Newcastle; but, in their haste to profit by the new opportunities for growing rich, the people of Newcastle had no time to think of beauty; and in the rapid growth of the city little heed was paid to the advantages of the site,



or to the preservation of the fine old houses which adorned it.

In the early days of Northumbrian greatness, Benedict Biscop tried to foster a love for beautiful things amongst the rude peoples to whom he ministered, by getting skilled glass-makers from Gaul to come and work for him, by bringing vestments, pictures, and images from Rome to adorn his monastery, and by engaging teachers of music for his monks. With Bede in the abbey at Jarrow, literature first flourished in England. But, though the later Northumberland has produced great politicians, from Lord Grey of the Reform Bill to Mr Burt, the miner's representative and friend, great naturalists such as Thomas Selby, and many distinguished antiquaries and men of science, Benedict Biscop and Bede have not had many successors. In Thomas Bewick the Tyne valley can claim at least one great artist, an artist racy of the soil, who lived and worked and died on the Tyne; but it cannot be said that either art or literature has ever flourished in Northumberland. The Northumbrian values things strictly for their utility. The peasants continue to leave their county homes for the more exciting life of Tyneside and the pit-villages; and in most parts of the county, except round Newcastle, the population is steadily declining. During the last few years many of the large farmers have begun to turn their arable land into grass, and to give themselves entirely to stock-raising and feeding, so that fewer and fewer men are needed for the land, and on some of the large farms half the cottages stand empty. There is no fear that any rapid growth of population will destroy the loneliness of the moors and the slopes of the Cheviots. Here, under the wind-swept skies and the clouds whose shadows flit over the wide spaces of the undulating country, the traces of the past can be studied in peace.

The best friends are not those who are the most easily known; and the country which is most loved is not that which shows its charms at first. It is the beauties that we have found out for ourselves, that we have observed and felt as we watched the face of the land and the heavens through the changing seasons, that are the most precious. The charm of Northumberland takes hold of those who feel it until it becomes part of their very nature. It is a

grey land, yet it is full of colour. The great masses of yellow rag-wort rise like a cloud of gold above the soft grey of the bent grass on the Bamborough links against the deep blue of the sea. In the summer, the rich crimson of the *Geraneum sanguineum* gleams amongst the grass on the Embleton sand-hills, which slope upward from a beach yellow with the dust of the shells crumbled by the waves of the North Sea against the basalt rocks. On the Killoe crags with their fine mountain outline, and the towering summit of Ross Castle above Chillingham, the moor is purple with the bell-heather. Autumn turns the bracken on the moors and links into sheets of tawny gold; and the trees in the river valleys keep their glowing leaves till long into the winter. But more beautiful than even these rich colours are the luminous greys of sea and sky in the clear northern air. The wind is seldom quiet; it sweeps the clouds off the land and piles them in huge masses on the edge of the sea. Birds fill the great solitudes of moor and shore, and break the silence with their cries. It is a land for those who love the sense of space and freedom, who know how to be alone. The luxuriance of the river valleys, the rich profusion of flowers which grow so freely in the sheltered gardens, come as a relief to any possible feeling of bleakness; and in every wide view the eye seeks eagerly the long level of the sea and the beautiful outline of the Cheviots towards the north-west. All will not feel its peculiar charm, but its historical interest and importance are abiding; and it is a cause for deep gratitude that the memorials of its past history should be so carefully garnered for the student as they are in the great county history, which we hope the loving labour of Northumbrian heads and hands will ere long complete.

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# Art. VI.—MODERN BRITISH ART AND THE NATION.

BETWEEN fifty and sixty years ago John Pye, the engraver of Turner, wrote a book which he called 'The Patronage of British Art.' In this he gave a history of 'the rise and progress of art and artists' up to, and during part of, his own time. The word 'patronage' is now repugnant to the artist, who prefers to take his stand upon the more healthy basis of demand and supply which rules other branches of work. But, if we substitute the word 'demand' for that of 'patronage,' we may perhaps with some advantage follow up this enquiry begun by John Pye, and try to take stock of the progress of art in this country up to the present time. We may also try to forecast its probable future from the signs of to-day—signs which, in some respects, do not look very propitious.

We English are not perhaps what is called an artistic people, but there is a large leaven among us exceedingly susceptible to artistic impressions. It is to these that we must look for the sustaining force of material support and appreciation without which the individual artist, and still more the artistic profession as a whole, cannot continue to exist. The vital question for British art and artists to-day is whether this national body of art-lovers is increasing or decreasing; whether the art of to-day is maintaining its hold upon the people and increasing its constituency, or whether, on the contrary, it is not in danger of becoming only the cult and shibboleth of a few, and those few themselves out of touch with the large body of their fellow-countrymen. Any one who has watched the progress of British art from this point of view must be impressed by the fact that it does not now excite so wide an interest in England as it did some thirty years ago. If it has not lost, it certainly seems to be losing its grasp of the mind and heart of the people. It is of little avail for the newspaper critics to write up this or that technical excellence, and to tell us that salvation can only be won by 'art for art's sake.' Even when we are told that so penetrating an eye as Millais saw that 'much modern work is technically so good that it

requires a very clever fellow to do anything better,' there is still the seed of failure in it if it has no national basis in the love and appreciation of the people. Without this it must still be an exotic, and, like all exotics, will fade away and die as soon as the fostering warmth of its own immediate surroundings happens to fail.

By art which has a national basis we mean something which, to a considerable degree, has been evolved from the instincts, sentiments, and beliefs common to all, and which endeavours to answer some of those unspoken questionings inherent in all imaginative natures. Such art should illustrate life in its fullest sense, and those universal truths which belong to human nature, and are not only beautiful in themselves but are essential to it; which fashion does not change, but which remain the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. If art does not to some extent attempt to do this, it cannot be called national or popular, because it will not appeal widely to human nature; and, if it be not national in this sense, its hours are numbered. A people may live, perhaps a somewhat stunted and incomplete life, without art; but art itself cannot live without the people, nor can it develop into its highest and fullest vitality unless it has succeeded in creating a public which believes in it and supports it because it loves it.

If we consider on what basis popular belief in and love of art have generally rested, the answer may tell us why these are not so strong among us as we should wish them to be at the present day. Whatever the artist and the art-expert may think upon this question, there can be little doubt that this belief in and love of art have never rested entirely, or even chiefly, upon its purely technical qualities. 'What is this about?' 'What does it mean?' 'What idea is it intended to embody?'—such are the questions asked by your Englishman when he looks at a work of art. If the art critic tells him that it is 'an able rendering of certain relations of tones,' or 'an impression of a face in a few masterly touches,' or 'a sonata in brush-work,' he says, 'I have never seen anything in nature like this; and it has not the beauty or elevation of ideas that I crave in a work of art which professes to be something more than the mere record of a natural fact. It is neither nature as I see it, with its

beauty, its subtlety, its exquisiteness of finish, nor does it contain any thought or idea to stir my imagination. Let your experts adore it; I will have none of it.'

It is a trite definition of a picture that it is something between a thing and a thought. The tendency of to-day, fostered by some modern criticism, has been to regard only the thing, and to ignore and disregard the thought. This is the tendency of so-called, but (as we think) falsely so-called, 'realism,' because in no true work of art can the intellectual and the material be separated. The bias of modern criticism towards so-called realism has had the same effect upon pictures as upon some branches of literature, and has resulted in a gradually developed distrust of what is beautiful or imaginative, for fear it should not harmonise with what it is pleased to call the truth. The consequence is that modern art of this type is not even truly realistic, because with all its cleverness—and much of it is wonderfully clever—it is seldom charming, and often ugly.

Now nature is very seldom ugly and nearly always charming. This ugliness is an inevitable result of the abandonment of the ideal, or what we may call the 'end,' and the over-estimation of the 'means' or expression of it. If we were compelled to decide whether, in art, the means or the end had produced the greater effect upon mankind, we should, I think, be obliged to confess that the end has it. But can there ever be a divorce of these two, the end and the means, without irreparable loss to art itself? If it is to be of an enduring kind, must it not invariably be the expression of an idea in the best possible manner? We can, of course, never afford to be indifferent to the means; on the other hand, a great danger to true art lurks in the creed which binds us only to the means. It is natural that the means alone should have a preponderating influence with the painter, since his whole life is absorbed in trying to master technique, and he alone knows its real difficulty; but why should the critic also fall into the same trap and put forward technique of this or that fashion as the single goal of art?

In literature what would be thought of the critic who even hinted at such a principle as this, namely, that a writer who has nothing whatever to say is worthy of admiration if he says it in sonorous words and well-

balanced periods? As Jowett says in his preface to the 'Phædrus,'

'would not a great painter such as Michael Angelo, or a great poet such as Shakespeare, returning to earth, courteously rebuke us? Would he not say that we are putting in the place of Art the preliminaries of Art, confusing Art, the expression of mind and truth, with Art, the composition of colours and forms? Perhaps he might more severely chastise some of us for trying to invent "a new shudder," instead of bringing to the birth living and healthy creations.'

To the expert this kind of achievement may give some pleasure, but this pleasure will be limited to the expert; and, if he be also a true critic, it will only satisfy one side of him.

This principle applies also to what is only the fusion into an artistic and symmetrical whole of any natural object or combination of objects, however able that combination may be. If there be nothing in a work of art beyond this it will only appeal to the expert; yet it seems that towards this end we are driving. Those who know say nothing; and those who do not know are content to believe that art is after all not such an object of interest as they were taught to believe when they were young. Certainly art, as the expression of thoughts and ideas, has not now the hold upon the public which it had thirty or forty years ago. No doubt there are many causes for this. It would take too long to state them all, but some at least of them are not far to seek.

In the first place the artist, however strong his individuality, cannot escape from the influence of his environment. The fashion of his chief contemporaries, however much he may hereafter try to change and remould it by his own originality, will give a certain bent to his own work. The art-student is always singularly impressionable to the particular style and form of art in vogue among his successful seniors. To-day, the great traditions of the past are of little moment to him. He does not often enquire how it came about that his older contemporaries adopted this or that particular style. It is enough for him that the modern masters of technique have adopted it, and that certain writers in the press say that this is the only true and capable

art of the day. He at once decides that he will adopt it too.

Again, in spite of the ridiculous cant preached by some, that an artist should never think about working for a livelihood, the young artist will fear that, if he ignores the art-fashion of his day as set by his successful seniors and the critics, and does only what his own fancy and judgment may prompt him to do, he may not even touch material success. This is a natural thought, of course, a very obvious fallacy, because if the young artist has convictions and is strong enough to persist, he will in the end convert the critic, and become himself a fashion. Such men, however, are few and far between; and many years, which might be beneficially employed in the cause of national art, may be wasted before such a one comes to set the balance right again.

That this struggle between what the artist himself desires to do and what the fashion of the day demands, is one that requires remarkable staying powers on the part of the artist, might be proved by a very simple instance, viz. by the large number of modern subject-painters, who (in some cases, no doubt, unwillingly) have been forced into portrait-painting, and have been obliged practically to abandon that branch of art for which they originally entered the profession. Circumstances have been too strong for them; and it is probable that, if no change in public opinion takes place in the next few years, we may see still larger secessions from that important class of artists which bases its claims to reputation and interest upon the old-world belief that a work of art should express ideas as well as things. This conveys no stricture on the noble art of portraiture, which rests upon such strong foundations that no true lover of art would or could attack it; but it is no treason to confess that, though a fine portrait is to an expert one of the most fascinating achievements of the painter's art, the art which is to capture, hold, and delight people of all classes, and therefore become national, must contain something which a portrait, except in very rare cases, cannot possess. The portrait will interest the few; what is called the subject-picture will interest the many; and a preponderance of this class of art over the former will always mean a larger art constituency and a wider

demand for works of art. When the portrait is entirely in the ascendant, this demand lessens; in the same ratio the art constituency decreases.

A remarkable proof of this rule is afforded by present art conditions compared with those existing in England thirty or forty years ago, when the subject-picture held the lead, and portraiture only a subordinate position. It may also be illustrated by a comparison between our own period and the last half of the eighteenth century, the portraiture of which has recently enjoyed a veritable 'boom,' accompanied by a corresponding fall in the demand for modern works of art.

In the seventies of the last century the eager competition among private collectors of modern pictures exceeded anything known before, and culminated in what is still known at Christie's as the 'golden period.' No doubt many works of a second and third-rate character fetched in that period prices far beyond their merits; and subsequent sales may have brought this fact into somewhat prominent notice, and shaken the faith of that most objectionable of all collectors or dabblers in works of art the man who buys solely 'for the rise.' But it might be well for those who deride that period and its high prices to turn an equally critical eye upon the picture-market of to-day. It is not difficult to perceive that the present 'boom' of the portraiture of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, based no doubt, at first, upon the genuine greatness of much of the art then produced, has degenerated into a condition of things quite as dangerous as anything which existed in the so-called 'golden period.' One of the results of the winter exhibitions at Burlington House has been to open up a new mine of art wealth, both to the seller and the buyer, in the works of Reynolds and Gainsborough and their contemporaries. The fame of the best works of that time has given an artificial notoriety and inflated price to far inferior productions of the same period; and there are those among us who may live to see some of these inferior works fall in value from their thousands to their hundreds and even tens of pounds. The real masterpieces of either period will meanwhile remain equally valuable since, in their way, they are practically priceless.

But, apart from the question of mere pecuniary value,



there are other distinctions which may be drawn between the two periods, in regard, firstly, to the public estimation of and interest in art which they respectively displayed, and secondly, to the class of picture-buyer involved.

We have endeavoured to show that the present is chiefly a portrait period, and have gladly accepted the high place universally claimed for this branch of art; but we have also ventured to point out its limitations as an artistic influence among the people, and the decrease of the art constituency *pari passu* with its growth. It is not too much to say that, except where a portrait, in addition to its own excellence as a picture, happens to portray some well-known character, and thus becomes in a sense historical, it fails to stir the imagination of the uninstructed in art. It is true that it is a representation of a human being, but it brings with it so little of the narrative of human life, its deeds, its passions, and its sorrows, that, outside the mere excellence of its technique, a book of cabinet-photographs will equally satisfy the imagination of the ordinary spectator.

Photography, in its most recent development, is a rival power which must be reckoned with by artists; and the art made fashionable by the modern critic, i.e. portraiture, competes with photography upon its own ground and does not care to accept points by using those gifts of imagination, or of stirring narrative and romance, over which photography has no power whatever. The lay mind has not been slow to realise this, though it may not understand the cause. It finds that modern photography gives such an exact transcript of nature itself, even to its extreme of delicacy and finish, and gives this so easily and so cheaply, that it is satisfied with it. The more so because it finds itself snubbed by the modern art-expert when it looks for something beyond this in art, and asks for some expression of sentiment, story, subject, i.e. the ideal. These, the outsider is told, have properly nothing to do with art. People bow to this because they suppose that the expert ought to know, but they do so with a mental reservation. They say to themselves, 'If sentiment, story, subject, and the ideal have nothing to do with art, then art can have nothing to do with us, and we do not want it.'

This competition with the photograph on its own

ground has led to the weakening or abandonment of many important qualities proper to art. So powerful has been the influence of the photograph that even in colour the extreme modern painter, with the extreme modern critic behind him, who talks of nothing but Whistler—we too take off our hat to Whistler, but only because he represents a remarkable though limited phase of art, not because he represents art itself—has almost abandoned rich and brilliant colour, and tries to harmonise his work as much as possible with the monotone of the photograph, so that neither in subject nor in colour does he follow nature, as the artist sees nature when his eye is still open to healthy impressions.

But there is a still more serious disadvantage under which the modern artist suffers in the eyes of the people whose appreciation should foster a national art; and this is that he has abandoned what used to be called completeness—that is to say, beauty of surface, truth of detail, in fact, finish, that crown of all the best art of the past. He has abandoned this for a rough and powerful method of rapid impressionism, clever to a degree, a most brilliant compromise, but a compromise which really satisfies the expert only, because, on the one hand, it does not bring out the imaginative and romantic quality in art, and, on the other, does not present nature itself as the majority of people see her. The delicacy, completeness, and wealth of detail displayed by nature are, if possible, more impressive to an ordinary eye than the mere aspect or strong impression of a fact—a fact, moreover, which must not be looked into too closely.

But there is still another quality which used to be called the chief aim of art, and which it is now the fashion to ignore—beauty. This is an inevitable result of photographic competition, because, when the ideal is proscribed, the eclectic must go with it; and beauty in art, whether it be evolved from within or without, is based upon eclecticism. The neglect of beauty has even gone so far that, in some cases, modern art prides itself upon its ugliness, and any beauty based upon the great art traditions of the past is scouted as mere conventionalism. It will seldom go out of its way to seek or find this once so highly appreciated quality; and, if it did, some modern critics would begin to talk of want of truth, as if, forsooth,

the beautiful were not as true as the ugly. In this respect both artist and critic might well learn from the inborn craving of the ordinary mind, and enrich the sphere of art by trying to express some at least of the qualities which it craves. Ugliness will never charm unless it does so accidentally by combination with pictorial qualities of a higher order ; and, even so, it can never produce the same effect upon the mind as fine painting joined to beauty and charm, or—and we must not wholly ignore the fact—as mere beauty or charm, even without fine painting, produce upon the ordinary man.

Again, because subject, story, or what we may call narrative art, is under a cloud at the present time, the art of design or composition, without which no story can be adequately and impressively told, has lost much of its prestige. The critic ignores it ; and the modern artist has almost ceased to value it. When, in reference to modern art, does one ever hear anything said as to the design or want of design shown in any picture which is much talked about ? We used to have great designers among us, and no doubt still have artists of high excellence in this noble quality ; but it is out of date with the modern expert. In France things are even worse as regards this particular side of pictorial art, in which they used to excel so highly ; we wonder what the great French designers would have thought of the diploma and medal which the France of to-day published at the close of its 1900 exhibition.

Design in art seems to exercise an influence over the human soul akin to that of harmony in music. Men who do not know are made to feel ; and an impression is produced by the manner in which certain lines or masses or notes are brought together towards a particular purpose or end, which it is difficult to explain, but which cannot be denied. Composition or design possesses this force ; and what may be truly called national art will not exist or endure if this quality is wanting. It is not an exotic among us northerners, but is to a great extent inherent ; and in this respect it is unlike many of the imported and evanescent qualities, so dear to the modern critic, which have no deep root here, and are foreign to the nature of English art. The accidental and the exotic may have in them a certain evanescent charm ; but a universal truth

cast in harmonious form will last for ever. Harmony of design is indeed one of the great qualities of art, which, with others already mentioned, distinguishes it from mere photography or mechanical reproduction of any kind. It is chiefly by the expression of these qualities that the art of a country will gain influence over the hearts and minds of the people; and just in proportion to its strength in this respect will be the strength of its claim to be considered a national art.

Now with all the failings that may be discovered in the art of forty years ago, it certainly made an impression on the national mind, which would seem to show that it responded to something inherent in the national temperament. People flocked to see it; they talked about it; and finally they bought it, having competed for it in a manner which testified to their belief in it. This art had behind it the Preraphaelite movement, which, with all its faults—and from a purely artistic point of view Preraphaelitism contained much that was weak, sometimes even childish—had grasped to the full the salient principle, that art is the expression of ideas. Because these young artists absorbed and believed in this creed, and worked it out in practice, they were accepted at once by thousands who had never been stirred by any art, however able, which expressed only art itself. None of the faults of the school are inseparable from this principle; and there is no reason, except that of the fatal limitations of human gifts, why the best and ablest painter should not also be the greatest artist, i.e. the one who, while he is able to create what is of universal interest to mankind, can also express it in the best possible manner. The Preraphaelite school could not quite attain this, except perhaps in some of the works of its ablest exponent, Millais; but it often touched and tried to express universal truths of vital interest to all men, and, in spite of certain mannerisms and even affectations, expressed them so that all who ran might read. Hence its wide recognition and influence.

The art of dexterous brush-work, which is called 'frank,' the art in which 'tones and values' alone have the mastery, may excite the enthusiasm of a small coterie of painters and their critics, but at best it will only be a sectarian cult or fashion of the day, and will neither last nor spread. The art which is to have a wide influence

should have these qualities indeed, if possible, and should be constantly striving for every new technical excellence that can be acquired by the artist; but it must have far more than these before it will be able to stir the hearts and minds of men. Ideas, too, are necessary; and without these the clever brush-work will fall flat and the nicely-calculated values will prove valueless.

It was because the Preraphaelites adopted this principle that, in spite of their shortcomings and sometimes poor painting, they became a force; and it was by means of this principle that they widened in this country the interest taken in art to an extent which has never been equalled before or since. The influence of art on the national mind culminated when it was most vigorous as a language of ideas. That influence declined directly art *per se* began to take precedence and to limit its aims to the expression of itself and its technical cleverness alone. The final blow was given to it by the exaggerated interest in portraiture to which we have already referred.

Now what is the chief difference between the present day and that so-called 'golden period' of the last generation as regards the hold which art has on the popular mind? In each period British work of the highest class has been 'boomed,' together with works of second and third-rate merit, so that the difference between the two periods does not rest in the fact that inferior art-work has been bought and sold at absurd prices in one period and not in the other. The salient difference is this, that in the earlier period there was a demand for work which appealed to a far wider section of the people than the small body of collectors who principally keep alive the picture-market of to-day.

The bane of each period has been the man who has bought for reasons quite outside those which actuate the genuine art-lover. When prices run so high that a certain notoriety is to be gained by the purchase of some picture which has been much talked of or written about, some buyer, ambitious of mere notoriety, will generally be found. In such a case the desire to buy will be in a ratio to the price put upon the work; and, as regards the work itself, the buyer will, as a rule, care little and know less. It is enough for him that it is for the moment the biggest thing on the fashionable side of the picture-

market, and that no one else has been able to buy it at the price. There are also, of course, some—but few and far between—who, while possessed of ample wealth, have cultivated their taste for painting so assiduously as to care for the technique even more than the ulterior purposes of a picture, and who honestly prefer the fine portrait to any other form of art. Such men are a valuable asset to the country, and have in the past, as we hope they will in the future, done much to preserve our national treasures in this particular branch of art. With these true lovers of art neither the craving for notoriety nor the hope of a rise in prices should their treasures hereafter find their way to Christie's, have any weight.

But outside these two classes is the ordinarily intelligent man, who buys what he loves, and loves that which appeals to him through something beyond those qualities which captivate the millionaire, or those which attract the specially cultivated collector. We have written 'buys,' but should we not more truly say 'bought'? for at the present day this kind of buyer is rarely to be seen; and the weakness and impending extinction of his class is the most alarming sign with regard to the art of the future. The buyer possessed of this characteristic may be almost said to have become extinct as an active supporter of the art of his day. He is one who will not buy what he does not like for its own sake, and cannot honestly follow the critic into his one narrow groove of excellence, which to him may be almost distasteful. In point of fact, this sort of man has practically ceased to buy at all. Yet he was the very backbone of what used to be called the 'patronage' of British art.

It is a question if, without some such customer (let us for once use this honest word of trade), the modern artist can continue for many years longer to maintain his position. There would indeed still be places for the portrait-painter as well as for the illustrator, who is perhaps the most remarkable and brilliant outcome of modern art requirements, though photography is pressing even him hard in many directions. But, without the picture-buyer of the class just mentioned, the subject-painter, and we fear the landscape-painter too, would find it very difficult indeed to live. Bishop Creighton once wrote: 'All art depends mainly upon the existence of a public who will

accept, and the intellectual side of art they will not recognise. Meanwhile they forget that they are preaching this creed among a people not naturally endowed with a subtle sense of the kind so strongly developed in the Japanese and, to a less degree, in the French; while on the other hand the English are naturally gifted with a strong appreciation of the intellectual and imaginative sides of art. The purely technical art of a foreign type they will never, as a nation, absorb. Are they then never to be nourished on the food they really crave and can assimilate? This modern polyglot language of so-called art appeals only to specially trained intelligences, and will never attain a natural growth here or gain a firm hold on the northern mind. Indeed it can never be more than a highly cultivated exotic.

Lord Leighton in one of his addresses said, 'I believe that an art desired by the whole people and fostered by the whole people's desire would reflect some of the best qualities of our race; its love of nature, its imaginative force, its healthfulness, its strong simplicity.' That great imaginative genius and embodiment of shrewd common-sense, Sir Walter Scott, wrote in his diary:—

'All the Fine Arts have it for their highest and more legitimate end and purpose to affect the human passions, or smooth and alleviate for a time the more unquiet feelings of the mind, to excite wonder, or terror, or pleasure, or emotion of some kind or other.' And, after speaking of poetry, he continues: 'In painting it is different; it is all become a mystery, the secret of which is lodged in a few connoisseurs, whose object is not to praise the works of such painters as produce effect on mankind at large, but to class them according to their proficiency in the inferior rules of the art, which, though most necessary to be taught and learned, should yet only be considered as the *gradus ad parnassum*, the steps by which the higher and ultimate object of a great popular effect is to be attained. . . . As I speak to myself, I may say that a painting should, to be excellent, have something to say to the mind of a man like myself, well-educated, and susceptible of those feelings which anything strongly recalling natural emotion is likely to inspire.'

It is, to say the least, a strange coincidence that, while the advanced art-critic has been doing his best to dissociate subject and narrative of any kind from what

he calls art, in music of late years we have witnessed, under the guidance of its advanced school, a phase of something equally revolutionary, though in a directly opposite direction. Since the birth of the Wagnerian school strong efforts have been made to express by music all kinds of ideas, foreign to the sublime impersonality hitherto associated with that art, and to introduce the musical representation of narrative, subject-story, and description, professing to be realistic, which the painter of to-day with his own art, hitherto built mainly on those lines, is now forbidden to attempt.

Though the interests of the artist are involved with much that is written here, this paper is not intended as a direct appeal to him. We have ventured to point out certain principles which we think account in a great degree for the decreasing popularity of art in this country; but the artist will not be much influenced by the advice of any one outside his own special circle. He will go his own way, believing, no doubt rightly, that he will only do with power and charm what he himself honestly feels and believes; but we may be permitted to express regret that his feelings and beliefs should to-day so often wander after strange gods, away from those larger interests which are shared by his fellow-men.

Less still do we hope to influence the modern art-critic who has adopted the 'art for art's sake' creed, though he holds a very feeble position by the side of the artist who fights under the same banner. The artist, at least, knows what he means, and why he means it; and his strenuous pursuit of a most difficult art, where high technical excellence is hardly to be obtained even by the most clever, enables us to understand how easily he may lose his sense of proportion, and place the part before the whole. He has given all he has for this, and may easily forget that a still more excellent thing should be bound up with it; and that, if his efforts are not employed as a means to reach this, much of his labour has been in vain. But where is the apology in the case of the critic who holds this special creed? By what practical work has he attained his right to hold it, or to preach this worship of technicality? And yet some modern critics out-Herod Herod in their purely technical exclusiveness, and brand as Philistines all who disagree with them.



We would rather appeal to a larger and, as we believe, more important tribunal, the educated public, not to the art-faddist. After all, it is to public opinion at its best that the appeal of the artist must be made, both individually and collectively; it is from this alone that he will receive not only the praise and sympathy which will encourage him to go on with his work, but the material help which the public demand for that work can alone supply. But this powerful body, the true foster-mother of the arts, will not respond to the attractions of the hybrid now so largely advertised. The technical canons imported from alien shores do not give either the loveliness of nature as seen by the ordinary observer here, or the charm and dignity of the art which is based upon the well-known and long accepted traditions of the past. The nation will not respond warmly even to qualities of really high technical capacity alone; it will demand more than this to rouse it from its growing indifference. It will demand that high technical skill shall be used as a means to an end, as a language with which to express thoughts and ideas, not as a mere record of facts, however clever and powerful may be their reproduction in form and colour. If modern art is to become in any sense national, or to be anything but a very bad third after literature and music in its influence on humanity, it must rise to heights which will enable it to say, with Macaulay's spirit of literature,

'Mine is the world of thought, the world of dream;  
Mine all the past, and all the future mine.'

We may end by saying that this is in no sense a defence of 'academic art,' so called, but the expression of a wish to see the intellectual and emotional sides of art resume the high place which they held during its best periods in the past.

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## ART. VII.—THE FIRST YEAR OF THE BOER WAR.

1. *The War in South Africa ; prepared in the Historical section of the Great General Staff, Berlin.* Authorised translation by Col. W. H. H. Waters, R.A., and Col. H. Du Cane, R.A. Two vols. London : Murray, 1904-6.
2. *The Times History of the War in South Africa.* Edited by L. S. Amery. Vols. I-III. London : Sampson Low, 1900-5.
3. *The Science of War.* By Col. G. F. R. Henderson. Edited by Capt. Neill Malcolm, with a memoir of the author by F.-M. Earl Roberts. London : Longmans, 1905.

THE publication of the third volume of the 'Times History,' and the second volume of the German official account of the war in South Africa, carries us, in the case of the former, down to the occupation of Bloemfontein, and in that of the latter, to the capture of Komati Poort. Each of these books is to some extent the complement of the other, as might be expected from the professions of their authors and from the opportunities and difficulties which the compilation presented to each. When studied together, they offer to any reader possessing some knowledge of military affairs an admirable picture of the first period of the war. The experienced military student will be able to extract from each work its particular virtue, and to discard from each that which is valueless; such discrimination may indeed prove a useful exercise. To the lay reader, however, the matter stands on a different footing. He has no standard by which to gauge the value of conflicting statements or opinions, and of these he will find many; he has no clue to guide his judgment through the complicated reasoning by which the authors endeavour to support their views. Yet without such a standard or such a clue a complete and accurate impression of the events cannot be obtained.

A book which is given to the world as the history of a war should fulfil certain requirements; and it may be useful to state briefly what the main requirements are. Accuracy is expected in the general narrative, and in the detail, so far as detail is essential to the illustration of the narrative, the criticisms, and such principles as may

be deducible from the facts. Criticism is expected; not wanton criticism, but such as is based on sound knowledge and wide experience, intent on seeking truth and rendering justice, and considering seriously the problems that confronted the generals whose decisions are recorded. Finally, there should be that moderation which comes from experience or from profound study of war, so that the sense of proportion may be preserved and due recognition given to the fact that success and failure in war are as a rule relative and not absolute. A work in which these principles are observed takes rank as a valuable document in both a military and an historical sense.

The German book, it may be said at once, approaches very nearly to this standard; and the points in which it falls short are those in which some deficiency might be expected from its origin. Its chief faults are insufficiency and occasional inaccuracy of detail; but, even admitting this defect, the narrative, considering the difficulties which must have been experienced by a foreign staff in collecting and sifting evidence, contains a surprising amount of correct information on matters of fact. Another fault, from an historical point of view, is almost inseparable from an official compilation published for the benefit of the professional soldiers of a particular country, that is, the continual eulogy of authorised German principles for the conduct of war. But it must be remembered that the Great General Staff did not prepare this work solely, or even chiefly, as a contribution to historical literature. It must be judged first as an educational treatise for the use of the German army; and this function it is admirably calculated to fulfil. Not only for the German army, but for soldiers of any nation, the lessons deduced, the principles enunciated, are of great value; and, as a purely military treatise, the book has been eagerly welcomed. In this country, however, the greater interest, as is only natural, inclines to the historical side. Some readers may merely be curious as to the opinion of foreigners on our affairs; but a higher interest is aroused by the knowledge that, in many cases, the looker-on sees most of the game, or at least, from his detached position, is able to judge with more coolness and less prejudice than are those who take part.

In the late war the whole British nation took part;

and, on one side or the other, everybody was a partisan, academic, dialectic, or combatant; a struggle of such grave importance for the nation was bound to exercise a universal influence. But, now that the strain is removed and the excitement subsided, thinking men are becoming ready to reconsider past events historically and impartially; and, to form a right judgment, there can be no better method than the study of the considered opinions of unprejudiced foreigners. 'Unprejudiced' is the important qualification, for the taste of the bitterness caused by prejudiced foreign opinion during the war has not yet left us. In this book prejudice has no place; it is just, even generous, to our soldiers and to our nation; it is equally just to our adversaries. Yet it points out the faults and failings, civil and military, on both sides with a relentless accuracy which is all the more effective because of the absolute detachment of the attitude and the studious moderation of the tone.

The leaders of the opposing forces, to the authors, are but names. They are judged by their deeds, not as romantic heroes or as imbecile amateurs, but as selected officers, invested with authority, each striving according to his lights to gain military advantage. The causes of success or failure are strictly investigated; and the cold reasoning of professional critics will not permit of the sweeping methods, so popular in this country, of ascribing the whole credit of success, or the responsibility of failure, in one case to the general and in another to the troops. The share of each is apportioned with some severity. Evidence is adduced of skill and of errors on the part of the commanders, of heroism and of panic on the part of the men; the authors give the impression of having sought strictly, even narrowly, for the truth, with no ulterior motive save the enlightenment of those for whom they write. Even when the truth has been missed through insufficient information, the reasoning is so cool and moderate that those to whom injustice may have inadvertently been done can hardly resent the error.

The 'Times History' is of a different class. It has already been called the complement of the other, and for this reason, that the English book is remarkable for its success in the very particular in which the German book falls short, i.e. in accuracy of detail. In this it has

achieved an astonishing success; and its authors deserve every credit for the care and labour which must have been required to attain this result. But, for the rest, the inferiority of the English work cannot be questioned. Even its most notable feature, the detail of the narrative, is treated so minutely that the sense of proportion has been lost; the story is swamped in detail. The other conditions which go to the making of a standard history are practically wanting. The fact that separate portions of the book were written by different authors makes it difficult to generalise; but, taken as a whole, it must be said that, in spite of the accuracy of detail, the general narrative does not altogether give a true representation of the events. This is chiefly due to the adjectives; they swarm over the pages, interrupting the train of thought, colouring the story, and qualifying plain facts.

It is not to the fault in style that exception is taken; it is to the overlaying of a false colour on a true narrative. The comments on operations are laborious and academic; but, even when the reasoning is sound, the conclusions are often carried to extremes—a result probably due to a lack of the practical knowledge which serves to modify purely theoretical speculation. The criticisms on individuals are also lacking in moderation; in some cases the appreciation becomes fulsome; in a few the strictures degenerate into something like spite. And, not least, there is a tendency to speculation in alternatives, to the comparison of events which did happen with events that might have happened had other courses been pursued—a system of criticism which is futile under any conditions, but is particularly misleading when applied to the uncertainties of war. It is much to be regretted that the labour which was expended on the foundation of this work should fail of success through a faulty superstructure. It required courage on the part of a band of journalists to attempt the compilation of a book of so technical a nature; and their success would have been welcomed. As it is, the result of their efforts points two morals. One is to be found in the proverb relating to the shoemaker and his last; the other is that possibly the press-censor may be to journalism a friend in disguise, for surely never could a blue pencil have been of more service.

As a proof of the political impartiality of the German authors, three paragraphs from the introductory remarks are worth quoting. They are remarkable as showing the curiously historical note they strike; they might be treating of events a century old. The book opens as follows:—

‘The war in South Africa, which ended in May 1902 with the annihilation of the independence of the Boer Republics, was the termination of the struggle, left undecided in 1881, between Great Britain and the descendants of the original Dutch settlers who had taken possession of the Cape in the year 1652. During the naval wars at the commencement of the nineteenth century England twice seized the Dutch possessions in South Africa; and they were finally ceded to her on the conclusion of peace in 1815. Reasons similar to those which had induced the Boers, as far back as 1835, to migrate northwards, led to the war of 1899. The refusal of the Boer Government to facilitate the acquisition of burghership by the English dwellers in the Transvaal, and alleged disadvantages in political and commercial questions, gave England a pretext for diplomatic negotiations, which she endeavoured to emphasise by strengthening her garrisons in Cape Colony and in Natal.’

After a page of military information about the British forces available for immediate action, another vexed question is presented in a nutshell.

‘The reinforcement of the South African garrison did not have the effect hoped for. On the contrary, it strengthened the spirit of opposition in both the South African Republics. The conviction that the struggle between the Dutch and the English would, sooner or later, have to be fought out, and that the present moment was perhaps not an unfavourable one, was preponderant in the two States, while England’s delay in adopting more serious measures confirmed the Boers in their view.’

The chapter ends as follows:—

‘The Transvaal replied to the mobilisation of the first army corps by an ultimatum addressed to Great Britain. By the 11th of October the latter was to withdraw her troops from the frontiers, and not to land in South Africa those which were then at sea. England could not accept such conditions; war thus became inevitable; and arms alone could decide the issue.’

In this essentially military book there are hardly any other allusions to politics; and few moderate Englishmen will be inclined to quarrel with the outline here quoted. Such may well be the verdict of the future. When party and personal recriminations have died away, and the struggle for South Africa, which continued intermittently throughout the nineteenth century, is considered historically, the truth will become apparent. Some wars are political, some are racial; this war was of the latter type, and as such, sooner or later, inevitable.

The German comments on British military organisation and tactics are short and to the point. It is interesting to note that many of the deficiencies in the training of our men are traced to the difficulty of finding ground on which to exercise troops, and to the infrequency of 'grand manœuvres.' We have heard much of army reform of late; yet the manœuvre vote is that which first suffers when the pressure of economy bears on the army estimates. The late Colonel Henderson, one of the few British soldiers whose talents, without any glamour of battlefield reputation, have forced recognition from the general public, produced an apposite illustration on this point, when, in 'The Science of War' (p. 396), he wrote:—

'According to Mahan the naval victories of England in the Great War were due in great part to the fact that the fleets of France, continually in port, were always at a disadvantage when they met their storm-tried enemies on the high seas. In 1899 the case of the British regimental officer serving at home was somewhat similar to that of the commanders and the crews of Napoleon's battleships. His training, to pursue the analogy, was in still water; his knowledge of navigation and seamanship was often purely hearsay; and he was never permitted to face wind and waves.'

It is an interesting speculation to consider how the efficiency of the navy would be affected if our ships were not allowed to go to sea because of the cost of coal; probably it would be no more ready for war than is the army which is confined to a few acres of government ground for the sake of partridges and pheasants. This lack of practice in manœuvre, and the misconception of certain features of modern warfare engendered by a series of successful campaigns against badly armed and undis-

ciplined adversaries, are noted in the German book as the causes of many of our difficulties in the war; and the authors have, in the course of their narrative, found no scarcity of illustrations to prove their statements.

The events in Natal down to the investment of Ladysmith are dealt with very shortly; and five pages of the eleven devoted to this period are allotted to the fight at Elands-laagte. Yet the narrative and the comments give a clear conception of the events. The concise treatment is, of course, due to the motive of the book. This is an educational work, and there is but little to be learned from the scrambling actions of Talana Hill and Lombard's Kop; while the strategical developments, which have been hotly discussed in this country, present no difficulties to the judgment of the Great General Staff. It has frequently been asserted, and in the 'Times History' it is argued at length in three different parts of the book (each time with a different conclusion), that the alternatives before Sir George White were to hold on to Ladysmith or to retire to the Tugela. The Germans look deeper, and without discussion offer to the general the choice between Ladysmith and Durban, or both. This is a view which will commend itself to those who try to solve the problem without prejudice. Ladysmith could be held for a certain time—that was certain; but there was no certainty, and indeed not much probability, unless the Boers threw away all their chances, that the Natal Field Force could have held any other position except as a besieged army, until its flanks were protected by the sea. The Germans think that the best course would have been to reduce the Ladysmith garrison to a minimum and remove the remainder of the troops, especially the cavalry, to Durban. Of the decision actually made it is briefly said, 'As events turned out, it was decidedly disadvantageous for Sir George White to remain in Ladysmith; but he could not have foreseen this.'

The British leading at the fight at Elands-laagte is favourably commented on in every particular; the completeness of the plan, the excellent combination of the three arms, and the skilful handling of the troops in action, are all noticed with approval. The impartiality of the writers is shown in the description of the last stage of the battle. 'While one portion of the Boers, by



holding up white flags, showed that they wished to surrender, which caused the British to sound the "Cease fire," another Boer detachment of about fifty men made a counter-attack.' It is noteworthy also, as indicating the sense of proportion always carefully preserved by the authors, that the British losses (35 officers and 225 men) are described as trifling. Elandslaagte was indeed in many ways a model battle, comparable only in this war to the action at Driefontein in March 1900; and it is interesting to consider how far the contrast between the complete success achieved in these minor contests and the continual failure in greater battles can be explained by the ability of the commanders to handle the numbers engaged. For the force at Elandslaagte (16 companies, 8 squadrons, 3 batteries) was such as even a British general might have a chance of handling in peace time, whereas in the tactical manœuvring of larger bodies of troops many of the leaders and most of the staff were, through national parsimony, quite inexperienced.

Before leaving this portion of the campaign we may contrast the methods of the two books in their treatment of the subject. The difference in tone may be gathered from the epithets applied to Sir George White. The Germans say 'he was known as an energetic and cautious leader' ('ein tatkräftiger und umsichtiger Führer'); the 'Times' historians say that 'in his younger days he had displayed the same headstrong boldness that distinguished Sir W. P. Symons'—a curiously inappropriate parallel, which they afterwards qualify by accusing Sir George of timidity, and by stating that his conduct 'fluctuated between confidence at times appalling in its rashness, and almost inexplicable hesitation and alarm.' That the authors should think it becoming to sneer at Sir George White's courage, that chivalrous courage whose fine temper has been proved many times, both in the field and in council, shows how taste may become debauched by a diet of adjectives.

As a contrast in matters of military opinion the verdict of the Germans on the soldiers who fought the first battles of the war may be quoted. At Elandslaagte 'the British force, as regards tactics and training, had shown itself quite on a par with its adversary'; and at the battle of Lombard's Kop 'the causes of this failure

are by no means to be found in the way the troops fought, but in omissions and errors of leadership.' The journalists are of a different opinion. They say that the battle of Lombard's Kop 'showed conclusively that in the open field 12,000 British troops were not a match for an equal number of Boers.' This is from vol. ii, p. 255; but in vol. iii (p. 153) it is stated that the Boers had 'nearly 22,000 men concentrated round White's shaken and dispirited force.' This latter statement (adjectives excepted) is correct. As a comparison in style the introduction to the battle of Talana is too tempting to resist. The German account runs thus: On October 20, General Symons' detached force at Dundee was surprised in camp by 4000 men with 6 guns.' The English history is less restrained.

'Day was now breaking—a day typical of the rainy season in Northern Natal. The morning was dull and cheerless. The bevelled crests of broad Impati and gaunt Indumeni were obscured in a grey curtain; and great billows of cloud, like the rollers on Table Mountain which warn mariners in the bay of approaching tempests, curled over their steep edges. On this day they were to be forerunners of a very different tempest—a tempest which, in its ever-increasing din, was destined to drown the very echoes born on the rugged faces of the silent hills—destined to make the names of a peaceful English village and an unknown Kaffir mountain famous in history.'

Each of these lines may be worth its penny, but most editors would consider that rate extravagant. There should be some coherence even in padding; and it is difficult to make sense out of the obscure allusion to Dundee masquerading in the odd guise of a peaceful English village.

The strategical distribution of the British troops in South Africa in December 1899, usually referred to as the break-up of the Army Corps, receives some attention from the German critics. They are inclined to justify Sir Redvers Buller's dispositions; the only alternative suggested, but hardly recommended, is 'to have renounced the relief of Kimberley for the time being, to have left the defence of Cape Colony to the troops already there, and to have concentrated the mass of the Army Corps in Natal for a decisive stroke.' In spite of this suggestion

it appears unmistakably from the comments on the battle of Colenso that the authors are not prepared to say that the forces originally in Natal under General Buller were insufficient. Rather do their criticisms tend to the view that, with better handling, the troops would have speedily forced their way to Ladysmith. Even the gate by Colenso was not impassable; and it is refreshing to observe how the trained military mind reduces to its proper proportions the action of December 15, and refuses to regard as a defeat for the troops a repulse which in this country was magnified into a serious disaster. Disastrous in its effects it certainly was, but in itself not serious; and a clear distinction is drawn between the battle as it really was and the battle as it appeared to, and affected the mind of, the General in command. The strictures on General Buller are severe, yet generous, for they recognise his difficulties. His failure is ascribed to two principal causes—absence of reconnaissance before the battle, chiefly as affecting the importance of Hlangwane Hill; and lack of determination in continuing the action at a time when the one fatal course was to break it off. The authors seem to have come to the conclusion, which appears again and again in the comments on the successive actions of the Natal campaign, that General Buller was looking for certainties, and was so disappointed when he found only probabilities, even when they were promising, that he was unable to take advantage of them. One other comment on the battle of Colenso is noteworthy. The much discussed message sent after the battle by General Buller to the commander in Ladysmith is characteristically explained in four words. The general was ‘depressed by his defeat.’ With reference to the question of the fighting power of the troops, as compared with the skill of their commander, it is interesting to compare the opinion of our best British military critic. In refuting the statements of a Vienna lecturer, who had sneered at the quality of the British soldier, Colonel Henderson said (‘Science of War,’ p. 379):—

‘Had he known that the troops at Colenso retired by order of the general-in-chief, and retired with the utmost unwillingness . . . had he known that throughout the campaign the great difficulty was not to get the men to advance, but to prevent them advancing prematurely—he would probably

have realised that the failures of an indomitable soldiery were due to mistakes in leading and to the peculiar conditions of modern battle.'

The conclusion is one that might be drawn from almost any of our campaigns, and it is shortly this—that British officers and men in war find it easier to be brave than to be skilful. For bravery is inherent, while skill must be painfully acquired.

Spion Kop has been the subject of more recrimination and more bitter feeling than any other action or series of operations of the war. By many writers, official and unofficial, the whole burden of failure has been laid on one leader or another; on clumsy transport or on faulty reconnaissance; on avoidance of responsibility on this day, or on assumption of responsibility on that day. The reputations of gallant soldiers have been smirched with printer's ink; the records of famous regiments have been sullied by shameful words; and yet, hitherto, no clear exposition of the primary causes of the defeat has been produced. We have it now; and, be it right or wrong, it is welcome, for it lifts the whole discussion from the pit of partisan controversy to the platform of tactical study. Individual mistakes in tactics, in leading, in command, are noted, according to their bearing on the problem. These German critics know that mistakes in war are inevitable; it might be hazarded that they would cheerfully produce a list of mistakes to the score of their fellow-countrymen at Wörth as long as that against the British leaders at Spion Kop.

But it is not to unnecessary delays, or to misdirected attacks, or to errors of judgment in the heat of action that they ascribe the defeat. They put it down to two failings in British leadership, one of which is dependent on the other; and there are few of the generals who took part in the war who are held to be superior to these failings. The first, the cause, is the desire to win victories on the cheap; to defeat the enemy without suffering loss; to gain the reward without making the sacrifice. The second, the corollary, is the repeated failure to attack 'all along the line, to hold the enemy in every section of his position while pushing home at the decisive point.' The disinclination to incur losses by committing troops to the attack of those portions of a position on which

decisive assault was not intended to be delivered is clearly indicated as the real tactical error. Such individual efforts as were made by subordinate commanders in the right direction were summarily checked by superior authority. Thus it came about that every attack was isolated ; that in each case a small portion of the whole available force was thrust on the enemy in hope of snatching a cheap advantage, while the remainder of the troops stood by awaiting their turn. And against each effort, as it was made, the Boers were able to concentrate without interference.

It was not by such methods of attack that decisive success could be achieved. The enemy's strength lay, to a great extent, in his mobility ; and the best way to counteract this was to fix him in his trenches by simultaneous and resolute attacks at every point. General Barton's operations from Chieveley, although neither simultaneous with the attacks of the main force nor very resolute in their execution, certainly held a proportion of Boers in their position at Colenso, and even, according to the 'Times History' (iii, 243), drew reinforcements thither from the upper Tugela. But with the main force there was no real attempt at such policy. The successive attacks were successively repulsed ; the casualties were spread over depressing days instead of being crowded into triumphant minutes ; and failure was attended by sacrifices which might have secured success.

Vaal Krantz, to the Germans, tells the same tale—want of resolution in committing troops to the holding attack, and want of determination in pushing home the main assault. For Sir Redvers Buller's 'pertinacity' in undertaking these operations they have nothing but praise ; it is considered that his 'correct reasoning about the subject must command unqualified approval.' This is with reference to the suggestion put forward by the home Government, and approved by Lord Roberts, that the operations of the Natal army, until the advance of the main force against the Orange Free State had made itself felt, should be confined to a strict defensive behind the Tugela. General Buller, on the other hand, was convinced that it was only by continued offensive tactics on his part that the strategical latitude of the Boers could be limited ; in fact, that unless he kept on attack-

ing, the enemy would contain him with a paltry force, and, while keeping a grip on Ladysmith, would be able to send heavy reinforcements to the Free State. In these views, as has been said, the Great General Staff concur; but for the actual plan and its execution they have no praise. Nor indeed do they find much cause to commend General Buller for his conduct of the subsequent and finally successful operations. Dilatory movements, want of energy, irresolution in action, are severely criticised, while due credit is given to subordinate commanders who showed initiative and determination.

But here again the great fault is emphasised. Speaking of the failure to pursue after the capture of Monte Cristo, the authors say :—

‘But the garnering of the full harvest of success was prevented far less by this mistake, which was moreover such as may easily arise in war time, than by the orders for the attack originally issued by Buller, which could in no way bring about a decisive engagement. If the flank attack was to have an effective result, it should have been delivered on the Boers completely tied down to the defence of their front by the operations of Warren’s Division; it would thus have come on them as a surprise, and they could hardly have got clear of it with such insignificant losses.’

On the heavy but indecisive fighting at Wynne’s Hill and Hart’s Hill there is but little comment; the cold narrative has an incisive voice of its own which renders comment unnecessary. It is not until the development of the plan of attack against Pieter’s Hill is dealt with that an opinion is vouchsafed; and this time it is favourable. ‘While every attack had hitherto been made on a narrow front, unsuitable, as a rule, for the development of sufficient force, the front of the attack on this occasion was at last to furnish ample space for the simultaneous development of all the force employed.’ At last the Natal army was given room to use its strength, and the gallant brigades, which had each in succession tried and failed to do single-handed the work of the whole force, swept on side by side to Ladysmith.

Little reference is made in the German work to the tactical operations undertaken by the forces occupied in the siege and defence of Ladysmith; nor can it be said

that they were of a nature to afford lessons of great value. The meagre account given in this book of the fighting on Jan. 6, 1900, is, however, noteworthy as a specimen of the insufficient and inaccurate information which has already been remarked :—

‘Under cover of darkness the columns advanced noiselessly almost up to the British position, and at break of day threw back in hot haste the weak line holding the southern edge of the Tafelberg. But instead of immediately following up the British, so as to reach with them the northern edge of the Tafelberg (whence they would have commanded the town), the Boers halted and occupied the abandoned position on the southern edge, and thence opened and maintained a fire-action against the British, who had halted in a position on the northern edge in which they soon received considerable reinforcements, particularly in artillery.’

This is not only inadequate but almost entirely erroneous. The ‘weak line’ was the outpost line, and only on the extreme point of Wagon Hill was it ever pushed back to the northern edge of the plateau. The redoubts which lay between the two crests are not mentioned; but they would have had a distinct influence on any ‘pushing-on’ operations. The position on the northern edge was not reinforced by artillery; the reinforcing guns took part in the action from the low ground. It seems probable that the authors have studied this action only from the Boer side; but, if so, it would have been better to confine the narrative to such details as the Boers might presumably know. As it stands, the description is misleading. The only other references to the Ladysmith garrison are those which are necessary to show that Sir George White was always ready to co-operate with the relief force, so far as his means would allow, but that opportunity, even permission, was denied him.

The operations under Lord Methuen in the western part of the theatre of war prior to the battle of Magersfontein were not of a nature to afford valuable illustrations of the science of war. They appeal strongly to the sentiment of the British people on account of the dashing gallantry displayed by the troops. The losses incurred by the small body of Marines at Graspan—44 per cent. in a successful attack—are of historical interest.

But, owing to certain disadvantages under which Lord Methuen's force laboured, it was practically tied to the railway; and manœuvre on a large scale was difficult. The mounted troops were few in number; and information about the enemy was in consequence neither full nor accurate. Transport was deficient, and the free movement of the force was therefore impeded. The country, also, was admirably adapted to the defensive operations of a mobile enemy.

The advance of the British force was, chiefly for these reasons, a succession of attacks, mainly frontal, on prepared positions. That three of these in close succession should have been successful speaks well for the valour of the troops and for the tactical leading of subordinate commanders. In these qualities Lord Methuen doubtless placed high confidence; but a dispassionate examination of the actions leads to the conclusion that the general in command did not, either in his plans or his dispositions, seek to utilise any other method of gaining military advantage. The troops were given an objective and left to themselves. In these three actions there were mishaps and unexpected developments, but in no case were they too great to be dealt with by the troops already committed to the attack. Modder River, however, showed the want of a guiding hand; the plan was vague, and based on incorrect information; and the troops, when checked, lacked the incentive of a recognisable goal. On the left, by the intrepidity of a few officers and men, a minor objective—a possible crossing—was discovered and achieved by the troops, who had for the greater part of the day been enduring heavy fire while groping for the weak spot in the enemy's position. Success won by such methods is not only unlikely to provide any useful lessons, but is, in many cases, misleading. The system of driving straight at your enemy and overcoming him by sheer resolution gives away all the advantages which are to be gained by surprise, stratagem, and skill. Superior numbers, or bravery, or discipline may win battles unaided; but, if trust be placed in these alone, a day of reckoning is bound to come.

In this case the reckoning was paid at Magersfontein. A development arose which was too serious to be dealt with by the troops in action; and failure was at once



accepted as inevitable by the general in command. Our German critics place it in the same category as Colenso—a check which became a repulse because the commander thought it was a repulse. ‘The idea that an attack might turn the tide of battle seems to have vanished from the minds of the divisional Staff, although more than half the force had not yet been in action.’ And again, ‘The reports of the Boers leave no room whatever for doubting that a resolute attack, properly supported from the river, would have succeeded.’ Not only was there no thought of attack; for the fighting line there was no support. The Highland Brigade, which had marched soon after midnight, had been surprised in close formation in the darkness, and since dawn had found itself in what the authors call a ‘hopeless situation,’ received no reinforcement until after 11 A.M., when six companies of the Gordons were sent to its assistance. To the valour of the troops and the devotion of the subordinate leaders the Germans bear ample witness.

‘No one can cast a stone at the brave men who, in clumsy formation, were helplessly sacrificed at point-blank range to magazine fire, and were then partly dashed back in disorder. . . . It could only be a question of time as to how long the men would be able to hold their ground. The best troops, if unsupported, must, under such circumstances, and after exertions such as these had undergone, give way. . . . It is in a high degree worthy of recognition that, in the English firing line, attempts were made over and over again to charge the Boer position; but, since there was no sort of unity of leadership, and as no supports were following, it was easy for the Boers to repel these isolated attacks. . . . The gallant brigade clung to its ground just as did our Guards at St Privat; but whereas the latter received powerful support from the rear, Lord Methuen either considered that it was not necessary to reinforce the Highlanders immediately with the whole of his force which was still available, or else that it was impossible to do this.’

With this testimony to the spirit of the Highland Brigade, and with the proof of high courage and discipline already given by the rest of the division, it is evident that it was not the quality of the troops which was defective. The causes of failure must be sought elsewhere. One of them, as placed before us in this

book, is unmistakable: '3000 men, to be supported by 3850 others in reserve, were to carry out the actual attack on the enemy, who was 6000 or perhaps 7000 strong.' When it is considered that the reserve was not used as a support at all, but was diverted to form what the authors aptly name a 'defensive flank,' the lack of success is not astonishing. Another brief statement of the case concludes the comments on the battle, and is also, in some measure, calculated to close controversy.

'Turning now to the Boers, they were quite extraordinarily well fitted for fighting on the defensive; they had had time to strengthen, by means of admirably planned trenches, their position, which was by nature a very strong one; and in addition to all this, the attacker was complaisant enough to run his head against just the very strongest part of that position.'

The operations of General Gatacre on the east and of General French in the centre are only casually referred to by the German historians. This omission is probably due not so much to the lack of tactical interest in these contests as to the want of authentic information on which to base a clear narrative. The 'Times History' contains a chapter on each of these affairs; and in each case the account appears to be accurate so far as the operations of the British are concerned. The description of the Stormberg action, however, is marred by the faults from which few portions of the book are free; the effort to produce a vivid tale has led the authors to use language so lacking in moderation that a suspicion of prejudice is at once aroused in the mind of the reader. Such descriptive touches as 'the general seemed to be deliberately courting a surprise,' and 'Gatacre could hardly believe his eyes,' are not in the historical vein; while the repetition of such phrases as 'more astonishing still,' 'astonishing as it may seem,' 'it is almost inconceivable,' are only excusable on the ground that the authors, although posing as masters, are but novices in the art of war. That grave mistakes were committed at Stormberg is undoubted. The troops were overworked, and, when brought into contact with the enemy, were in no condition to bear the strain of a stiff action. The night march was not well organised; and there was a misunder-

standing between the general and his guides. When the force retired, many officers and men were left behind and captured. These errors may be inexcusable, but they are by no means inconceivable, nor even, considering the hazardous nature of the enterprise, astonishing.

The chapter of the 'Times History' dealing with the Colesberg operations is on a different plane, perhaps because the subject is a pleasanter one to deal with. It is always easier to be appreciative than to be critical; in favourable comment, also, there is not the same temptation to endeavour to make violence of language fill the place of authority derived from reason and experience. In any case, the authors have given us a clear and temperate account of General French's masterly handling of an inferior force in a difficult country. The sound strategical plan, the unceasing reconnaissance, the bold policy of continual attack, enabled his detachment to hold its own from the first with ever-increasing confidence. The intrepid personality of the leader immediately won the trust of his men; success in a few minor encounters led them to trust in themselves; and thus arose a feeling of moral superiority to the enemy which not only inspired the whole force but quickly communicated its influence to the Boers. These operations laid the foundations of Sir John French's reputation among the Boers, on whom the resolution of his tactics and the decisive swiftness of his movements made a deep impression.

Hardly less noteworthy were the efforts of his successor, General Clements. When General French, with the bulk of his cavalry, had been withdrawn from the Colesberg district to take part in Lord Roberts' invasion of the Orange Free State, the new commander succeeded in carrying on the policy of his predecessor, although his force was reduced in numbers and almost denuded of horsemen. When forced in the end to retire, as was inevitable, General Clements succeeded, by determined bluffing, in keeping the enemy's attention fixed on his skeleton force, attracting reinforcements to the enemy from more important points, and effectually blinding the Boers to the menacing concentration of the main British force in the west. We hope that some day the exploits of these commanders may be woven into a continuous narrative as a tactical study. There is no one more

fitted for such a task than the talented soldier who shared in them as chief staff-officer to General French.

On January 10, 1900, Lord Roberts landed in Cape Town. General Buller's troops were just then starting on the enterprise which culminated at Spion Kop; Gatacre was showing an undaunted front near Dordrecht; French was skirmishing actively about Colesberg; and Lord Methuen was still quiescent in his Modder River camp. The forces hitherto available were thus deployed on a somewhat precarious line, but were posted not inconveniently for the development of an offensive campaign with fresh troops. Fresh troops, in the shape of the 6th and 7th Divisions, were at hand; the choice of the direction in which to employ them was the first problem to be solved by the commander-in-chief. There were certain strategical and political advantages in dealing thoroughly with the Free State before invading the Transvaal, which pointed to the selection of Cape Colony as the main route, in preference to Natal. There was hope, also, of the early relief of Ladysmith, as the arrival there of the 5th Division had emboldened General Buller to try his fortune again on the Tugela. The alternative advance from Natal over the Drakensberg into the Free State presented little attraction, chiefly because the railway from Natal stopped short at Harrismith.

Cape Colony having been once selected, the particular line along which the army should advance had to be decided. It is hardly necessary to go into the arguments for and against the routes by Norvals Pont and Orange River Station; they are stated with some fulness in both the German and the 'Times' histories. The rival authors, however, differ as to the reasons which induced Lord Roberts to adopt the western line of advance. In the German book we read, 'In this particular instance the configuration of the country appears to have materially influenced the choice of route'; and no doubt the nature of the country between Norvals Pont and Bloemfontein, admirably adapted for the defensive tactics of the Boers, properly influenced the decision. The 'Times History,' however, favoured with better information, has taken a wider view, and adduces as the chief reasons for

the selection of the western line the considerations that such operations would partake of the nature of a surprise, and that the advance from a flank would cause the automatic withdrawal of the Boer forces from Cape Colony. The political effect of the relief of Kimberley, which could, without difficulty, be achieved without much interruption of the main plan, was also important. Moreover there was the certainty that an advance along the main line would find the whole available force of the Boers concentrated to defend Bloemfontein; while in the case of an advance from the west it was at least probable that some of the commandos in Cape Colony would be too late to take part in the decisive action.

It is probable that these views, much more than any consideration of the nature of the country, influenced Lord Roberts' action; for he was never one to be scared by mere difficulties of ground. Defended kopjes are awkward obstacles to surmount, but so also are Afghan mountains; and Lord Roberts had already proved for himself the truth of the saying that 'difficult ground favours the more skilful general.' But it is noticeable that the authors of the two books, arguing from different premisses, come to the same conclusion. The Germans say 'the grounds for his decision were sound, and the course of the operations showed how correctly he had appraised all the circumstances, and the effect which this advance would exert on the Boers. The 'Times History,' in passages too many and too long to quote, is equally emphatic in praise of the general plan.

On the execution of the plan the German comments are not invariably favourable. They have no strictures to make on the action of the commander-in-chief or of his staff; the mishaps and misadventures which occurred, and the manner in which they were met, are in most instances used as proofs of the steadfastness of the leader and the ability of his assistants. It is rather the subordinate leaders who are criticised. Faulty reconnaissance by the cavalry division is alleged; how far this could be explained by the desire to preserve secrecy there are at present no means of knowing. The avoidance of proper responsibility on the part of the officer commanding the 9th Division in the matter of detailing an escort to the convoy which became the first of De Wet's many

great prizes, is noted with disapproval. Other faults are observed in the later stages of the operations.

The most notable feature of the relief of Kimberley was, no doubt, the charge of the cavalry division at Klip Drift. It is striking, not only as a daring and original manoeuvre, but also as an example of remarkable intuition on the part of the cavalry commander. The conception and the method of execution were alike due to General French; the officers and men of the brigades had nothing to do save to ride straight and trust in their leader. The loss on both sides was trifling, but the moral effect was great. The German authors term it a 'staggering success,' and state that 'The main body of the Boers, leaving fifteen killed and wounded, fled towards Magersfontein; and their terror was such that, by their exaggerated accounts, they communicated their dejected spirits to the other burghers in laager.' It is not unreasonable to suppose that General French's success, two days later, in holding up Cronje's whole force with something like a thousand mounted men, was due to the feeling of moral inferiority impressed on the Boers by this charge.

The siege of Kimberley is contemptuously dismissed by the Great General Staff as 'rather a pretence than a serious military enterprise.' Elsewhere in the book, however, the political importance of its defence and relief is recognised. But that the cavalry division should have been sent actually into Kimberley is regarded as a mistake. Its proper business was the reconnaissance and perhaps the envelopment of the Boer force at Magersfontein. It is pointed out that Cronje's final failure was due largely to his own errors; the other factor was 'the indefatigable General French, who, by his own energy, had accomplished the seemingly impossible.'

On the much debated question of Lord Kitchener's decision to attack at once, when it was found that Cronje had been intercepted at Paardeberg, the two books are in agreement. The German book states the case concisely.

'It was known that numerous and strong bodies of the enemy were hastening from Bloemfontein and the Orange River to reinforce Cronje; and, as their arrival might, under certain circumstances, destroy all the advantages hitherto gained, prompt action seemed to be desirable. Bitter experience had likewise shown that the difficulties of the attack would be

multiplied if time were given to the Boers, who were so skilful in rapidly strengthening a position. But, as they had as yet thrown up only weak entrenchments, it still seemed possible to overcome their resistance easily and without too great loss, especially as all the information concerning the enemy was to the effect that he was very much dispirited, and that the ceaseless pursuit of the preceding days had greatly weakened his power of resistance. There was also another consideration. The great scarcity of means of transport and the threatened commissariat difficulties rendered the early capture of the numerous carts and supplies, which the Boers were known to possess, of enhanced importance for the rapid success of the move on Bloemfontein.'

The 'Times History' supports similar views with a flood of highly-coloured language which leaves the reader in much the same condition as were, according to this work, the British at Spion Kop—a state of 'paralytic stupor.' However, the conclusion is correct, and equally so the opinion expressed in both books that the attack should have been renewed on the morrow. And in both books it is recognised—after the event, be it said—that the effect of the British losses at Paardeberg, although in no way abnormal, was apparent throughout the war in the disinclination of the British generals to bring their enemy to close action, and in the acceptance of indecisive results, if only they were gained without serious loss.

The errors in the tactical handling of the troops at Paardeberg do not, of course, escape notice. The German critics give us a careful plan of attack, based on German methods, as a guide, and condense the errors of the British commander into a sentence. 'Several isolated attacks were made without sufficient artillery support.' Further, they hazard a guess as to the cause of the errors, and come to the conclusion that Lord Kitchener underrated the moral strength of the Boers, and was convinced that a resolute attack would cause a speedy surrender. The attack of the Prussian Guards at St Privat and the premature advance of a cavalry division at Gravelotte are adduced as instances of similar 'illusions.' It is also noted that Lord Kitchener had had no practice in handling large bodies of troops. The authors' ignorance of British political conditions is apparent in the naïve statement that 'the manœuvres on a large scale which now take

place in England are chiefly due to the sanguinary teachings of South Africa.' The fact that British Governments hold blood cheaper than money was inconceivable to the authors, who, writing in 1904, would naturally imagine that the manoeuvres of 1903 would be repeated.

Whether the successful issue of the operations was due to Lord Kitchener's energetic measures, or was achieved in spite of his tactical failure, is a puzzle, the key to which lies in the memory of one man, General Piet Cronje. He may have been held to his position by the fighting on Feb. 17, or he may have intended to hold his ground in any event. But it may be taken as a general rule that, when operations are successful in spite of tactical misadventures, there is not much the matter with the scheme. It very rarely occurs in war that successful operations can be described as too costly. A commander must be prepared to accept losses; and nothing is more difficult to assess than the price which must be paid for victory. Tactical mistakes are always made. Some successful generals are better than others; but the very greatest most readily admit their errors. The value of any operation of war can be judged practically only in one way, by its effect on the enemy. In a tactical sense Lord Kitchener's attack was a failure; it did not produce such immediate effect as to secure a tactical victory. But his policy in attacking is a different matter.

It may be that the mere fighting, apart from any question of its success or failure, fixed the enemy at Paardeberg, and therefore made the final success possible. If this were so—we may guess it, but do not know—if the mere joining of battle were a means of securing a strategical advantage, then Lord Kitchener was doubly justified in his attack, for he had two favourable possibilities to grasp, one tactical, and, if that failed, another of strategical value. Stonewall Jackson's attack at Kernstown in 1862 was not very well conducted, and resulted in tactical failure; but the very fact of the attack being made had far-reaching strategical effects. The same may be said of Mars-la-Tour (1870). In these cases there was the same double possibility. Immediate tactical success was hoped for, but was not essential. Resolute fighting was essential; and, whether the battle were lost or won, so long as it was fought, the strategical advantage was



secured. It was thus also at Paardeberg; and the losses incurred there were the price, not of the loss of a battle, but of the capture of the enemy's force.

The Boers who had gathered for the defence of the capital of the Free State attempted on two occasions to bar the advance of Lord Roberts' victorious troops. Of the first of these minor actions—Poplar Grove—there is little to be said. Some misunderstandings among the British leaders, and an unusual nervousness on the part of the Boers prevented the attainment of any decisive result, while the exhausted condition of the cavalry horses rendered pursuit hopeless. The other combat, however, at Driefontein is full of interest. Owing to the fact that a tenacious resistance by the Boers at this period was not expected by the British leaders, the 6th Division was left unsupported to fight its own battle; and the numbers in action on each side were, for this reason, not very unequal. The British, attacking, lost 17 officers and 404 men; the Boer losses, according to the German account, were somewhere between 300 and 450. 'Driefontein,' say the German authors, 'will always remain a glorious day for the 6th Division and its general.' And they give reasons. The Boers were entrenched in a strong position, and fought courageously. Yet such was the skill of General Kelly-Kenny and such the determination of his men that, after a stiff fight, during which the last reserves on both sides were thrown into the battle, the Boers were driven from their trenches in disorder. To the tactics employed by the general, the German critics give the highest praise in their power; 'they were based substantially on the same principles which the German regulations . . . have laid down for the attack for a long time past.' They assert that

'the victory of Driefontein was due chiefly to the correct use of deep formations, and to the unity of command which characterised the proceedings throughout. . . . Except Elands-laagte, Driefontein was indeed really the first action of the campaign in which the British, appreciating correctly the importance of fire as the one decisive factor in the modern battle, fought with a definite plan, and with a determination to acquire the superiority in fire.'

The operations between March 13, on which date Lord

Roberts entered Bloemfontein, and the end of September, when the first phase of the war came to a close, are condensed by the German authors into some thirty pages of their history. There is therefore very small space for criticism or comment, and even the narrative, although clear, is hardly complete. The last chapter however, which is headed 'Tactical Retrospect,' is very valuable. In it the faults and failings of both sides are analysed and criticised with merciless accuracy. Of those scored against the British leaders, some are tactical, as the desire to get to close quarters with the enemy without first gaining superiority of fire; the supposition that the artillery bombardment and the infantry attack should form two separate phases of an action; the unwillingness to throw in all available troops in the endeavour to gain a decisive success. One fault is national—the fear of incurring loss—which led to irresolute operations, to the prolongation of the war, and, in the end, to losses far greater than would have been necessary for the crushing of the enemy in decisive action.

'Furthermore, a reluctance to incur losses often leads to a small portion only of the force being employed in attack, while the remainder are either kept in reserve or so timidly handled as to lend no assistance whatever to the assaulting troops. Such half-hearted tactics bring with them their own punishment.' ('Science of War,' p. 83.)

Thus wrote Colonel Henderson, who, had he lived, would have been our own historian of the war. It is indeed the great lesson of the struggle, for soldier and civilian alike, that decisive success cannot be won without paying the price, but yet that defeat, or even failure to win, is more costly than victory.

Such a book as this German official account is of great value, perhaps of more value to this nation than to that for which its teaching is intended. An effort has here been made to present briefly the point of view from which the professional soldiers of a military nation regard a contest which to us was a great war; but it is impossible within the limits of a few pages to do anything like justice to a work of such importance and authority. It is not in the clear and concise narrative, welcome as it is, that its chief value lies. It is a critical essay on modern

war, and as such cannot fail to make a profound impression on the minds of those who study its pages with a real desire for enlightenment.

If there be some who, while appreciating, are not yet completely enlightened, they will find the key to many problems in the final essay on 'The Science of War.' It is the last message of the author to his countrymen, and it deals with the subject which was always nearest his heart—the British Army. The causes of its success or failure in the past or in the present are there sought for and set forth by a devoted and single-minded soldier. To the evil influences which he had combated throughout his life—the lazy conservatism which discouraged study and stifled initiative, the glorification of routine, the optimism which refused to appreciate the lessons of modern wars—he attributes much of the failure; to the devotion, patriotism, and discipline of officers and men he ascribes much of the success. These are the faults and virtues of the soldiers themselves, for which they alone are responsible. To the nation, for the share it has taken in forming and maintaining an efficient army, the author gives but little praise. The public has been apathetic; successive governments have been indifferent; organisation, which, be it noted, is a duty which the State has never delegated to the soldier, has been neglected; the problem even of our military requirements has only lately been seriously considered. If military requirements are not correctly appreciated, then armies are sacrificed, as was the British force at New Orleans; if organisation is faulty, then the death-roll is multiplied, as in the Crimea; if opportunities for the practice of manœuvres are denied to the troops, they must acquire skill by 'sanguinary teaching,' as in South Africa. These are examples from the past; and, unless the people awake to a sense of their negligence, they will be repeated in the future. The responsibility is not to be evaded.

'The army of Great Britain is practically commanded by the nation, through its parliamentary representatives. Is it not the business of the nation to see that these representatives have some knowledge of the work with which they are entrusted?'

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# Art. VIII.—JOHN KNOX AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

1. *The Works of John Knox*. Collected and edited by David Laing. Six vols. Edinburgh, 1846-1864.
  2. *John Knox: a Biography*. By P. Hume Brown. Two vols. Edinburgh: Black, 1895.
  3. *John Knox*. By Florence A. MacCunn. London: Methuen, 1895.
  4. *Politics and Religion: a Study in Scottish History from the Reformation to the Revolution*. By W. Lee Mathieson. Two vols. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1902.
  5. *John Knox and the Reformation*. By Andrew Lang. London: Longmans, 1905.
  6. *John Knox: the Hero of the Scottish Reformation*. By Henry Cowan. London: Putnam, 1905.
  7. *Mary Stuart*. By Florence A. MacCunn. London: Methuen, 1905.
- And other works.

FOR readers of Scottish history last year possessed a double significance. In August 1305 William Wallace perished nobly at London in Scotland's darkest hour. Somewhere in the course of the year 1505, according to tradition, John Knox was born near Haddington. Of these two centenaries Scotland chose to celebrate the latter and to ignore the former, although, before the opening of the year 1905, it had been shown that the actual quatercentenary of the birth of Knox will probably not occur until the year 1913-14. The choice appears arbitrary, but it need not be regarded as a proof that the memories of the War of Independence have lost their hold upon the imagination of Scotsmen.

The neglect of the Wallace anniversary is due partly to ignorance of the personality of the man, and partly to the absence of any organisation within whose sphere of interest such a celebration might come. If Wallace has left his name, 'Like a wild flower, All over his dear country,' it is the name alone which has survived. The blind minstrel who, nearly two centuries after Stirling Bridge, attempted to revive the traditions of the hero by expanding the scanty record of his deeds, has left us just the kind of picture of a warrior which we should

expect from a wandering minstrel telling his story to the subjects of James III. Our more critical age refuses to find in Blind Harry's verse the true portraiture of William Wallace any more than in the wild invective of the English author of the '*Flores Historiarum*,' who described him as 'a renegade from religion, a sacrilegious man, an incendiary, and a homicide, a man more cruel than the cruelty of Herod, and more insane than the fury of Nero.' The truth may lie between the two; but, whatever it may be, it is now past finding out. If the name of William Wallace were excised from Scottish history, the narrative of the resistance to Edward I would become unintelligible; yet of the man we know only what we can infer from his noble passages across the stage of history.

With Knox it is far otherwise. Every Scotsman feels that, if he were to enter his country's Valhalla, there are three shades of the mighty dead whom he would recognise and know as if he had lived with them in the days of their flesh—as if he had listened with awe and reverence, or in terror and hatred, to the voice which in one hour put more life into the enemies of Rome 'than fyve hundredth trumpettes continually blustering'; as if he had heard Robert Burns talking in Ayrshire cottages or in Edinburgh drawing-rooms; or as if he had rambled with Sir Walter by Gala and Tweed. Each of us has his own Wallace and Bruce, his own Mary Stuart (though, to be sure, for most of us she is not very different from the Mary of the 'Abbot'), his own Montrose and Dundee and Prince Charlie. But John Knox, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott remain superior to all the changes and chances of the life of the immortals. There is a kind of common consciousness by which and in which they live; about the main lines of their portraits, and even about most of the details, there is, rightly or wrongly, an almost unanimous agreement. It required, therefore, no great effort on the part of the Church of Scotland and its sister Presbyterian churches to obtain for the quatercentenary of Knox a recognition both general and enthusiastic.

The occasion has been marked by the production of a number of books, large and small, few of which, with one considerable exception, add anything to the knowledge of those acquainted with David Laing's edition of Knox's works, prepared for the Wodrow Society between 1846

and 1864, and Prof. Hume Brown's biography, published in 1895, which remains the standard 'Life' of the Reformer. Laing's labour of love, for which he received no pecuniary recompense whatever, contains not only Knox's 'History of the Reformation in Scotland' and his theological writings, but most of his known letters. It is not, like Dr McCrie's biography (originally published in 1812), a piece of special pleading, but it represents the orthodox tradition of Knox's character and work. 'I do not profess any blind admiration,' he wrote; but his admissions are frequently guarded by an ingenuous denial of their importance. 'There is no occasion to deny,' he says, 'that Knox regarded the slaughter of that villain Davie [Rizzio], an abuser of the commonwealth,' to be 'a just act, and worthy of all praise.' He also openly maintained that it was 'the duty of the Christian magistrate to put to death all incorrigible idolaters, professed infidels, and enemies of the truth.' Yet, merely on the ground that, in spite of Knox's great influence, the Government never executed any Papist, Laing felt himself free to say in the same paragraph: 'This freedom from a persecuting spirit is one of the noblest features in Knox's character.' Similarly, while he admitted that 'there are passages in his works which I could wish he had not written,' he found nothing in the Reformer's conversations with his sovereign which he could have wished unsaid. 'However plain-spoken Knox might be in their conferences, there never was any of that rude insolence on his part which it is so customary to allege.' Yet in his first interview with the young Queen, Knox told Mary that he would be 'as well content to live under your Grace as Paul under Nero.'

We have no desire to disparage David Laing's great work, to which every student of the Reformation must for ever be under obligation. We have quoted these passages because they illustrate the great difficulty of approaching this subject. Laing was a learned student and a candid and fair-minded historian. In treating of any other personage he could hardly have failed to discover a 'persecuting spirit' in constant reiterations that the idolater (by which, of course, was meant the Roman Catholic) should die the death, or 'rude insolence' in a comparison between the Queen of Scots and Nero. The belief in the Knox of tradition was too strong for even

an elementary perception of the true perspective. A canonisation, none the less powerful in its effects because it was conferred by popular consent alone, had placed the virtues of John Knox beyond the reach of the 'Advocatus Diaboli.' The impress left by the great man upon his contemporaries became a potent and effective tradition under Andrew Melville; and this tradition exercised no small influence in the seventeenth century. As time went on, and as the appeal to the sword passed into the region of history, a large proportion of Knox's followers came to adopt the doctrine of toleration, though a faithful remnant continued to raise its voice in helpless protest against the evil Act which permitted 'Anabaptists, Erastians, Socinians, Arminians, Quakers, Theists, Atheists, and Libertines of all kinds,' to vent 'their damnable and hellish tenets and errors' without check or control. This minority dwindled; and the tradition on which the majority continued to live became softened and mellowed. Each of the last four generations has tended to ascribe to Knox ideals of its own day, and to attribute to him all the doctrines and customs received from its own immediate predecessors. But these were never more than modifications. The background of the picture varied; its tints were toned down; but, through it all, the portrait remained the same. It was the same Knox that men loved or hated in the days of King Charles, or of King George, or of Queen Victoria.

For, of course, there were always haters as well as lovers, although the faithful were ever in a majority. Not only did the Roman Catholic retain his own opinion of the great enemy of his Church (modified only as gross and ridiculous scandals passed into oblivion), but the enemies of Andrew Melville and of the Covenanters accepted the current identification of Knox with everything that they most disliked; and, even within the re-established Church of Scotland, there grew up in the eighteenth century a school which drew but little inspiration from the spirit of Knox. The greatest of the Moderates, Principal Robertson, was little likely to take an extreme view in opposition to the received tradition of his Church. His estimate of Knox is not marked by any prejudice against the Reformer; but, while he accepted, without much enthusiasm, the orthodox verdict

he pointed out the defects which David Laing afterwards endeavoured so strongly to conceal.

'His maxims' (he says) 'were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncompromising himself, he showed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expressions with respect to the Queen's person and conduct.'

Lord Hailes, who, in spite of an Eton education and many English friendships, remained as good a Presbyterian as Robertson himself, went further, and attacked the trustworthiness of Knox's 'History,' which is also his autobiography, and on which we depend for our best knowledge of the man. Neither in the 'History of Scotland' nor in 'Tales of a Grandfather' does Scott speak enthusiastically of Knox, although he accuses him only of 'indecent violence' unfitting the pulpit.

The spirit of the nineteenth century was so antipathetic to that of the eighteenth that a reaction against this rather colourless verdict was sure to affect later writers on the Scottish Reformation; it can scarcely be said to have affected the popular impression, because there is no evidence that this was ever influenced by Robertson or by Hailes. It so happened that the reaction followed the lines of the evangelical revival of the early years of last century; the question immediately passed beyond the region of historical discussion; and the merits or defects of Knox became the watchwords of opposing ecclesiastical politicians. Mr Andrew Lang ascribes to Thomas Carlyle the introduction of 'a style of thinking about Knox which may be called platonically Puritan.' We should prefer to lay the responsibility upon the shoulders of Dr McCrie. The significance of Dr McCrie's book appears to us to be that he restated the case with great learning, but with the firm determination to ignore all that had been gained by the detached treatment of the subject current at the end of the eighteenth century. It was not only that neither Robertson nor Hailes had said the last word on John Knox; McCrie declined to admit that they had said anything at all. A not unfriendly protest in the



'Edinburgh Review' of September 1816 pointed out the fallacies of McCrie's argument on the very point on which David Laing was, fifty years later, to take the same sophistical view. The reviewer rightly repudiated the plea (which reappeared in numberless places last year) that Knox was not intolerant because no one was put to death in his lifetime.

'It is a topic of reproach' (he wrote), 'and not of praise, that aversion to blood has prevented a magistrate from executing justice on a murderer, or a general from saving his country by cutting off an invading army; and to a person who believed what Knox believed, it must have appeared incomparably worse to spare the Papists, who were the murderers of souls, and whose idolatry was bringing down the wrath of heaven on the land.'

The protest fell upon deaf ears. The Non-intrusion party in the Establishment constituted themselves the special guardians of Knox's reputation; and, after the Disruption, a belief in Knox's infallibility became almost an article of faith in the Free Church. The Established Church could not decline such a challenge; and all sense of historical perspective was lost in the effort to prove that each party represented the true traditions of Knox. Outside the arena of the ecclesiastical conflict a similar effect was produced by the eloquence of Thomas Carlyle, although Carlyle was too good an historian to deny that Knox was both narrow and intolerant. Thus it has come about that, in some important details, the character of Knox has, in the nineteenth century, been generally misinterpreted. The nature of his work has been similarly misunderstood, both in Scotland and elsewhere; and these misapprehensions, many of which ought not to have survived Laing's work, remain to this day. One book published last year, spoke of him as the founder of the Presbyterian system of church government; another attributed to him a purely commemorative doctrine of the Eucharist; several referred to him as an uncompromising opponent of priestly power or authority in any shape or form. These elementary blunders are coming, in these days, to form an integral part of the popular conception of Knox. How far is recent literature upon the subject likely to correct these and similar errors?

For Prof. Hume Brown's book we have a profound admiration. It is the fruit of much patient labour; and a learning is only equalled by its modesty. It is he who has definitely settled the long dispute about the true portraiture of Knox, disposing, in a single paragraph, of Carlyle's rhetorical plea for what is known as the Somerville portrait; and it is to his research that we owe the correction in the year of Knox's birth, although he did not in 1895 definitely reject the traditional date. The fact that he modestly relegated to an appendix the letter of Peter Young to Beza, which is the best authority on these points, and which Dr Hume Brown himself introduced to English readers, has tended to deprive him of a credit which is justly his. Above all, it was he who first attempted the task of writing a biography of Knox in the light, not only of Laing's edition of the Works, but of all the volumes of state papers, etc., which have been rendered available in the last thirty years. It fell to him to sift the material and to get rid of a mass of unauthenticated gossip which obscured the real issues. He brought to bear upon the question, not only an enlightened mind, but a sound judgment; and, if his attitude is conservative, it is not because he has been guided by prejudice and prepossession. At the same time he occasionally evinces an unwillingness to express an opinion where the reader feels certain that, if it were expressed, it would not be avourable to Knox; and portions of his narrative, as it seems to us, are marred by too implicit a confidence in the accuracy of Knox's own statements, which, when Dr Hume Brown wrote, had scarcely been impugned.

Again, the Reformer's asperities are almost unconsciously toned down—as, for instance, in the description of Knox's interviews with Mary. The biographer is doubtless right in selecting a special topic from the record of the first of these interviews. 'The most memorable part of his discourse is that where he denies the right of the prince to impose his religion on the people.' But an account of the conversation which omits Knox's comparison of the Queen to Nero, and his description of her Church as that 'Roman harlot,' obscures facts which ought to be known to the reader who is called upon to judge between the prophet and the sovereign. Nor has Dr Hume Brown any stronger word than 'unflinching' for

Knox's insolent reply when the Queen, having asked him about a sermon which he had preached against her, went on to invite him in future to come and tell her if anything in her conduct displeased him.

'I am not appointed to come to everie man in particular to schaw him his offense; for that laubour war infinite. Yf your Grace please to frequent the publict sermonis, then doubt I nott but that ye shall fullie understand boyth what I like and myslike, als weall in your Majestie as in all otheris.'

It may have been in these words that Andrew Melville found the inspiration for his answer, addressed, with almost equal insolence, but with the excuse of greater exasperation, to Mary's son, when he called him 'God's sillie vassall.' The claim was the same in both cases; to the preacher, endowed with a message from on high, the sovereign was no more than 'everie man in particular.' It is possible to defend this attitude in such an instance as Nathan's rebuke to David, although Nathan behaved with a courtesy unknown to Knox and Melville. But the difference lies in the fact that the messages which the Scottish prophets had to deliver were connected with the politics of the day, and that they themselves were the leaders of a great political party.

On the great questions at issue, our own sympathy, like that of Dr Hume Brown, is with Knox and not with Mary; but we are unable to accept his view of the relations between the two.

'The truth is' (he says) 'that if there was any attempt at browbeating, it was on Mary's part, and not on that of Knox. When she summoned him to her presence, it was with the express purpose of imposing silence on him by force of her own will and the opinion of the Court. As she arranged their interviews, Knox had nothing to fall back upon but his native force of character and the intensity of his conviction.'

This seems to us to be a misreading of the facts. Knox knew that he could in the last resort rely upon most of Mary's Council and Court, and that he could at all times depend upon the support of popular opinion. Nothing is more remarkable than this unvarying confidence in himself as master of the situation. 'Why should the fair face of a gentlewoman effray me?' he asked, summing

up the forces against him after one of these interviews. Over and over again he expresses his sense of power. When Mary came to Scotland and ventured to attend the services of her own religion, Knox,

inveighing against idolatrie, schewt what terrible plagues God had tacken upoun Realmes and Nationis for the same'; and added, 'that one Messe (thair war no mo suffered at he first) was more fearful to him than gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any pairte of the Realme, of purpose to suppress the hoill religioun.'

The language seems strong enough to us, and its vehemence was remarked by Elizabeth's agent, Randolph; but, four years later, Knox lamented its weakness.

Albeit that I spack that which offended some, yit did I not which I myght have done; for God had not onlie gevin unto me knowledge, and tounge to maik the impietie of that idoll knowin unto this Realme, but he had gevin unto me credyte with many, who wold have put in executioun Goddis judgements, yf I wold onlie have consented thairto. But so cairfull was I of that commoun tranquillitie, and so loth was I to have offended those of whom I had conceaved a good opinioun, that in secreat conference with earnest and zealous men, I travaled rather to mitigat, yea, to slokin, that fervencye that God had kyndled in otheris, than to animat or encorage thame to put their handis to the Lordis work. Whairintill I unfeignedlie acknowledge myselff to have done most wickedlie; and from the bottom of my heart, askis of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay to have suppressed that idoll in the beginning.'

The repentance would seem to have been as effectual as it was unnecessary; but the interest of the passage for us lies in Knox's confidence in his power to have put in execution God's judgments when Mary reached Scotland. The Queen was an obstinate 'idolater'; and no one who has read Knox's dispute with Lethington on the deposition of idolatrous princes, or his appeal for a Phineas or Jehu to remove Mary Tudor (before the fires of Smithfield were actually kindled), can hesitate as to what 'God's judgments' meant. The people, 'yea or ane pairt of the peopill,' might, he held, execute that judgment against an idolatrous king; and that judgment was, 'The idolater shall die the death.' It was not easy for Mary to browbeat a man with this faith and this knowledge in him.

The relative position of Knox and Mary is well illustrated by the story of Knox's trial on a charge of treason. Mary had, as we have just seen, obtained, with difficulty, permission for the celebration of mass in her own presence. In 1563, while she was on a progress, some of her household had a celebration of mass within the precincts of the palace of Holyrood. This proceeding roused great indignation in Edinburgh; and two of Knox's followers were guilty of disturbing the service by a brawl. For this offence they were, very properly, charged with a violent invasion of the palace. Their excuse was that certain Acts of Parliament (never ratified by the Queen) had made the celebration of mass punishable with death, and that the priests of the royal household had broken the law; but the defence may not have seemed to Knox legally adequate, and he resorted to other means to secure their acquittal. There was a bad old Scots custom by which an accused person brought with him a crowd of retainers to overawe the Court. Knox determined to adapt this device to the new circumstances, and he addressed a circular letter to the faithful, explaining the circumstances, defending the criminals, and concluding with this appeal:—

'I can not but of conscience crave of you, my Brethren, of all estaitis, that have professed the treuth, your presence, comfort, and assistance, at the said day, in the Toun of Edinburgh, euen as that ye tender the advancement of Goddis glorie, the saiftie of your brethren, and your awin assurance, togedder with the preservatioun of the Kirk in thir appearing daungers. . . . My gude hope is that nether flatterie nor fears sall mak you sa far to declyne fra Christ Jesus as that, against your publict promise and solempned band, ye will leave your brethren in sa just a cause.'

The letter fell into the Queen's hands; and Knox was accused of treason, on the ground that he had convoked the Queen's subjects. He was tried before the Council in the Queen's presence, and found innocent; and a General Assembly of the Church applauded his action.

It is interesting to note how the historians deal with this subject. Principal Robertson is clearly of opinion that Knox was wrong, though he passes no definite censure. He speaks of him as considering the zeal of

these persons (the two accused brethren) as laudable, their conduct meritorious, and themselves as sufferers in a good cause—a view which is clearly different from Robertson's own. He says of Knox's own acquittal: 'Happily for him, his judges were not only zealous Protestants, but the very men who, during the late commotions, had openly resisted and set at defiance the Queen's authority.' And he treats the whole incident as showing 'the low condition to which regal authority was then sunk, and the impunity with which subjects might invade those rights of the Crown which are now held sacred.' This, we submit, is the proper way of looking at the question. It was an act of war upon the Government, and it may be defended by its necessity and success as an incident in a rebellion. Prof. Hume Brown's defence of Knox is somewhat cynical.

'There was' (he says) 'a double reason why Knox should abide by his action. By admitting a breach of law he would have compromised the claim of the Church to assemble its members independent of the State. Knowing also the real mind of the Council, he could with some confidence reckon on an issue of the trial which might result in a triumph for the cause which he represented. . . . With real dexterity Knox turned his trial into a question between the two religions.'

A later biographer, Dr Cowan of Aberdeen, in a lucid, well informed, and moderate book, agrees with his predecessor in having no words of condemnation for a conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice, and speaks, with apparent approval, of Knox as having been 'practically forced to take a bold step, which to timid Protestants appeared dangerous, but was dictated, not by rash impulse, but by deliberate policy.' The whole story illustrates the essential weakness of Mary's position—her difficulty in obtaining even personal toleration, her inability to protect her own household or her own priests, and the impossibility of trying Knox on the merits of his case. Probably the Council were right in deciding that his action was not treason; but their decision was a foregone conclusion, and they insisted on dismissing Knox without even a reprimand. It was certainly 'real dexterity' on Knox's part to justify his action by the right of the Church to assemble its own members; and a

sentence in his original letter might be interpreted as a provision for this contingency. But there was no doubt of the purpose for which the brethren were convened; and the Queen failed in her effort to vindicate from violent intrusion her own chapel at Holyrood.

In the light of such facts as these it is difficult to accept the contention of Prof. Hume Brown and Dr Cowan that Knox's violence was justified by the extremity of the circumstances. It may be true that Mary entertained dangerous designs; but we are not convinced that she ever possessed power in the slightest degree adequate, not for their accomplishment, but even for their initiation. Even when she was for a moment successful, as when she married Darnley, an indication of her resentment at the persecution of an unfortunate priest who had said mass brought down upon her a rebuke such as few sovereigns have been forced to receive. The General Assembly sent to the Queen a remonstrance against the papistical and blasphemous mass, not only in the subjects, but in the Queen's Majesty's own person.

The murder of Rizzio was followed by a revival of Mary's power; but the character of Darnley was sure to render this only temporary. Knox's friendship with the murderers of Rizzio gave him some anxious weeks, spent very rightly, out of Edinburgh, and was responsible for a long visit to England; but any real danger was soon over. That there are no certain grounds for accusing Knox of complicity in the crime, has been clearly shown by David Laing and Prof. Hume Brown; but there is still less ground for the latter's conjecture that 'of the manner in which the deed was done we may be certain that Knox would disapprove as vehemently as any of his contemporaries.' The fact is that Knox did not disapprove; on the contrary, he described it as 'a just act and worthy of all praise,' without any qualification, and lamented the banishment of the murderers 'now unworthily left of thare brethrein.' It is useless to try to smooth Knox down. Had he lived in the nineteenth century he would have been a different man. But the points in which we like him least—the ferocity at which we shudder, the dexterity, for which, in modern politics, we should find a harsher name—all these things are part of the man; and

he himself will be no party to hiding them. He leaves no room for an apologist; no man ever revealed himself more fully; no character in all our history demands so urgently to be judged by what he actually was. He felt no remorse, except that he had been too gentle in fighting the enemy; he had no hesitation about the value of his life-work; he was strong enough to recognise his own merits; and he died with the consciousness that he had done his duty as God's chosen instrument for the reformation of religion.

Of the books which appeared in the centenary year, the most important is unquestionably Mr Andrew Lang's 'John Knox and the Reformation,' which has provoked more pious indignation in Scotland than any work since Mr Henley's 'Essay on Burns.' The words in which Mr Lang describes the character of John Knox have frequently been quoted; but to understand his position it is necessary to quote them once more:—

'That Knox was a great man; a disinterested man; in his regard for the poor a truly Christian man; as a shepherd of Calvinistic souls, a man fervent and considerate; of pure life; in friendship loyal; by jealousy untainted; in private character genial and amiable, I am entirely convinced. In public and political life he was much less admirable; and his "History," vivacious as it is, must be studied as the work of an old-fashioned advocate rather than as the summing-up of a judge.'

These are not mere words introduced, as one of Mr Lang's critics courteously suggested, to disarm suspicion and put the reader into a sympathetic mood for the reception of some specially selected calumnies. Every phrase in this eulogy is based upon statements made in the chapters which follow it; and it is grossly unfair to Mr Lang to insinuate that his book is inspired by any other motive than to discover the truth. His work is a protest against the general unwillingness of his predecessors to face the facts. There are questions which still remain matter for debate; but, if the writing of history is of any use at all, Mr Lang ought to have succeeded in destroying at least one myth about Knox. The superstition that Knox was in any sense an apostle of toleration survived, in its infancy, the attack of the reviewer of 1816; and it is perhaps too much to hope that it will now



fall before the attack of Mr Lang, or rather of John Knox himself, for on this topic the biographer's simple duty has been to quote Knox's plain words.

That some such protest is still necessary is evident from two facts which illustrate the methods of previous writers. With regard to the death-penalty which the Convention Parliament of 1560 prescribed for a third hearing or celebrating of the mass, Mr Lang says:—

'The carnal mind would not gather exactly what the new penal laws were if it confined its study to the learned Dr McCrie's "Life of Knox." This erudite man, a pillar of the early Free Kirk, mildly remarks: "The Parliament . . . prohibited, under certain penalties, the celebration of the Mass." He leaves his readers to discover, in the Acts of Parliament and in Knox, what the "certain penalties" were.'

Now McCrie was not a pillar of the early Free Kirk; and Mr Lang's Scottish critics have written as if this slip of the pen disposed of his judgment of McCrie's work. That current Presbyterian teaching follows McCrie's lead is shown by a similar unwillingness, in so fair-minded a writer as Prof. Hume Brown, to state a disagreeable fact, however familiar to students it may be. After the massacre of St Bartholomew, when Protestant feeling was naturally excited, a Protestant convention 'drew up,' says Dr Hume Brown, 'a series of articles which, if not penned by Knox, must have been directly inspired by him. Public humiliation for the national sins, pains and penalties for those who preached the old religion—such were the recommendations of the first two articles.' The pains and penalties were that obstinate Catholics should be banished; and, if they declined to go, it should be lawful 'to invade them, and every one of them, to the death,' not only preachers, but hearers. It was natural, if unchristian, to desire vengeance upon Scottish Catholics for the terrible crime just committed in France; but this consideration fails to support the pleasant delusion that Knox and his followers were always (from our point of view) in the right, and that bloody-mindedness was confined to the wicked Papists. It is possible to justify this intolerance; in the prevailing ignorance of Scottish history it is possible to deny its existence without an immediate contradiction; and, in so logical a country as

Scotland, it is even possible to justify it and to deny it in the same speech. When these devices fail, Mr Lang may be described as anglicised; and the defence is considered complete. The idea that a defence is required for proposals to put Roman Catholics or infidels to death is, of course, a growth of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; but it is only on this point of actual persecution that toleration has been victorious. The speeches and sermons delivered on John Knox last year in Scotland were chiefly remarkable for extreme intolerance of new light of any sort.

From the point of view of the historian, the chief interest of Mr Lang's book lies, not in its emphasising obvious facts as to Knox's opinions, nor in its proof that Knox, as a politician, possessed the wisdom of the serpent and could meet the children of this world on their own ground, but in its criticism of his 'History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland,' and in its enquiry into the development of Knox's opinions on the question of the relations of Church and State. The 'History of the Reformation in Scotland' is unquestionably a great book. It is by far the best source of our knowledge of Knox himself; and it is a wonderfully graphic picture of the conflict in which he played so great a part. Its vigour and power have left their impress upon almost all subsequent writers; and its statements have been generally accepted as authoritative. It is in many ways a work of genius, and could have been written only by a man of almost heroic personality. Nevertheless we do not understand why Mr Lang's description of it as 'the work of an old-fashioned advocate' should have given so much offence. For how could it be other? It was written, at the fiercest moment of the conflict, by the most determined leader of the revolutionary party, with the intent that it should serve as a political pamphlet. Human nature does not permit of moderation in such writing; and Knox, accustomed to rouse and to sway violent outbursts of popular passion, would have regarded moderation as the sin of Meroz.

The moderate man does not come to the help of the Lord against the mighty; and the work of Knox is marked by an entire absence of self-restraint. Knox saw no reason why he should not call his enemies bloody,

stinking, rotten; why he should not level at them any accusation which lay ready to hand; or why he should not give free play to his vein of coarse humour, so long as the joke was on his own side. Believing as he did that the idolater should die the death, he did not hesitate to give expression to his enjoyment of their fate. 'These things we write merrily,' he said in his account of the murder of Cardinal Beaton. The judgment of God had been fulfilled. It is as when Weir of Hermiston indignantly asks: 'I was glad to get Jopp haangit, and what for would I pretend I wasna?' Merrily, too, he reported indecent gossip; often it does not seem humorous to us, but taste in these matters changes. Not that Knox's taste in humour was universal even in his age; it has been pointed out by more than one writer that some of Knox's contemporaries did not write in this vein.

The style of the book and the passionate vehemence of its invective ought to prepare us to find other faults inseparable from such a work. A learned nineteenth century antiquary, Joseph Robertson, agreed with Lord Hailes as to 'how little Knox's statements in his "History" are to be relied on even in matters which were within the reformer's own knowledge'; but the warning passed unheeded. Mr Lang's criticism of the 'History' has been condemned as 'pertinent only if addressed to those who do not know what original authorities are'; but the fact remains that those who ought to know what original authorities are have insisted on disregarding ordinary canons in their treatment of this book, and that Mr Lang is the first to offer anything like a systematic criticism of it. He raises a number of interesting questions, from which we select three as indicative of the necessity of treating the book as an *ex parte* statement, important and indeed invaluable, but not the verdict of a final court of appeal.

It is becoming common to argue that the destruction of the great religious houses and the cathedrals of Scotland was not brought about by the Reformation mobs. In a very narrow sense there is truth in the statement; no mere mob can actually destroy a great building by mere plundering; but the destruction was none the less the result of the Reformation. The opposite view has, however, been supported by a frequently

quoted passage in Knox's 'History,' in which he asserts that the destruction of the monasteries at Perth was the work, 'not of the gentilmen, neyther of thame that war earnest professouris, bot of the raschall multitude.' But, as Mrs MacCunn, in her excellent little 'Life' of Knox, pointed out for the first time, the prophet, in a private letter written at the time, gives the sole credit to the brethren, and adds a detail (important in connexion with the relations between the Queen Regent and the Protestants), that priests were commanded to cease from their blasphemous mass under pain of death. Prof. Cowan, who usually faces honestly and fairly whatever may reasonably be said against Knox, attempts to escape from this difficulty by saying in a footnote: 'Knox, in his "History," gives his deliberate opinion of those who took part in the work of destruction. In a letter written soon after the events related, he had unadvisedly included them among the brethren.' But the letter clearly shows that Knox entirely sympathised; and, long as it is, it contains no hint of the existence of a rascal multitude at all. On the contrary he remarks that 'the thirst of the poore people, als weill as of the nobilitie heir, is wonderous great; which putteth me in comfort, that Christ Jesus sall triumphe for a space heir, in the north and extreme parts of the earth.' If language has any meaning at all, Knox in this letter accepted the responsibility for the destruction of the monasteries.

The other two instances have reference to accusations of falsehood against the Queen Regent. Probably the best known lie in Scottish history—and there are not a few—is the breach of faith attributed to Mary of Guise in breaking a promise made to an assembly of Protestants at Perth in May 1559. It appears in every account of the Scottish Reformation; and Mary's grandson, James VI, was taught it so carefully by George Buchanan that he referred to it more than once. Mr Lang has shown that, in all probability, Mary did not lie at all. The sole evidence against her is the statement of Knox, whose correspondence is here consistent with his 'History.' But in the contemporary communications with England, in an almost certainly contemporary 'Historie of the Estate of Scotland,' strongly Protestant in sympathy, and in the 'Catholic History of Bishop Lesley,' there is no

suggestion of perfidy; and the two latter authorities agree in an alternative explanation. Mr Lang thus sums up the question: 'We have seen throughout that Knox vilifies Mary of Guise in cases where she is blameless. On the other hand Knox is our only witness who was at Perth at the time of the events; and it cannot be doubted that what he told Mrs Locke was what he believed, whether correctly or erroneously.' In the circumstances, Mary of Guise deserves, we think, to have the benefit of the doubt; and that benefit must of necessity be admitted, unless we are prepared to regard Knox's statements as absolutely conclusive.

The remaining example is, in some ways, similar. In July 1559 a truce was negotiated between Mary of Guise and the Lords of the Congregation. The actual terms exist in Teulet, and in the English 'Foreign Calendar.' 'These,' says Mr Lang, 'were the terms accepted by the Congregation. This is certain, not only because historians, Knox excepted, are unanimous, but because the terms were either actually observed, or were evaded, on a stated point of construction.' Knox, on the other hand, gives a list of 'the heads drawn by us which we desired to be granted,' and asserts that 'these our articles were altered' by the Queen's party. The Congregation issued a proclamation in which their original demands were given as the settlement agreed upon; and Knox justified this action on the ground that

'we proclaimed nathing whiche was nocht finallie aggreit uponn in word and promise betwix us and thame with quhame the appointment was maid, whatsoevir thair scribeis had efter writtin, quha in verray deid had alterit, bayth in wordis and sentenceis, oure Articles, as thay war first consavit; and yitt, gif thair awin writtingis war diligentlie examinitt, the self same thing sall be found in substance'—

an allegation the truth of which has not been established by the actual examination of these writings. Knox admits that, in proclaiming to the Congregation the terms agreed on, his party deliberately omitted the clauses favourable to the Regent. This, too, he justifies. 'To proclame anything in thair favouris, we thoct it nocht necessarie, knowing that in that behalf thay thame selfis could be diligent anewch.' Accordingly, in the

account of the treaty sent to England by the Congregation, these clauses were likewise omitted. There is an admitted economy of truth here, a piece of sharp practice which shows how impossible was the Regent's task; and, in the light of all that we can gather from other sources, it is not easy to accept Knox's statement that Mary of Guise deliberately falsified the terms.

What then are we to conclude with regard to the credibility of Knox's 'History'? Is it a conscious attempt to give a partial version of the whole story, to poison the sources of the stream of historical knowledge? To say anything of this kind would be to go, as it seems to us, much too far. The difficulty of ascertaining the truth in modern controversies; the impossibility of reconciling statements of eye-witnesses as to events of yesterday; the varying versions, given by living men, of events, and especially of conversations, in which they themselves took part—all these and similar considerations must guide us to a final verdict. That Knox repeated current slanders with absolute recklessness is, we think, undeniable; that he frequently acted on the principle that to proclaim anything in favour of the enemy was unnecessary, is also evident. His view of his duty in this connexion may be paralleled by Samuel Johnson's notion of historical reporting: 'I saved appearances well enough, but I took good care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it.' That his recollection, even of recent events, should be sometimes quite untrustworthy is not surprising, in view of the nature of the conflict in which he was engaged. Such lapses of memory are not unknown even in modern politics.

The 'History' affords examples of a sharp practice less innocent in our eyes, but, as we have said, inevitable in an age when the sole business of a controversialist was to blacken the enemy. The three examples which we have quoted do not seem to us to belong to this last category; they are explicable on the supposition of misunderstanding and lapse of memory. When Knox wrote about the rascal multitude at Perth, he had come to disapprove, and, as Mr Lang has shown, he knew that Calvin strongly disapproved, such outrages; and he himself had, he tells us, in other cases condemned them. It is a reasonable supposition that he may have persuaded

himself that at Perth the godly had used their influence to restrain the mob. In the other two instances there remains a possibility of honest mistake based upon verbal communications. Knox's belief that the Regent told a lie at Perth in May 1559 was possibly the result of a remark of the Regent about 'taking some better order.' It must be remembered, not only that Knox, in writing his 'History,' was extremely anxious to justify a breach of contract on the part of the Congregation by alleging a prior breach of faith on the other side, but also that, from the first, he was fully prepared, and even eager, to find in the Regent's conduct such deliberate deceit. Starting from the assumption that the idolatress would lie, he readily found his foresight justified. With regard to the false treaty of July 1559, Mr Lang, who is nearly always fair to Knox, himself suggests an explanation which Prof. Cowan is inclined to adopt. Knox's obscure remark, 'We proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon in word and promise,' may possibly point to an inaccurate report of a conversation between the Protestants and two nobles of the Queen's party, Chatelherault and Huntly. We agree with Mr Lang in seeing

'no explanation of Knox's conduct, except that he and his friends pacified their consciences by persuading themselves that non-official words of Huntly and Chatelherault (whatever these words may have been), spoken "after all was agreed upon," cancelled the treaty with the Regent, became the real treaty, and were binding on the Regent. . . . So great . . . is a good man's power of self-persuasion.'

Some such defence as this can be made in other instances where Mr Lang has impugned Knox's accuracy; and such a defence is not merely the result of an unwillingness to attribute wanton falsehood to Knox; it is essential that we should be able to make it if we are still to regard his 'History' as in any sense an authority at all. Almost any self-deception is possible when the *odium theologicum* is at its height; and there is an amount of self-deception in Knox's 'History' large enough to prevent its being quoted as a final authority in any instance where the reputation of Knox's friends or of his enemies is concerned. Is there any other work of a similar character of which the same must not be said?

Can the writings of Wycliffe, of Clarendon, of Burnet be unhesitatingly accepted as decisive evidence? And it must be remembered that Knox was the contemporary and the friend of the most shameless historical liar who ever wrote on British soil—George Buchanan, whose memory is being honoured this year in Scotland, and deservedly, for he is one of the very few Scottish humanists whose names are known outside their own country.

Mr Lang's learned and suggestive book is also of importance in relation to the development of Knox's views on the relations of Church and State, a subject treated with vigour and insight by Mr Mathieson in his 'Politics and Religion from the Reformation to the Revolution,' a valuable study in Scottish history, which appeared some three years before Mr Lang's work on Knox. Mr Mathieson lays stress upon the doctrine, stated by Knox in the Confession of Faith of 1560, that magistrates are God's lieutenants, not only for civil government, but also for the maintenance of true religion; and he points out that it involved the absorption of the State by the Church in the event of a difference of opinion, for the court of appeal in any such difference was the word of God as interpreted by the Church. This dogma has led to ecclesiastical revolutions even in the nineteenth century; but the danger arising from it was immeasurably greater at a time when the Protestant clergy claimed the power of loosing and binding on earth and in heaven, and when their terrible sentence of excommunication (which might be pronounced for what they were pleased to consider contumacy) carried with it the cessation of human intercourse and the forfeiture of legal rights.

The question remains as to whether the Church was justified in appealing to arms when its differences with the State became fundamental, and Mr Lang has traced the sequence of Knox's opinions upon this point. We have seen that in Scotland, under Mary Stuart, he held that the godly might even proceed to the 'execution' (i.e. assassination) of the idolatrous ruler. In England, under Edward VI, he had held a contrary view, and warned his congregation at Berwick to remember always 'that dew obedience be given to magistrates, reulars and princes, without tumult, grudge or seditioun; for, how wicked yat evir themselves be in life, or how ungodlie that evir thair



precepts or commandements be, ye most obey thame for conscience sake; except in chief poynts of relligioun, and then aught ye rather to obey God nor man.'

But even in this case it is to be only passive resistance, for he adds:—

'Not to pretend to defend Godd's treuthe or relligioun (ye being subgetts) by violence or sweirde, but patiently suffering what God shall please be laid upon you for constante confession of your fayth and believe."

These views were in accordance with the ideas of Knox's master, Calvin, who refused his sanction to the rebellion of the Huguenots. 'Better that we all perish a hundred times than that the name of Christianity and the Gospel should come under such disgrace.' After the accession of Mary Tudor, Knox attempted to get from Henry Bullinger, of Zürich, a general admission of the right of resistance to an idolatrous sovereign; but Bullinger would give no definite opinion, wisely saying that everything depended upon the particular circumstances, and warning his correspondent that 'other objects are often aimed at under the pretext of a just and necessary assertion or maintenance of right, and the worst characters mix themselves with the good'—possibly a reference to Northumberland's rebellion in the preceding year, of which Knox had not approved.

From this time Knox was reluctant to consult continental reformers, and once declined to do so when he was asked to write to Calvin, whose views on obedience and on the destruction of religious buildings were not those of the Scottish Calvinists. During this period he adopted his strong views on the duty of the Church in the rooting out of idolaters. In old age, after Mary was a prisoner in England, Knox's general view was slightly altered, although he never ceased to demand Mary's death. He acquiesced in an establishment of quasi-Episcopacy in Scotland, and he advised the English Puritans to remain in the Church, and warned them not to 'damn all for false prophets and heretics that agree not with us in our apparel and other opinions.' It may be arguable whether this position is or is not consistent with other opinions of Knox; but the consistency of the aged Reformer, with, as he himself said, one foot in the grave, is a small

matter; if he was milder than of old, it was right that he should be so. But the important point is that not this sane and statesmanlike doctrine, but the wilder outbursts of his pen were accepted as his testament by a large section of the Church which looks upon him as its founder. 'Knox,' says Mr Mathieson, 'was the first dissenter; and we shall find his spiritual progeny dissenting, abjuring, and protesting at every stage of the Church's history.' This is a main thesis of Mr Mathieson's book, and it represents one side of Knox's work. But we cannot accept it as a complete statement; nor indeed is it meant to be taken absolutely. Knox was not a consistent prophet; and that section of the Church of Scotland which, under Spottiswoode and the Forbesees, Leighton and Carstares, Robertson and Pirie, has acted on the wise principles delivered by Knox to his English congregation in the early days of his ministry, and to the English Puritans who consulted him in its closing years, may claim a share in his heritage.

Some of Mr Lang's conclusions about Knox have been anticipated by Mrs MacCunn in a work mentioned at the head of this article. She has more sympathy with her subject than Mr Lang; she feels the fascination of his rough geniality as well as of his intellectual power; and she understands better than Robert Louis Stevenson the real nature of Knox's friendship with the devout and fearful mothers in Israel, whose correspondence with him forms an interesting study in religious psychology. It is a womanly book, and, like her volume on Mary Stuart published last year, is full of a delicate insight for which 'feminine' is not a sufficiently descriptive word. There are, of course, passages for which 'feminine' will do well enough—as when Knox's reference to his bride as 'my own flesh' is condemned as 'an ungraceful image' (though the imagery is not Knox's), or when she remarks that 'the testamentary part of his will shows that Knox had that practical mastery of his private economies without which no man can have perfect freedom for the things of the spirit'—a view probably held by Mrs Knox, and certainly by Xantippe.

Mrs MacCunn's volume on Mary is the first attempt to write a biography of the Queen in the light of the new material rendered available in Father Pollen's 'Papal

Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots, and Mr Lang's 'Mystery of Mary Stuart,' the value of which has been already discussed in the pages of the 'Quarterly Review' (January 1902). Mrs MacCunn's book has, unfortunately, no references, and contains a few, a very few, verbal slips; but it is a scholarly piece of work, and its style renders it the best biography of Mary that we possess. The author has no doubt about the Queen's share in the murder of Darnley; and she makes use occasionally of statements against Mary which are drawn from very suspicious documents, as if their credibility was unquestioned, thus exaggerating the effect of the cumulative argument which tells most strongly against the Queen. But her book is so sympathetic, and her note of sympathy rings so true, that even those who do not share her settled conviction of Mary's guilt cannot fail to recognise that she has produced a book which ought to live long after the present stage of the controversy has been passed.

The literature of the Knox centenary is disappointing in the absence of any attempt to sum up the Reformer's work and character and influence in the light of the most recent research. The nearest approach to this is Prof. Cowan's learned and moderate biography, which is specially notable for its clear exposition of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. But we still await a dispassionate discussion of the real value of the Knoxian Reformation and of Knox's share in bringing it about. Was it necessary that it should be of so extreme a character? Was there no *media via* between the complete failure and the absolute triumph of Calvinism? Were the views on doctrine, on ritual, on government, adopted by Knox, the best for Scotland? How far has the country suffered by their partial abandonment in the seventeenth century? how far by further departures from the principles of the documents which superseded Knox's as the 'standards' of the Church? What has been the effect upon the national character of the great change of 1560? These and similar questions have never been honestly faced by writers on Scottish history, or treated on broad and general lines; many writers have gallantly commenced the task, but have been led away by the interest of the narrative itself, or by the sentiment *pro aris et focis*, or sometimes by the zest of attacking ortho-

dox opinions, and so have descended from the judgment bench to the advocate's standpoint. Perhaps it is as well that, in a year when the current of ecclesiastical and political controversy was flowing more strongly than usual, no such attempt was made; but the task is one which might well be undertaken before the real quatercentenary of the birth of Knox.

Nor does it seem to us that the recent writers have done justice to the genuine humility of the man, which stands in striking contrast to the arrogance of the prophet. It is not merely that he indulged in those phrases of extreme self-abasement in public and private devotion which were becoming the conventional language for the confession of sin, and which, from the generality of their terms and the violence of their assertions, tended to obscure the moral perspective and to paralyse the conscience. To accuse oneself of sins which one has not committed is, as Knox told his mother-in-law, a sin against God who has granted safety from them. The genuine humility of the man is to be traced rather in his dependence upon human friendship and brotherhood, never better expressed than in the often-quoted words, 'Of nature I am churlish, and in conditions different from many; yet one thing I ashame not to affirm, that familiarity once thoroughly contracted was never yet broken in my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all than that any have need of me'—a 'golden sentence,' in Mrs MacCunn's happy phrase.

His mother-in-law, Mrs Bowes, suffered from religious hypochondria; and a long series of letters bears witness to Knox's wisdom and patience in ministering to an innocent mind diseased. His enemies talked scandal; and Knox very properly at once published a portion of the correspondence, and told the whole truth about their relationship, writing in words which neither deserved Stevenson's ungenerous censure nor required the apology of some of his biographers. 'Her company to me was comfortable (yea, honourable and profitable, for she was to me and myne a mother); but yet it was not without some croce; for besydes trouble and fasherie of body susteyned for her, my mynd was seldom quyet, for doing somewhat for the comfort of her troubled conscience., He made it clear that 'her tentation was not in the fleshe'

nor for anything that apperteyned to the fleshe, but it was in spirit'; and such ghostly conflicts were matter, not for shame, but for pride; Knox himself was privileged to have such a wrestling of the spirit on his deathbed. As we read the letters we wonder how to John Knox the company of Elizabeth Bowes was 'comfortable and profitable'; but the letters themselves prove that it was no mere form of words.

His secretary's minute account of his last hours throw a flood of light upon the charm of this churlish man. He 'laid him down with a will,' paying his servant twenty shillings beyond his wages, 'for thou wilt never get no moir of me in this lyfe,' and ordering a hogshead of wine to be broached for two of his friends, urging them to send for it 'so long as it lasted, for he wald never tarie till it were drunken.' Like the prophet Samuel, whom in many ways he resembles, he left on record a statement of his innocency in the great place he had filled. 'Nane I haif corrupted; nane I haif defraudit; merchandise haif I not maid.' It was no vain boast. With clean hands and a pure heart he was about to ascend into the hill of God, free from the reproach of selfishness and greed which mars the character of his allies and his followers.

To his erstwhile friend, Kirkaldy of Grange, now holding out in the Castle for Queen Mary, in defiance of Knox's warnings, he sent this last message: 'Signifie to the Laird that Johne Knox remainis the same man, now going to die, that ever he has herd him befor, quhen he was able of body.' In his dying words there is a consciousness of a great work achieved, and a duty simply performed, although he would hear no tribute of praise from those about his bed. As a public teacher he had used the words of God freely and boldly, and, as we should think to-day, presumptuously. But, as he lay dying, when he tried to utter the familiar sentences of the Lord's Prayer, he paused after the first petition and asked, 'Who can pronounce so holie wordis?' The exclamation reveals an innate reverence which years of bitter controversy had obscured, but not destroyed. But a minute later the ruling passion had reasserted itself, and he repeated the whole prayer with a paraphrase upon each clause. His last advice to his friends sums up the religious side of his teaching, freed from the political and ecclesiastical

tenets of his party: 'Live in Christ, and let never fleshe fear death.'

His loss was mourned by a small band of the faithful; but the country, as a whole, failed to realise the significance of his death. There was no national outburst of grief, no lament as for 'the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.' Even the admiring James Melville is not clear about the date; and the Edinburgh citizen whose 'Diurnal of Occurrents' has come down to us, wrote down this condemnation on hearing the news: 'John Knox, minister, deceased, who had, as was alleged, the most part of the blame of all the sorrows of Scotland since the slaughter of the late Cardinal.' He lies buried in the old churchyard of St Giles', now the Parliament Square, close to an equestrian statue of Charles II, a whimsical incongruity which would seem to indicate that the rulers of Restoration Edinburgh agreed with this contemporary estimate of the work of the Reformer. But the Restoration Government was unquestionably out of sympathy with the national feeling; and the Revolution which displaced it in 1689 was, in some measure, the work of the dead man who lay at the feet of Charles II. Knox himself, like his great enemy, Mary Stuart, made his appeal to the judgment of posterity: 'What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth.' The stage of compulsion has long been passed; it is with gratitude, and even with affection, that Knox is remembered to-day; and no one among 'men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, has a surer or a more righteous hold upon the reverence of his countrymen than John Knox. 'The days of the life of men may be numbered, but the days of Israel are innumerable. A wise man shall inherit glory among his people, and his name shall be perpetual.'

R S. RAIT.

**Art. IX.—THE ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL BASIS OF  
THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.**

1. *The Oxford Movement.* By R. W. Church, Dean of St Paul's. London: Macmillan, 1891.
2. *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D.* By H. P. Liddon. Four vols. London: Longmans, 1893.
3. *Tracts for the Times.* By members of the University of Oxford. Six vols. London: Rivingtons, 1838-42.  
And other works.

IN the judgments passed on the character and meaning of ritualistic practices, and on the views and intentions of those who use them, insufficient attention is frequently paid to the consideration that a large number of these practices have an historical basis; and that those who use them are often actuated by ideas and motives which may be classed as historical. That in many instances—in what proportion it is impossible to say—these practices are regarded as having a symbolical or doctrinal significance, and are valued solely or principally on this account; that in some instances, though probably few in number, they are valued as tending to assimilate the usages of the English Church to those of the Church of Rome, or at least as tending towards that unity of forms and teaching which many churchmen of various shades of thought desire; that in others they are regarded as desirable from a sense of order or from the æsthetic point of view—all this is undoubtedly true. But a fair consideration of the history of the last seventy years points to the conclusion that ideas such as these do not lie at the base of the Ritualistic movement, still less of the so-called Tractarian or Oxford movement out of which it sprang; that they do not form the sole or even the principal motive which actuated the early Tractarians, or which influences their successors in the present day; and that to suggest this is to misunderstand the facts, and seriously to misconceive the strength and importance of the Ritualistic movement.

✓ It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the causes which reduced the influences of religion in the English Church to so low an ebb as they reached in the early

years of the last century ; but the conditions then existing require a brief attempt at explanation. The religious and political turmoil of the sixteenth century, while it removed many abuses, gave us a reformed Church, and opened the way for the teaching of the great Anglican divines of the next two hundred years, dealt a severe shock to the religious spirit of the country. In some quarters it induced a tendency to fanaticism, in others a lukewarmness or even indifference in matters of religion. The cupidity of Elizabethan courtiers threatened further disendowment, and inspired a general sense of insecurity. The necessity of holding the balance between Romanists and Puritans alienated from the Church considerable sections of the community ; and the secessions of Presbyterians and Independents deprived her of many members in whose hearts religion held the first place. Many livings were unfilled ; there were constant complaints of an 'unlearned clergy' ; pluralities and other abuses multiplied ; and, in spite of the labours and devotion of such men as Jewel, Bilson, and Hooker, the Church, on the whole, lost ground with the nation.

In the early part of the seventeenth century this state of things showed little improvement upon the whole. The Episcopate was indeed more learned and more spiritual ; the name of Andrewes would have been an ornament to any age ; but the danger of schism or of the break-up of the English Church increased with the growth of High-church tendencies on one side and of the Puritan opposition on the other. The Court of High Commission, now the organ of a despotic Government, brought the Church itself into disrepute ; the weakening of Calvinistic tenets among the hierarchy, and the growth of Arminianism, 'that sovereign drug,' roused widespread suspicion ; and the Laudian revival, however well-intentioned and intrinsically estimable, still further weakened the Episcopate through what was erroneously regarded as its tendency to Rome. The Civil War was largely, indeed primarily, a religious war ; and religious wars have always been detrimental to religion. The triumph of the Parliament meant the fall of the Church. Though Cromwell and many of his supporters were religious men, the religious organisation of the State was, for the time being, shattered ; and the hold of the Church upon



the nation received a blow from which it has never wholly recovered.

After the Restoration, though the Church regained its legal and political position, the evil could not be undone; nor was the spirit of the times such as to render a general revival of religion easy, or even possible. Not even the writings of Hammond and Sanderson, Taylor and Barrow, could stem the tide of hostility or indifference, or restore to the Church her former influence with the people at large. Many of the clergy who held livings under the Commonwealth were, through the Act of Uniformity (1662), ejected from their cures, and it was difficult to supply their places. The country clergy were, as a rule, poor and illiterate. The prosecution of Nonconformity made few proselytes, and roused bitter hostility. On the other hand, the reaction against Puritan restrictions, and the character of the Court and the aristocracy, induced a moral laxity which affected all classes. Carelessness about religion succeeded to fanaticism. The political action of the Church in supporting Charles II in his struggle with Parliament alienated the partisans of parliamentary government; and confidence thus shaken was hardly revived by her opposition to the ecclesiastical policy of his brother James.

Too late to conciliate Nonconformist hostility, the Revolution of 1688 grudgingly introduced the principle of toleration; but all attempts at 'comprehension' decisively failed. The schism of the Nonjurors made a deplorable breach in the ranks of Anglicanism, damaged the reputation of the Church, and deprived her of the services of many able and conscientious persons, both lay and clerical, including such prelates as Sancroft and Ken. During the eighteenth century religious conditions cannot be said to have improved, if indeed they did not grow worse. It is true that there were some signs of a religious revival at the outset, such as the establishment of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the foundation of charity schools; but these were far from outweighing obstacles on the other side. The Church came more and more to appear as a political machine, a mere organ of government; its high places were regarded as providing dignities and incomes for the cadets

of great families. Learning, speaking generally, though there were some striking exceptions, dwindled; and this was but natural when it was slighted in high places. In the latter part of the century no less a witness than Dr Johnson confesses that 'no man can now be made a bishop for his learning and piety; his only chance for promotion is his being connected with some one who has parliamentary interest.' In 1717 Convocation ceased to meet. For nearly a century and a half aristocratic principles prevailed in Church as well as State, and the voice of the Church, as a whole, was dumb. Public discussion was stifled; and reform, whether of doctrine or of practice, was rendered proportionately difficult. The disputes of High and Low Church, Whig and Tory, divided and weakened the Establishment. The practical common-sense philosophy of the day favoured latitudinarianism, and discouraged everything that could be stigmatised as 'enthusiasm.' The doctrines of Hoadly were favoured by the Whig Government. Sovereigns like the first two of the Hanoverian line, ministers like Walpole, Newcastle, and North, could not stimulate the higher clergy to a sense of their moral and spiritual responsibilities.

The age, though sane and vigorous, was coarse and material. Though there was much religious controversy, the 'enlightenment,' of which in some departments the century could justly boast, did not touch religion or illuminate the masses. Education was neglected; the universities were undistinguished. Non-residence, pluralities, and other abuses abounded. Bishop Hoadly, it is said, did not visit his diocese once in six years. Bishop Watson, who wrote the 'Apology for the Bible,' held sixteen livings in addition to his see. 'The clergy' (wrote Doddridge) 'were courtiers, politicians, lawyers, merchants, usurers, civil magistrates, sportsmen, musicians, stewards of country squires, tools of men in power.' Originality was hardly to be found in the Church save in the author of the 'Analogy'; learning such as that of Edmund Gibson, Lowth, and Horsley was very rare; William Law was a voice crying in the wilderness. Montesquieu, on his visit to England, remarks that in higher circles 'everyone laughs if one talks of religion.' Later in the century Dr Johnson, if we are to believe Boswell, declared that he had never met a 'religious clergyman'; and

Blackstone, speaking of the sermons of his day, affirmed that, in church after church, 'it would have been impossible to discover whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ.'

The caricatures of Hogarth and Rowlandson show into what disrespect the clergy as a whole had fallen, and how conventional and somnolent the ministrations of the Church had become. The fabrics were allowed to sink into decay; in the sixty years of George III's reign, when London was growing fast, only six new churches were built in the capital; the average country parson hardly differed in habits, culture, and tone of life from the farmers among whom he lived. In many districts, especially those in which industries such as mining were carried on, the population lived in a state of practical heathendom; and, when the progress of manufactures began to collect masses of people in the large towns, little or nothing was done by the Church to improve their spiritual condition. The law, so far as the poor and the criminal were concerned, was barbarous; and such attempts as were made to mitigate its brutality did not emanate from those to whom the Founder of the Church committed the special charge of sinners and the poor. The whole life and teaching of John Wesley were a protest against this state of things. Yet, though his labours showed the grievous and general need of reform, he got nothing but discouragement from those in high places; and the secession of his numerous followers came near to leaving the Church of England the Church of the rich, the well-born, and the corruptible.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Evangelical movement gave a great stimulus to devotion, and ushered in a better state of things. Taken in its wider sense, so as to include the followers of Wesley and Whitefield, this movement led to another, the last great secession from the Church. The Evangelicals, properly so-called, who remained within the Church, fought for many years a gallant and almost desperate fight against the apathy and materialism which surrounded them. It is noteworthy that their leaders all belonged to the lower ranks of the clergy, and received little or no countenance from their spiritual superiors. Their influence grew steadily but slowly; so slowly that the author of the

'History of the Church Missionary Society' is constrained to confess that, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, 'the revival movement had not yet leavened the Church at large,' and that its supporters were 'but a small minority despised or hated by most Churchmen.' To them, however, is due the undying credit of having begun, in dark days, the great work of Church reform.

Several other signs which we can now see to have heralded a great change were already appearing on the horizon. During the early years of the last century a new conception of the value of history, an awakened interest in things ancient and medieval, began to stir the air. More thorough and scientific methods of historical investigation were being applied. Under the Record Commissions of 1800, 1806, 1825, and 1831 many important historical records had been published; and the calendaring and publication of state documents was being actively prosecuted. Learned societies were unearthing the historical treasures hitherto buried in public and private libraries throughout the kingdom. Between the years 1812 and 1842 the Bannatyne, Camden, English Historical, Irish Archæological, Maitland, Parker, Percy, Roxburghe, Spalding, Surtees, and other historical or historico-literary societies were founded; and their prolific activity showed the wide prevalence of the historical spirit and the increased interest now taken in the records of the past. The work of such men as Hallam, Arnold, Thirlwall, Kemble, Palgrave, Ellis, Nicolas, Giles, Duffus Hardy, and others, was throwing a flood of light on the Middle Ages and more ancient times. The Oxford Press was issuing its editions of Strype, Burnet, and other valuable historical writers.

In literature the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Coleridge, of Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo, the criticism of Lamb and Hazlitt, the revived study of Shakespeare, Chaucer, and other early authors, the growing interest in Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, the nascent science of comparative philology, all tended, by calling attention to the past, to give a vigorous impulse to the historical side of the Romantic movement, soon to be developed in various directions by Ruskin, Tennyson, and Carlyle. In the arts, especially in architecture, the same tendency is to be seen. Pugin and his followers, studying

and imitating medieval models, embodied in their buildings the spirit of the Gothic revival, anticipated by Horace Walpole and stimulated by Goethe in his remarks on Strassburg Cathedral and other writings; the Camden (architectural) Society was founded at Cambridge with cognate objects (1839); and the restoration and decoration of churches and cathedrals, under the influence of religious, historical, and artistic motives, displayed, if not always wisely, the revived interest in and love of the monuments of the past.

/ It was under influences and in the midst of tendencies such as these that, about 1833, the Oxford movement began. That movement originated in the desire to spiritualise religion, to infuse warmth and reality into devotion, to energise the Church, and to render it more acceptable to the mass of the people. It was, as Liddon has remarked in his 'Life of Pusey,' 'a completion of the earlier revival of religion known as Evangelical,' a revival which, with all its spiritualising and energising power, was imperfect in that it laid a too exclusive stress on the individual and neglected the corporate life of the spiritual society to which he belongs.

'The Oxford movement' (says Dean Church) 'was, on the one hand, theological, on the other, resolutely practical. . . . Theologically it dealt with great questions of religious principle. What is the Church? Is it a reality or a mode of speech? On what grounds does it rest? How may it be known? . . . On the other hand, the movement was marked by its deep earnestness on the practical side of genuine Christian life.'

The preface to the 'Tracts for the Times' at once summarises existing defects and indicates the methods by which it was sought to revive the religious spirit.

'Methodism and Popery' (say the projectors of the series) 'are in different ways the refuge of those to whom the Church stints the gifts of grace; they are the foster-mothers of abandoned children. The neglect of the daily service, the desecration of festivals, the Eucharist scantily administered, insubordination permitted in all ranks of the Church, orders and offices imperfectly developed, the want of societies for particular religious objects, and the like deficiencies, lead the feverish mind, desirous of a vent to its feelings and a stricter

rule of life, to the smaller religious communities, to prayer and Bible meetings, and ill-advised institutions and societies on the one hand; on the other, to the solemn and captivating services by which Popery gains its proselytes.'

The conception which lay at the base of the Tractarian movement was that of the Holy Catholic Church, bound together by a spiritual unity, though visibly divided into national and other churches. This conception drew with it, as an inevitable corollary, the notion of ecclesiastical continuity, of the intimate and unbroken connexion between the Primitive Church and the Church of England, and of the importance of the Fathers as guides and teachers for churchmen in the present day. It also tended to emphasise points of communion rather than points of difference between the churches; and, while by no means desiring to pass over the Reformation or to undo its work, to prove that the reforms of the sixteenth century did not imply a total breach with the past. In a word, the practical end in view was to be promoted by the diffusion of ideas resting largely upon an historical basis, enlisting the aid of the past to vitalise and inspire the present and the future. These facts may be abundantly illustrated from the writings and incidents of the time.

The Rev. T. Sikes, of Guilsborough, one of the fore-runners of the movement, is quoted by Pusey, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1842), as having said:

'I see among the clergy a number of very amiable and estimable men . . . but I have observed one universal want in their teaching, the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, so far as I can see, of the One Holy Catholic Church. . . . Now this great truth is an article of the Creed. . . . We now hear not a breath about the Church. By and by those who live to see it will hear of nothing else.'

/The central idea of Keble's Assize Sermon (preached on July 14, 1833), which Newman and others regarded as the true starting-point of the Oxford movement, is a combination of the spiritual nature of the Church, as a divine institution, with its historical continuity, both characteristics being, in the author's view, endangered by encroachments of the secular power. He speaks of 'a nation, having for centuries acknowledged, as an essential

part of its theory of government, that, as a Christian nation, she is also a part of Christ's Church, and bound in all her legislation and policy by the fundamental rules of that Church.' The general attitude of the leaders in this respect is again illustrated in Keble's sermon on Primitive Tradition, in which he says: 'The freedom of the Anglican Church may be vindicated against the exorbitant claims of Rome, and yet no disparagement ensue of the authority inherent to the Catholic Apostolick Church.' Hugh James Rose, in his sermon on 'The Churchman's Duty,' preached four days after Keble's Assize Sermon, says:

'There are two points of view in which our National Church must be looked at—as a religious establishment, and in the far higher character of a member of Christ's Holy Catholic Church.'

William Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church of Christ' (1838) dwells at greater length on the same views.

It is needless to point out that the poetry of 'The Christian Year,' which was regarded by Pusey and Newman at the time as *fons et origo mali* ('Life of Pusey,' i, 271), is largely inspired by the same ideas, recurring frequently to the primary notion of the Catholic Church, and drawing its illustrations impartially from Old and New Testament and from the annals of primitive Christianity. The 'Lyra Apostolica' (1836), to which Keble, Newman, Hurrell, Froude and others contributed, gives expression to the same central thought, though, generally speaking, in a somewhat more austere and even a militant tone. A sonnet from the 'Lyra,' by J. W. Bowden, illustrates the attitude of the contributors in this respect:—

'Time was, though truth eterne I felt my creed,  
That, when men smiled and said, "Thy words are strong,  
But others think not thus; and dar'st thou plead  
That thou art right, and all beside thee wrong?"  
I shrank abashed, nor dared the theme prolong.  
Now, in that creed's most high and holy strain  
Led to revere the Church's solemn tone,  
The calm, clear accents of the chosen One,  
Christ's mystic Bride, ordained with Him to reign,  
I hear with pitying sigh such taunts profane;  
Taught that my faith, in hers, is based secure  
On the unshaken Rock, that shall for aye endure.'

The combination of intensely practical religion with a spiritual revival, based on the notion of the continuity of the Catholic Church, is the main object of W. G. Ward's 'Ideal of a Christian Church' (1844), in the preface to which the author says :

'The principles which I have laboured there [i.e. in caps. 2, 5, 6, 7] to establish are such as these: That careful and individual moral discipline is the only possible basis on which Christian faith and practice can be reared; that our Church at present performs the duty with deplorable inadequacy, or rather makes no attempt to perform it,' etc.

In chapter 5 the writer emphasises the absence of moral discipline, the Church's neglect of her duties 'as guardian of morality and as witness to and teacher of orthodoxy,' her 'impotence 'to perform other duties, especially in protecting and helping the poor,' etc.; and chapter 4 is characteristically devoted to a comparison of the existing ecclesiastical system with that of the early centuries. Without attributing special importance to this book, we may take it as illustrative of the spirit in which the author and his colleagues worked before the unfortunate and unnecessary development which carried some of them over to the Church of Rome.

✓The general attitude of the school was summed up by Pusey, some years later, in his reply to the question, 'What is Puseyism?'

'Generally speaking' (he says), 'what is so designated may be reduced under the following heads: (1) high thoughts of the two Sacraments; (2) high estimate of Episcopacy as God's ordinance; (3) high estimate of the visible Church as the body wherein we are made members of Christ; (4) regard for ordinances, as directing our devotions and disciplining us; (5) regard for the visible part of devotion, such as the decoration of the House of God, which acts insensibly on the mind; (6) reverence for, and deference to, the ancient Church, of which our own Church is looked upon as the representative to us . . . in a word, reference to the ancient Church instead of to the reformers, as the ultimate expounder of the meaning of our Church.' ('Life,' ii, 140.)

The whole of Pusey's life and work, especially his reliance on the Anglican post-Reformation divines, supplies a sufficient answer to those who would deduce from the



last words of this extract (perhaps unfortunately expressed) the conclusion that Pusey ever wished to undo the Reformation. The context makes it clear that what he had in his mind was the ultra-Protestants who would altogether ignore the Fathers, and that all he meant to assert was that, in case of difference, the Fathers were the more trustworthy guides. The same thought is expressed by the author of Tract 6, on 'The Present Obligation of Primitive Practice,' in the words :

'Is there any one who will deny that the Primitive Church is the best expounder in this matter of our Saviour's will as conveyed through His apostles? Can a learned Church, such as the English, plead ignorance of His will thus ascertained?'

It will be remembered that the late Bishop Creighton claimed for the Church of England, as one of its chief distinctions, that it is a 'learned Church'; and it will not be denied that this learning is, in the truest sense, historical as well as theological.

From this notion of the continuity of the Church springs of necessity the importance attributed to the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. To the leaders of the Oxford movement it appeared the chief spiritual basis and visible sign of that continuity. Keble, in the preface to his volume of 'Sermons Academical and Occasional,' writes thus (p. xliv.):

'The Anglican theory of Church unity may perhaps be stated sufficiently for our present purpose as follows: That our Lord left His Apostles to be collectively the centre of union to His Church, so that communion with them . . . should be for ever the visible pledge of Church membership; that this communion is secured by the gift of the Apostolical Succession, and of those truths and ordinances of which it is notorious that they were acknowledged as primitive and essential by the undivided Church; that the being of our Lord's kingdom being thus secured, the collective authority of the Apostles' successors is requisite, and is sufficient, to make for its well-being laws of universal obligation; but that this authority, for the sins and divisions of Christendom, having been for many centuries under suspension, and visible unity interrupted, we can but go on, as was said before, each one in obedience to the portion of the Church in which his own lot has been cast, under appeal to the governing body in respect of any debated

points; and so we are preserved, though not in visible, yet, as we may hope, in real mystical union.'

Hence the stress laid upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession in so many of the 'Tracts for the Times.' The object of the association which led to the issue of the Tracts is thus defined by Keble. 'What think you of a kind of association . . . for the promotion of these two objects—first, the circulation of primitive notions regarding the Apostolical Succession, etc., and secondly, the protection of the Prayer-book against profane innovation?' (Keble to Dyson, 'Memoir,' p. 211). Tract 7 (on 'The Episcopal Church Apostolical'), in discussing the maintenance of spiritual continuity, says: 'Our present bishops are the heirs and representatives of the apostles by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so. Tract 15 (on 'The Apostolical Succession in the English Church') develops the claim to continuity, coupled with a defence of the right to break away from the Church of Rome and reject papal authority without breach of continuity. To quote a later witness, Dr Liddon remarks that 'Keble saw . . . that the Apostolical Succession was the essential bond, recognised by sixteenth and seventeenth century divines, associating the English Church, through the Reformation and papal dominion, with that primitive Catholicism in which Anglicans laid their foundation, and to which they had always appealed' ('Life of Pusey,' i, 271). Now, the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, if it is in its essence a metaphysical or theological doctrine, is also historical; and, when applied to support the continuity of any particular church, requires the aid of historical evidence.

It was with a view, on the one hand, to prove this historical continuity, and, on the other, to bring out the value of primitive teaching and to recall to men's minds the purity of early doctrine, that the Theological Society was established (1835) to promote knowledge and definite views 'by reference to original sources . . . combining study of Christian antiquity with that of the Scriptures'; and that, in the following year, the 'Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, anterior to the Division of the East and West,' was founded by Pusey and his friends, 'in order to recall men's minds to the teaching and principles of the Primitive Church.' It began with Pusey's

translation of the 'Confessions of St Augustine' (1838). As against the notion that the appeal to the authority of the Fathers 'will interfere with the paramount authority of Holy Scripture'; that it involves 'ascribing undue authority to men fallible like ourselves'; or that it 'entails a disparagement of the authority of our own Church, or innovations upon her discipline or doctrine,' the preface to the translation of the 'Confessions,' quotes the Canon of 1571:

'Clergy shall be careful never to teach anything from the pulpit, to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and collected out of that same doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops.'

This, remarks Pusey, was an enactment of the Convocation which enforced subscription to the Articles.

'The very language of this Canon itself shows that the rightful authority of the Fathers interferes neither with that of Holy Scripture nor with her own. . . . Our Church being a sound member of the Church Catholic, there is no notion of innovating upon her doctrine or practice, but rather of bringing out more fully how Catholic that doctrine and practice are, to determine in many cases what the meaning of her teaching is, to show things to be Catholic and Primitive, and so Apostolic, which people, because they have only seen them in our Church, think to be human. . . . This, indeed, is the great practical end of the study of the Fathers—not to prove anything, not to satisfy ourselves of anything, but to bring more vividly home to our own thoughts and consciousness the rich treasures of doctrine and devotion which our Church has from their days brought down for us.'

The same thought appears in Tract 38 ('Via Media'):

'I cannot consent, I am sure the Reformers did not wish me, to deprive myself of the Church's dowry, the doctrines which the Apostles spoke in Scripture and impressed upon the early Church. I receive the Church as a messenger from Christ, rich in treasures old and new, rich with the accumulated wealth of ages. . . . Our Articles are one portion of that accumulation.'

Appeals to primitive teaching and the authority of the Fathers are, it need hardly be remarked, constant

throughout the whole series of Tracts; and the duty of making this appeal is especially maintained in Tract 89 and others.

Dr Arnold, in his attack upon the movement, charged its leaders with appealing to the 'antiquarianism of Christianity, not to its profitable history.' This seems to beg the question as to the value of 'antiquarian' research, and as to what was and what was not merely antiquarian in the teaching he condemned; but it is not only to the Early Fathers that the Tractarians made their appeal. One of the first-fruits of the movement was the 'Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology,' designed, according to the prospectus, to consist of 'scarce and valuable works . . . maintaining and inculcating the doctrine and discipline of Anglican branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.' In this series were published the works of Andrewes, Beveridge, Bull, Cosin, Hammond, Laud, Pearson, Wilson, and other post-Reformation divines. Tract 71 (on 'The Controversy with the Romanists'), appeals, in defence of the English Church, to the great Anglican teachers, especially those of the seventeenth century, Andrewes, Hammond, Ken and others. Tract 72 refers to Archbishop Ussher, as well as to the Fathers, in defending the Anglican doctrine as to prayers for the dead. To several of the Tracts are appended 'Catena Patrum,' i.e. quotations setting forth 'the testimony of writers in the later English Church' regarding the doctrines of Apostolical Succession, Baptismal Regeneration, the duty of maintaining 'quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est,' the duty of daily morning and evening prayer, etc. The divines appealed to range from Jewel, Bilson, and Hooker (whose works Keble republished in the well-known edition), to Mant and even to later writers. In regard to questions of doctrine, especially to those in which Anglican teaching differs from that of Rome, the greatest reliance is placed on post-Reformation theologians.

'In the seventeenth century' (says the author of Tract 38) 'the theology of the divines of the English Church was substantially the same as ours is; and it experienced the full hostility of the Papacy. It was the true *Via Media*; Rome sought to block up that way as fiercely as the Puritans.'

And he goes on to state his 'irreconcilable differences with Rome.'

The famous Tract 90 itself not only abounds with references to the Fathers, but places equal reliance on the post-Reformation Homilies, which describe 'the usages of the Primitive Church' as 'most pure and uncorrupt,' and appeal to 'the most ancient, learned, and godly doctors of the Church.' Whatever may be thought of the particular arguments, sometimes super-subtle, by which the author of this Tract sought to prove the comprehensive spirit in which he held that the Articles were drawn up, the course of reasoning followed is largely, if not mainly, of an historical nature, and depends on considerations drawn from historical evidence as to the conditions prevailing in the early years of Queen Elizabeth, and the religious and political views of those who compiled the Articles.

The same views and methods of reasoning are displayed in the attachment of the leaders of the movement to the Prayer-book and other formularies of the English Church, and their ardent study of liturgical origins. It is pointed out that the Church of England, in her formularies makes constant reference to 'the custom of the Primitive Church.' Tract 63 (on 'The Antiquity of the existing Liturgies') contains an elaborate study and comparison of the early forms of celebration—Roman, Oriental, Egyptian, Gallican, etc. Tract 67 performs the same task in regard to the rite of baptism. A remarkable outcome of this study was Palmer's '*Origines Liturgicæ*' (1832), of which Liddon says:

'Insisting, as it did, on the almost forgotten fact that the Prayer-book is mainly a translation from earlier office books, and so represents the descent of the Reformed Church of England from the Church of the earlier days, this book powerfully contributed to increase that devotion to the traditions of the Church which characterised the Tracts.'

In conclusion, it should be noted, firstly, that the doctrine of the '*Via Media*,' which emerged from this learned combination of historical and theological study, while based upon the teaching of the Primitive Church, was not identical with it, but was evolved from it, as a plant from the germ, by a logical process of growth.

indicated by Newman in his fruitful and far-reaching theory of 'Development'; and secondly, that it differed, in several essential respects, from the teaching of later Rome at least as widely as it did, in other directions, from that of ultra-Protestantism.

It is hardly necessary to multiply proofs of this latter assertion; but, in view of some latter-day misconceptions, attention may be called to some of the most convincing evidence. In his 'Sermon on November 5th,' Pusey says:

'The principle of the Romish Church was expediency; it was a plotting, scheming, worldly spirit, having at first God's glory for its end, but seeking it by secular means; and, at last, in punishment left to seek its own glory, and to set itself up in the place of God.'

Newman, 'On Romanism,' writes:

'We agree with the Romanist in appealing to Antiquity as our great teacher, but we deny that his doctrines are to be found in Antiquity; . . . and we maintain that his professed tradition is a tradition of men.'

The author of Tract 20 says:

'It is the very enmity which I feel against the Papistical corruptions of the Gospel, which leads me to press upon you a doctrine of Scripture which we are sinfully surrendering and the Church of Rome has faithfully retained. . . . Depend upon it, to insist on the doctrine of the visible Church is not to favour the Papists; it is to do them the most serious injury. It is to deprive them of their only strength.'

In Tract 38 we read:

'Be assured of this—no party will be more opposed to our doctrine, if it ever prospers and makes noise, than the Roman party.'

In 1839, in his 'Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,' Pusey wrote on 'the tendency to Romanism imputed to doctrines held of old, as now, in the English Church.' While discussing various Articles, he showed, for instance, how, in respect of prayers for the dead, the doctrine sanctioned by the English Church, and defended by Anglican divines, excludes the belief in Purgatory as conceived by the Roman Church; how the Roman invocation of saints may be distinguished from Anglican

prayers that their intercession may be heard; how Anglican views on celibacy differ from those of Rome; and so forth.

Nearly a generation later he published (1865) his 'Eirenicon' or (as its full title runs) 'The Church of England a portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church, and a means of restoring visible unity.' Starting with the view of showing how much common ground there is between the Churches, it sets forth the points of difference so distinctly, and defends the Anglican position in so uncompromising a fashion and with such an array of learning, historical and theological, drawn from all ages of the Church, that it might rather be called a 'Polemicon,' and was indeed taken as such by the friends of Rome. The English Church, says the author, holds that there is one Catholic Apostolic Church; that the supremacy of Rome is not primitive; that we, equally with the Roman Church, have 'infallible truth as resting on infallible authority.' In the second part (1869) Pusey discusses, with equal learning and equally firm rejection of Roman doctrine, the worship of the Virgin Mary, in its origin and historical development. In the third part, asking 'Is healthful reunion impossible?' and insisting that for any such reunion the first thing requisite is a clear conception of differences, he proceeds to consider these differences in order, and especially, in a disquisition mainly historical, and occupying nearly half the volume, argues against the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, then on the point of being declared.

If such was the origin, and such the aim and spirit of the Oxford movement, the question naturally arises: How far does modern Ritualism pursue that aim and maintain that spirit? Such a question needs to be asked and answered. It is clear that in many respects, and those the most obtrusive on a superficial view, the 'advanced' clergy of the present day have gone far beyond their predecessors. Pusey, in his later days, deprecated excess in this direction; and it may well be doubted whether the decency and order which appealed to Keble and George Herbert are not in some danger of being lost in extravagance and formalism; whether in some cases reverence is not tending to pass into superstition, and the

life of the spirit to be stifled by materialistic emotionalism. These questions we shall not attempt to discuss; our aim is merely to present some considerations which may be helpful to a solution of the dispute between the Ritualists and their opponents.

During the last sixty years historical study has made great advances; interest in antiquity is more widely spread and better instructed; and the scientific doctrine of evolution has brought the historical view of all subjects capable of historical treatment into greater prominence than before. The result is evident in the tone and method of controversy during recent years. It is hardly necessary to refer to the importance of historical arguments, on both sides, in the Ridsdale and other Ritual cases, in the Lincoln judgment and the Lambeth decisions.

How far the supporters of the Ritualistic movement prove their position is another question; what is here suggested is that the nature of that position, its strength or its weakness, cannot be understood unless full attention is paid to its historical side. It is not so much that new facts bearing on these intricate controversies have been discovered. In the technical sense there may not be much new light; at all events, to discriminate between new and old would be a lengthy and difficult task. It is rather that the attitude of mind of unprejudiced and moderate men has undergone a change. The historian has come to the aid of the lawyer; the purely legal view no longer holds the field; and it has come to be recognised that legal arguments alone, taking no account of historical circumstances and considerations, cannot afford a satisfactory solution.

On the other hand, it would be absurd to suggest that the questions now at issue can be determined on historical grounds alone, even if clear historical conclusions as to doctrine and practice could always be drawn—which is far from being the case. In regard to some practices now incriminated, there can be little doubt that, even on an appeal to history, they would be condemned; in regard to others, no amount of historical argument could defend them in a reformed Church. Again, the appeal to history, the appeal to the Fathers, to the Primitive Church, or the Church of any other period, has its weak side, if any attempt is made to regard it as final. In the



first place, though history tells us, or may tell us, what has been, it does not therefore tell us, necessarily, what ought to be; and too much attention to history is apt to produce a tendency to ignore other important considerations. In the second place, although a rational study of history is the very basis of the notion of evolution, a slavish devotion to the past (it is almost needless to say) must stifle growth and destroy that adaptability which is the condition of continued power. Of all the writings of John Henry Newman, there is probably none of more lasting influence and suggestiveness, none more in consonance with the latest discoveries and the prevalent spirit of science, than that in which he applied the doctrine of Development to the principles of religion. The universal flux, the *πάντα ῥεῖ* of Heraclitus, applies to the science of theology, and to the doctrine and practice based upon it, as to other subjects which engage the attention of the human intellect, directly or indirectly aided by the divine. Revelation is not once for all, but continuous and eternal. In many ways and through many minds God makes himself known to man. The needs and the intelligence of the present are not the needs and intelligence of the past. To go back to the primitive fount is often well; to lose sight of the source can never be salutary; but to refuse to drink of the wider and deeper stream into which, by the aid of countless rills and by dews from the inexhaustible ocean, it has grown, is wilfully to incur the risk of isolation and decay. The Church, at least that branch of it established in our land, is, we trust, coming to recognise this truth; and only by such recognition will it permanently retain its hold on the mind, as well as on the spirit, of men.

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# Art. X.—THE LITERATURE OF EGOTISM.

1. *The Garden that I Love; Lamia's Winter Quarters; and other prose works.* By Alfred Austin, Poet Laureate. London: Macmillan, 1894-98, etc.
2. *The House of Quiet: an Autobiography.* Edited by J. T. *The Thread of Gold.* By the same author. London: Murray, 1904-5.
3. *The Upton Letters.* By T. B. London: Smith, Elder, 1905.
4. *Elizabeth and her German Garden; The Solitary Summer; and other works* by the same author. London: Macmillan, 1901-02.
5. *From December to December: the Daybook of Melisande.* London: Murray, 1905.

EGOTISM is a word which has frequently an opprobrious sense attached to it. This is not the sense in which we propose to use it here. In a certain sense all genuine literature is egotistic. Whatever its subject, it is the expression of the writer's absorbing interest in it. A man who writes about horses because horses are his ruling passion is so far an egotist, though he never mentions himself. Gibbon's History is a monument of this kind of objective egotism. In such cases the writer is lost in his subject. He realises his personality indirectly; he expresses it by indirect means; and it is not for the sake of his personality that others read his work. The literature of egotism which we here have in view is distinguished by the fact that its primary subject is the author himself, or other things in relation to his own idiosyncrasies and experience.

Such literature is, more than any other, apt to lend itself to the service of vanity and diseased sentiment, but it is not necessarily an expression of what is vain, diseased, or foolish. Still less is such a literature of egotism to be set down as valueless or unimportant. The vainest, the most morbid, the most foolish of human beings, could he only give a picture of himself which was really complete and accurate, would be able to produce a work of the highest interest and value; whilst, in proportion as the writer is endowed with exceptional faculties, or with a character so balanced as to render him a type of human

nature generally, the value and interest of his self-revelation are amplified. Indeed much literature which is intensely egotistical in form, is, to all intents and purposes, universal in substance; because the elements which the writer most carefully observes in himself are elements which exist in all men, and to many men in all ages are as important as they were to him. Such is the case, for instance, with the *Confessions* of St Augustine; and even more noticeably, though in a somewhat narrower way, with the accounts of their spiritual experiences given by the later mystics. St Teresa's accounts of her ecstasies are, in one sense, the quintessence of egotism, in another sense they are psychological documents of permanent value to the students of psychology, and even of medicine.

A similar criticism applies, with the necessary qualifications, to the literary expression of egotism on a less exalted plane. Of such literature the interest and value are twofold. On the one hand it pleases because it is a revelation of idiosyncrasies which stamp the writer as a distinct and peculiar character, thus introducing the reader to an amiable or entertaining acquaintance. On the other hand it pleases or interests, in proportion as the reader finds in it thoughts and characteristics, not distinct from his own, but resembling them, and, by being introduced to the writer, is introduced also to himself.

For both these reasons, and for the latter reason especially, the books now before us are of a kind which deserves attention. They are not only signs of the writers, they are signs of the times also. They are interesting revelations of the manner in which current conditions, social, religious, and intellectual, affect minds which, however exceptionally gifted, represent respectively numbers besides themselves. They belong to that class of literature to which belong Montaigne's *Essays* and Amiel's *Journal*. Montaigne not only charms the reader by exhibiting the individual peculiarities of Montaigne—his views as to the convenience of greatness, or the manner in which he played with his cat; he appeals to him also by the spirit in which he regarded life—a spirit in strong contrast to that of medieval Christendom, and arising largely out of general causes which have not yet spent themselves. Amiel gave to his experiences a universal character by dealing with his own soul as a

specimen of souls in general, when submitted to influences shared by his contemporaries with himself. The books now before us, though perhaps in unequal degrees, appeal to us not only because they represent the writers themselves, but because they also represent various classes of their contemporaries.

Without attempting to draw invidious personal comparisons, we will give to the Poet Laureate the precedence due to his office, and begin by considering the contributions which he, in the intervals between the visits of the Muses, has made to the prose literature of egotism.

Of the five or six specimens of this literature which Mr Austin has given us, we will content ourselves with examining two—'The Garden that I Love' and 'Lamia's Winter Quarters.' The tone and genius which we find displayed in these are similar to the tone and genius which give their character to the others. Mr Austin, in these works, has acquired a reputation more consonant with the defective taste which he imputes to his contemporaries generally than with what is probably his own estimate of the comparative value of his writings. He taxes the readers of to-day with a corporate indifference to poetry; and many of his readers, whose acquaintance with his poetry is imperfect, are diligent in their study and sincere in their appreciation of his prose. This is partly due to the subjects, and partly to the qualities of his style, which bring him nearer in his prose works than in his poetry to the daily interests and comprehension of the ordinary man and woman of to-day. Divesting himself of the laurel proper to the inspired bard, he here meets them as a cultivated and accomplished man, who has indeed an occasional gift for song, but whose interests and manners are not otherwise generically different from their own. He speaks to them familiarly as the lover of his English garden, or the tasteful and scholarly traveller in the highways and byways of Italy. It is true indeed, as we shall see presently, that he manages, with much ingenuity, to enlarge this limited rôle; but such is the character in which he primarily and ostensibly presents himself to his public.

'The Garden that I Love,' though written in the first person, is supposed, by a literary device, not to be written by the author. As the author, however, illustrates it with

photographs of his own home, the disguise thus effected is intentionally of the most transparent kind. The book opens with a very engaging description of a small Kentish manor-house and the charming garden surrounding it. The imaginary writer presents himself to us as the owner and the gardener of this paradise, which he shares with his sister Veronica; and to them, for a visit of indefinite length, come a fascinating young lady called Lamia, and a gentleman who is known by no other appellation than 'The Poet,' the imaginary writer himself being addressed similarly as 'Dear Sage.' The book is occupied with the conversations of this quartette, with a love-affair, ending in an engagement between the Poet and Veronica, and a *tendresse* of the Sage for Lamia, the end of which is indefinite; all this being set in the monologues of the Sage himself.

The reader will perceive that Mr Austin has, for literary purposes, duplicated his own nature, and accorded to the sage and the poet in him two different personalities, so that each may, by contrast or appreciation, bring out the characteristics of the other. In saying this, we are neither surprising nor betraying any personal secret of the writer's; for the Sage, as the photographs show us, occupies Mr Austin's home; and the Poet recites, as his own, passages from Mr Austin's poetry. The device is, as we just now observed, ingenious. We believe it to be also altogether original; and, as related to the end in view, it is very far from being ineffective. At all events, 'The Garden that I Love' is an example of the literature of egotism, which justifies its wide popularity by its signal and peculiar merits. It reveals with vividness and sincerity certain aspects of the Poet Laureate's character with which every healthy and cultivated reader will sympathise; and it does so through the medium of a style which every critical reader will admire. His prose, at its best, may indeed be taken as a model of lucidity restraint, dignity, and appropriate music.

The predominant impression which Mr Austin here leaves with us is that of his country home and his own personal attachment to it; this attachment being amplified into a passionate devotion to the country of which his home is for him at once the product and symbol, and also into a healthy optimism with regard to human life

generally. His many sketches of his small Kentish manor-house, with its rounded gable-ends, its walls smothered in roses, the beautiful garden which was practically his own creation, and the trees and glades of the park lying beyond it, actually place the reader amongst the scenes described, and bring to his nostrils the touch of the Kentish atmosphere. He sees the doorstep littered with drifted rose-petals. He feels the silence broken only by leaves and birds, the warmth of the sunshine, and the falling of the evening dew. The following passage, necessarily somewhat abbreviated, but not otherwise altered, will illustrate some of the qualities of Mr Austin's mellow prose.

'Spring is the most skilful of all gardeners, covering the whole ground with flowers, and shading off the crudest contrasts into perfect harmony; and were it April, May, and June all the year round, I, for one, would never again put spade or seed into the ground. I should select for the site of my home the heart of an English forest, and my cottage should stand half-way up an umbrageous slope that overlooked a wooded vale. . . . One would make just clearance enough to satisfy one's desire for self-assertion against Nature, and then she should be allowed to do the rest. . . . The *Anemone apennina*, now in full bloom in the garden that I love . . . is, as far as my experience goes, rarely seen in English gardens. It used, an indefinite number of years ago, to be sold in big basketsful by dark-eyed, dark-haired, dark-skinned flower-girls in the Via Condotti in Rome, in the months of February and March; and I recollect a good Samaritan putting the finishing touch to my convalescence, after a visitation of Roman fever, by bringing to my room a large posy of this exquisite flower, varying in colour from sky-blue to pure white, and springing out of the daintiest, most feathery foliage imaginable. . . . But with all my partiality for these domesticated wind-flowers, I will not pretend that they can hold a feather to undulating stretches of sylvan anemones; and in April these would be as numerous as the pink-and-white shells of the seashore, which in colour they curiously resemble, around my forest abode. . . . Just as one begins to feel a little sad because the wood-hyacinths pale, the red campion takes a brighter hue and holds up a bolder stalk, determined to see over the heads of the now fast-shooting green crosiers of the bracken; and before these unfurl themselves and get too high, the sleepy foxgloves suddenly re-

member that it is June, and dapple the lush dingles with their spires of freckled bells. All flowers seem to contain a secret; I suppose because they are silent. But the foxglove has always seemed to me to possess more of the mystery of things than any of its sylvan compeers.'

Just as Mr Austin here exhibits himself as a lover of England, so in 'Lamia's Winter Quarters' and elsewhere he uses with equal success the same gift of style in exhibiting himself as the lover of Italy and Italian life. The manner in which his style takes the colour of the things described will be seen by a few extracts from the very charming description which occurs in the opening chapter of the last-named volume. The Sage and the Poet, together with their two ladies, are enjoying a winter in the south, instead of a summer in the north; and from Provence into Italy they travel slowly in a hired carriage.

'I suppose it is' (says the Sage) 'because we are very simple folk, and lead at home a rather primitive life, that we find everything new which most other people find familiar. and so many things attractive that the bulk of the world treat as undeserving of attention. Along that magical coast, where we turned our gaze first to the sea-fringe, then to the hill declivities, then back again to the white-laced bays . . . while we never asked our cheerfully communicative driver to quicken his pace, we frequently begged him to slacken it, and over and over again bade him halt altogether. . . . When luncheon-hour arrived we thereupon came to a standstill. . . . Under a carob-tree, the first Lamia had ever seen, the cloth was spread; and then she scattered rather than arranged her lately gathered flowers, with infinite taste. A short distance away, as we looked under the olive-trees across the ruddy clods and accidental wild-flowers, were the innumerable dimples of the amiable sea. . . . "Is it always like this?" asked Lamia. "Far from it," I was going to reply; but the Poet anticipated me. "Yes, always, Lamia, always, always, always! No one deserves to travel who anticipates anything less agreeable than what he is enjoying at the moment."'

Travelling in the manner thus delightfully indicated, the friends finally settle themselves in a villa not far from Florence. Their quiet life there, with their conversations, expeditions, and impressions, embedded in the narrative and discursive comments of the Sage, form the principal substance of this agreeable and suggestive

volume; and Mr Austin, in dealing with Italy and Italian life, writes with no less charm, and an insight no less delicate, than he does when dealing with the life and the lanes of Kent. Here, indeed, the ripeness of his culture is perhaps even more apparent. Let us present the reader with one quotation more.

'Refinement is the work of time. You remember Aristotle's definition of aristocracy—ancient riches. Italy has ancient riches, the riches of law, religion, poetry, and the arts, long established; and she has, therefore, what is most precious in aristocracy. She has ancient speech, and ancient manners . . . and an ancient agriculture. We are sitting at this moment surrounded by a rural cultivation that is described with absolute accuracy in the *Georgics*, and again by Politian in his *Rusticus*, written on this very spot, and that has not changed since the days of Cincinnatus. Listen to that fellow singing among the olives. Virgil has described him—"canit fundator ad auras." . . . It is this far-backness that sheds a glamour over everything in Italy. . . . In proportion as Italy parts with its past, Italy will lose its charm. . . . "Dear Poet," said Lamia, "will you forgive me if I object that I have sometimes been told, though I am sure most inaccurately, that, for instance, I am charming; and yet I am not ancient." "Dear Lamia," he replied, "you are very ancient, and are under deep obligations to ancestors you never saw, and probably never heard of; and I hope you will be yet more charming for your visit to this old and captivating land."

On these two foundations or canvases of patriotic and private devotion to his own country, and a devotion more purely æsthetic, scholarly, and critical to a country still older, Mr Austin embroiders innumerable representations of himself, his personal preferences, his philosophic and literary theories, and his attitude towards life generally. Having thus introduced the reader to his method, his style, his manner, we will perform the same office for the writers of the other volumes before us; and then from the manner of each we will go on to the matter.

The curious similarity, in respect of their ostensible subjects, between 'The Solitary Summer' of 'Elizabeth,' and the 'Garden that I Love' of Mr Austin, naturally prompts us to set the two books side by side. 'Elizabeth's' method is simpler than that of the poet. Like him, she presents us with numerous conversations and anecdotes,



to a life of enforced but congenial leisure, in his old-fashioned Hampshire home, which he shares with a widowed mother.

'The house' (he writes) 'is a strange medley. One part of it is an Elizabethan building, mullioned, of grey stone. One wing is weather-tiled, and of simple outline. The front, added at some period of prosperity, is Georgian, thickly set with large windows. . . . The meadows fall from the house to the stream; but the greater part of the few acres which we hold is simple woodland, where the copse grows thick and dark, with here and there a stately forest tree. The house, seen as I love best to see it, from the avenue on a winter evening, rises a dark irregular pile, crowned with the cupola and the massive chimneys against a green and liquid sky, in which trembles a single star; and below lies the dim mysterious woodland, with mist rising over the stream, and beyond that, soft upland after upland, out to the horizon's verge. Within all is dark and low. There is a central panelled hall, with round oak arches on either hand, leading through little anterooms to a parlour and dining-room. There are wide meaningless corridors with steps up and down. . . . A large, low, panelled room serves me as bedroom and study together. The windows are hung with faded tapestry curtains. There is a great open fireplace before me, with logs red-crumbling, bedded in grey ash. . . . Odd Dutch tiles pave and wall the cavernous hearth. . . . Here is a tapestried couch; there an oak bookcase crammed with a strange assortment of books. . . . Outside all is unutterably still . . . with the deep tranquillity of the country-side nestling down into itself.'

The life lived by the writer in this home and its neighbourhood, comprising his intercourse with various typical neighbours, forms, in 'The House of Quiet,' the vehicle of his revelations of himself. In 'The Thread of Gold' he is more independent of local circumstance, and betakes himself largely to detached and general reflections; but all these breathe the atmosphere of the same meditative seclusion. The author of 'The Upton Letters,' as the name of the volume indicates, adopts a different literary form, and presents us with a different background. We have only to substitute the word Eton for Upton, and we have before us a well-known Eton master, placed among familiar scenes, performing familiar duties, and revealing

the life which hides itself under these last in a series of reflective letters to an invalid friend in Madeira. Of his general method, no more need be said. Of his style, which is that of a highly cultivated man, we shall by-and-by have occasion to give some specimens; but it hardly calls meanwhile for more particular notice. We will therefore pass on to the most recent of the works before us, which in many ways stands apart, and deserves special attention.

'From December to December,' by 'Melisande,' is in form a continuous mental diary—a diary which concerns itself with thoughts and opinions as experiences, but which, differing herein from all the foregoing volumes, is content to suggest the conditions out of which these experiences have arisen, and abstains from anecdote and description of local landscape. As to her circumstances, all we gather is this, that her home, like 'Elizabeth's,' Mr Austin's, and that of the dweller in the 'House of Quiet,' is in the country, has around it the amenities of wood and garden, and shelters a life of studious and reflective leisure and healthy household activities. This reserve forms a curious contrast to the confidences of the other writers. It results in certain limitations, but it has its own charm and dignity. It may further be mentioned, as a distinction which 'Melisande' shares with the Poet Laureate, that she intersperses her prose reflections with poetry. As she is, we may safely assume, a writer new to the public, we may justify her claims to the attention which we think she merits, by presenting the reader with examples of her powers as a poetess and as a critic.

'From December to December' opens with the following sonnet, one of a series which is admirable for the mastery of form displayed by it:—

'My life is full of sweetness and of peace,  
Full of all fair proportion and calm days;  
In it all Duty is the dearest ease,  
For Duty is the nearest joy always;  
And never force or storm or any stress  
Can beat upon my walled-in garden-home,  
For God Himself walks here to heal and bless  
And where He is, not any ill can come.

Within is all may feed the wants of man ;  
 There work, and wealth, and intellect are found ;  
 And Love is still the deep foundation plan,  
 And Love makes all he builds on holy ground.  
 If Love within my garden keeps such store,  
 Can any Love without offer me more ?'

To this illustration of the writer's gift for verse we will add a passage which illustrates her gift for criticism :—

'Chateaubriand's grand emotions of love and religion, even patriotism, did not lead to any growth or variety of intellectual impressions. Chateaubriand of seventy could do nothing better than regret Chateaubriand of seventeen. He seems to have taken on himself from the beginning the "grand air"; and having mounted his stilts, he stalks about on them for the rest of his career. He is determined to keep his head high, and forgets that he is thus preventing himself from taking any fresh observations or learning anything new about life on the natural level. . . . His religion is entirely without personal adventure. It is part of the great rôle he has set himself to play. . . . The peace, the simplicity of Nature were unknown to him. . . . In his allusions to Nature he uses her merely as the theatre of his emotions. He observes little more than what might be described as the "classical events" of a sunrise or sunset, or the bright moon riding in the heavens. Compare, for instance, this scene-painting employment of Nature as a model with the use Blake makes of her. . . . But then Blake was not obliged to think of himself as a peer of France. . . . Yet he (Chateaubriand) had essentially the personality made only for the peace which the world cannot give. He was never happy. How could he be? . . . In the frail, sweet souls of the women he loved he sought very vainly the illusive image of God.'

These quotations will be quite enough to show that in 'From December to December' we have before us a volume which may, without impropriety, take rank with the others as a typical example of the contemporary literature of egotism. Having taken a bird's-eye view of these, we will now consider their significance.

In so far as the interest of such works consists in the exhibition of personal idiosyncrasies—as it does in Pepys' Diary, and the self-revelations of Boswell—the palm must, beyond all doubt, be accorded to the Poet Laureate. Though his egotism reaches far beyond this purely personal circle,

it frankly begins with this, and this is always its nucleus. So genially pleased is he with this particular subject that he not only, as we have observed already, splits himself into two persons—the Sage as entertaining the Poet, and the Poet as observed by the Sage; but he comes to us in another of his volumes under a third aspect also—as the Poet besought by an admirer to observe himself, and bringing out, with modest reluctance, a series of his own confessions. His early attachment to Italy, his reckless moods in youth, his successes with the fair, his exploits among the brave, his lecture to Lord Tennyson on style, the compliments of Prince Bismarck to himself, the philosophic calm of his maturer years, his taste in flowers, forestry, and architecture, his indifference to fame, and his shrinking from personal notoriety, are all put before us with an elaborate and naïve dexterity, which places him high among the practitioners of the purely personal egotism to which the world owes many of its most popular and entertaining works. ‘Elizabeth,’ and the author or authors of ‘The House of Quiet’ and ‘The Upton Letters,’ all make us familiar with their personal tastes and temperaments; but, compared with the Poet Laureate, they are hardly conscious of themselves at all.

To criticise the individual characters revealed to us in these volumes would be irrelevant if it were not impossible. Criticism in this connexion is no more than personal taste, according to which Dr Fell is either liked or disliked; and we will merely observe that the reader, whether his judgment is sympathetic or otherwise, will probably find that the exercise of it is equally agreeable to himself. Criticism proper begins when we leave these questions of individual portraiture and consider how the writers are related to general facts and conditions, not to the private faces which they reflect for us in their own looking-glasses.

Dealing with their works from a purely literary point of view, we shall find much that, in a general way, is interesting. In all these works, though no one of the writers is in any sense an imitator of any other, and though the manner of each is strikingly fresh and individual, we nevertheless encounter certain singular similarities of style. To Mr Austin's style this observation applies less than it does to the others; but in two

passages which we have already set side by side, the reader will have seen how closely, even in their actual wording, the Poet Laureate's sentences resemble those of 'Elizabeth.' They both speak of what is practically the same day of the year; they both dwell with affection on the same species of flower; and they both complacently assert that in their own respective gardens this species on the same day attains to an unrivalled beauty. A further curious coincidence, indicating a yet deeper likeness, is to be found in the fact that both these writers apply to one of their characters the same fanciful name. Mr Austin, as the host of his other *dramatis personæ*, is, in 'The Garden that I Love,' addressed by Lamia as 'Dear Sage.' 'Dear Sage' is the name which 'Elizabeth' applies to her husband. Between the styles of 'Elizabeth,' 'Melisande,' and the author of 'The House of Quiet,' the general resemblance is still more pervasive and unmistakable. The following passages, for example, which we give consecutively, might be taken by the reader, if it were not for the names attached to them, for passages from the same book. First, a group of personalities:—

'Apart from my professional work, the main preoccupations of my life have been purely literary. . . . Writers have long periods, I suppose, when they don't seem to have anything to say, or even worse, when they have something to say, but can't please themselves as to the manner of saying it. But all these delays, these inarticulate silences, are part, after all, of the same thing.' ('Upton Letters.')

'I am inclined to believe that what makes writing good is not so much the pains taken with a particular piece of work, is not the retouchings, the corrections, the dear delays. Still more fruitful than this labour is the labour spent on work that is never used—that never sees the light. Writing is to me the simplest and best pleasure in the world.' ('Thread of Gold.')

'The gift of expression is something very different indeed from mere garrulousness. Personality, in people who are expressive, bubbles over in thought, word, and deed, every moment of their lives. They are never buried by circumstance; or, if they are, it only results in perpetual resurrections.' ('From December to December.')

Next, a group of country scenes:—

'I came at last by lanes and byways to a silent village that seemed entirely deserted. The men, I suppose, were all

working in the fields; the cottage-doors stood open; near the little common rose an old, high-shouldered church, much overgrown with ivy. The sun lay pleasantly upon its leaded roof and among the grass-grown graves.' ('Upton Letters.')

'There are often wide grassy spaces beside the road, thick-set with furze and forest undergrowth, with here and there a tiny pool, or a little dingle where sandstone has been dug. Down at the base of the hill you find a stream running deep below a rustic white-railed bridge.' ('House of Quiet.')

'There is a dip in the rye-fields about half a mile from my garden-gate, a little round hollow like a dimple, with water and reeds at the bottom, and a few water-loving trees and bushes on the shelving ground around. . . . I can see the reeds glistening greenly in the water, and, when I look up, I can see the rye-fringe brushing the sky.' ('Solitary Summer.')

'The snowdrops shone whitely this morning, like snow in unnaturally hard and good preservation in summer sunshine. An adventurous bee hummed and industriously sucked what one felt must be cold comfort from the snowdrop.' ('From December to December.')

And now to these let us add one passage more, taken literally at random from a work not belonging to the above group:—

'St Martin's summer is still lingering, and the days all begin in mist. I ran for a quarter of an hour round the garden, to get some warmth and suppleness. Nothing could be lovelier than the last rosebuds, or than the delicate gaufred edges of the strawberry-leaves, embroidered with hoar frost, while, above them, Arachne's delicate webs hung swaying in the green branches of the pines.' ('Amiel's Journal.')

The style is the man. Such is the accepted doctrine; and the doctrine is no doubt true. But a comparison of the above passages will teach us something more than this. It will teach us that the style is the man's subject also; and again that, the subject being given, the style is the attitude or position which the man assumes towards it. In the light of these considerations we perceive the kind of general unity which underlies the works now specially before us; and not these only, but others of the same class. The same style is impressed on all the writers, partly because the subject with which they deal is the same general conditions, as immediately affecting themselves; and partly because, as affected by these conditions, they

represent themselves in a passive rather than in an active attitude. They may or they may not be men and women of action otherwise; but, as writers of the books in question, they are men and women of reflection, who watch the course, and accept the results, of the battle, but are not taking active part in it. Here we have the secret of that slowly-moving, gently-cadenced prose common to all of them, and resembling a dilatory stream in which reflected images are abundant because it pours itself over no mill-wheels, and rarely breaks even into ripples.

A general judgment of this kind of course requires qualifications; but in one case only—that, namely, of the Poet Laureate—are these qualifications of any appreciable importance. The author of ‘The Upton Letters’ for example, in his capacity of schoolmaster, has at one time led a life full of active duties; and these are now and again discussed; but this volume, as a whole, avowedly represents those elements in him for which such duties provided no expression, and which ultimately prompted him to discontinue them. The author of ‘The House of Quiet’—and this is not the only point of resemblance—tells us in so many words that his own position is similar. He, too, once had an active career; but the pressure of circumstances, and probably of temperament also, have made action impossible for him, and have driven him to the unwall’d cloister. ‘Elizabeth’ and ‘Melisande,’ in the quiet of their respective woods and gardens, are distinguished also by the same cloistral attitude; and, though her daily duties are for each an important element in her life, each nun, in performing them, becomes as it were her own lay sister, whose activities are contemplated and appraised by a ‘moi spectateur’ in the background.

Passing from the attitude and manner of these writers to their matter, we shall find that what they are all occupied with, consciously or unconsciously, is the relation of the individual to the religious and moral conditions prevalent in the modern world, and distinguishing it from the conditions prevalent in a comparatively recent past. In this respect the writers are all equally representative. For all of them the conceptions of life and duty that were general a short while ago, and in many quarters are not even yet obsolete, have undergone a change, and require to be reconstituted; and each writer

in his or in her own way, is here endeavouring to reconstitute them, or expressing an inability to do so.

Thus, 'The Upton Letters,' from its first page to its last, is instinct with Christian sentiment and pungent with Christian phraseology; but when we look for any definite convictions to which this sentiment stands related, we find ourselves merely in a world of slowly dissolving images, which the author once took for realities, but which he takes for realities no longer. He is, for example, moved by some service in an old cathedral; but he has hardly left the building before he goes on to ask, 'What was the power that raised these great places as so essential and vital a part of life?' And he answers his question by saying:

'We have lost it now, whatever it was. Churches like these were then an obvious necessity; kings and princes vied with each other in raising them; and no one questioned their utility. They are now a mere luxury for ecclesiastically-minded persons. Life has flowed away from their portals and left them a beautiful shadow, a venerable monument, a fragrant sentiment.'

Newman's power of belief, as victorious over modern scepticism, is for the author 'but the victory of a certain kind of poetic feeling over all rational enquiry.' Christianity is for him a mere 'faith in God and Love'; and dogma and doctrine merely 'overlay' this 'with definition, with false motive, with sophistry, with pedantry.'

The author of 'The House of Quiet' writes about himself as follows:—

'I am in the position of thousands of other laymen. I am a sincere Christian, and yet I regard the Old and New Testament alike as the work of fallible men, and of poetic minds.'

What his 'sincere Christianity' amounts to may be gathered from another passage:—

'All whose minds are restless, whose imagination is constructive . . . would gladly nestle in the arms of faith, if they could but find her. For these the obstinate question must come. . . . This is the question: Is our life a mere fortuitous and evanescent thing? Is consciousness a mere symptom of matter under certain conditions? . . . Are the old house, the family groups assembled, the light upon the quiet fields at



evening, the red sunset behind the elms—are these all unsubstantial phenomena . . . subjective, transitory, moving as the wayfarer moves? Who can tell us? Some would cast themselves upon the Gospel. But to me it seems that Jesus spoke of these things rarely, dimly, in parables. . . . Enough, some faithful souls may say, upon which to rest the hope of the preservation of human identity. Alas! I must confess with a sigh, it is not enough for me.'

'From December to December' exhales precisely the same spirit. The writer, though constantly absorbed in religion as a personal experience, is always emphasising, indirectly if not directly, the conviction that dogma and doctrine are its mere husks and symbols, valuable once, but having no objective truth, and now no longer believable, or—could we believe them—useful. Religion, for the writer, is essentially an adventure of the individual soul, which must freely fashion its creed according to its own requirements. Nor does this tendency to freedom limit itself to mere matters of belief. We find it equally operative in the sphere of conduct also. Thus 'Melisande' attacks the ecclesiastical doctrine of marriage, boldly maintaining that the union which Christ declared to be indissoluble is 'the natural tie of real human affection . . . which God makes between human hearts, and which man cannot put asunder.' Still more plainly does this spirit of personal independence show itself in the pages of 'Elizabeth.'

'Our parson' (she writes) 'is troubled to the depths of his sensitive soul by this custom (i.e. the custom prevalent among the German peasantry of anticipating the privileges of marriage). "Poor things," I said one day, in answer to an outburst of indignation from him, after he had been marrying one of our servants at the eleventh hour, "I am so sorry for them. It is so pitiful that they should always have to be scolded on their wedding-day. . . . They only know and follow nature, and I would from my heart forgive them all." "It is sin," he said shortly. "Then the forgiveness is sure." "Not if they do not seek it." I was silent, for I wished to reply that they would be forgiven in spite of themselves; that probably they were forgiven, whether they sought it or not, and that you cannot limit things divine. But who can argue with a parson?'

'To the common herd' (writes Melisande), 'and in the

popular mind, love without a legal bond is sin. There could not be a greater mistake. Love is always good; but sensuousness, selfishness, or violence of character, or any disproportion, moral or intellectual, between the man and the woman, may easily make love an impossibility.'

These passages do not, and no individual passages could, do justice to the attitude of these writers with regard to spiritual things; for, even when most suggestive of opposition to traditional authority, the opposition is softened by sympathy, and in most cases by reverence. For the author or authors of 'The House of Quiet' and 'The Upton Letters,' for 'Elizabeth,' and still more noticeably for 'Melisande,' even if the old bottles are broken the old wine is still new; and the writers are occupied in devising for it new chalices of their own. With the author of 'The Upton Letters' this is so obviously the case that no criticism is required to point it out. 'Elizabeth' indeed does little more than suggest it to us by a kind of spiritual innuendo; but one passage alone is quite sufficient to betray the moral and religious aspiration which, below the surface, is at work in her. For her, she says, 'a garden is that divine filter that filters all grossness out of us, and leaves us, each time we have been in it, clearer and purer, and more harmless.' The same thought occurs in the pages of 'Melisande,' but amplified and expressed in terms of a much clearer analysis.

'To stand in a quiet place' (she writes), 'surrounded by the trunks of beech-trees and stems of firs; to see everywhere the succulent green leaves of "lords and ladies," the sturdy green of the early spring *spiræa* pushing riotously through the crisp carpet of last year's yellow-red leaves; to hear, harmonised in space, the sweet songs of innumerable birds, is to realise that here—in the fulness of consciousness within—is to be found the Kingdom of Heaven.'

'Melisande,' in fact, of all these four writers, is the one who expresses the spirit of personal religious adventure with most freshness and independence, and with most logical clearness. Thus, the sensitiveness to natural influences described by her in the above passage is by no means, so she tells us, what is meant by an 'enthusiasm for nature' as such. Nature, for her, is an implement by

which the soul is made conscious of its own inward kingdom, and from which it derives its materials for self-expression. Thus, she says, though art in the Middle Ages was wont to copy Nature in many of her minutest details, 'the impulse of that art was neither more nor less than a vivid expression of the religious life of the painters.' 'The essential centre of life,' she continues, 'is within, not from without.' We are first led to 'feel that such is the case ;

'then' (she says) 'some soul touches us. . . . Soon, what had been hidden only in self-consciousness becomes an outward manifestation. Is it Christ alone, then, you might ask, who causes this growth from within? Yes; for though human interests, such as ambition, patriotism, or another, may be startled into activity from a human source, the source of universal life is God alone, and no voice has power to lead us directly to God but the voice of Christ.'

Mr Austin, as we have said already, occupies in these respects a place more or less apart. He, like the others, represents the distinctively modern spirit in having ceased to find help or guidance in the rules or dogmas of tradition, and in seeking to construct for himself a philosophy or adequate life-theory of his own. But even in his capacity of recluse, of gardener, lover of woodlands, shunner of vulgar crowds, sentimental traveller, poet, and aphoristic sage, he exhibits a mundane alertness and a kind of practical optimism wanting in all the others. He feels, for example, as the Upton master does, that the faith which expressed itself in the building of medieval cathedrals can no longer for him fulfil its old functions; but he does not content himself, like the other, with listening to its faint echoes, or wishing that his sense of their beauty could turn them into living sounds again. For him, if the heaven of the Middle Ages is empty, the earth of to-day is full. If we have not a Church to guide, purify, and save us, we have a country to love and serve and ennoble by healthy living. Love still gives to life its old unabated charm; the sanctities of home give it their old dignity; and an orderly simplicity of living, appropriate to each class, is for Mr Austin an ideal which is all the more inspiring because many influences in the modern world are against it. Such are

the typical notes of Mr Austin's creed. It is a creed which he evidently holds with unaffected sincerity; its virility is appropriate to the official position which he occupies; and even those who are least inclined to be satisfied with it can hardly fail to be stimulated by his consistent and courageous exposition of it.

Taking these volumes as representing the various attitudes spontaneously assumed by sensitive contemporary minds towards human life generally, let us now consider what the significance of such attitudes is. The general meaning of life, and the problem of how to live it, may be regarded by the thoughtful mind in various distinctive ways. They may be regarded in the light of a definite and unquestioned creed which is always inviting and demanding fresh individual applications, but neither admits of modification nor requires individual reassertion. They were thus regarded by Dante and the author of 'The Imitation of Christ.' Again, they may be regarded in a spirit of informal scepticism, which, not consciously disavowing a creed nominally prevalent, and not therefore troubling itself with ultimate doubts and difficulties, is content with constructing, as Montaigne did, a practical philosophy of its own. They may be regarded, as Rousseau regarded them, in a spirit of revolutionary idealism, which, turning away from the creeds and the social conditions of the present, derives its vitality from dreams of some vague future; or, as Mill and as Herbert Spencer regarded them, in a spirit which, though equally revolutionary, is not agitated like Rousseau's by imagination and hope, but is austere drilled and disciplined by scientific conviction. Finally, the meaning of life, and the problem of how to live it, may be regarded in a spirit of sentimental regret, which, rejecting the prevalent creed as no longer intellectually tenable, bewails the loss of it as the loss of something that was supremely valuable, and either goes about attempting to save fragments of it, or sighs and weeps at the thought that such attempts are vain. Such was the spirit of Arthur Hugh Clough, who has provided it, in one of his verses, with a very appropriate motto: 'Ah well-a-day, for we are souls bereaved!'

The contemporary writers with whom we are here concerned suggest comparisons with those that have just

been named. Between the former and most of the latter there are many points of resemblance; but there are amongst those earlier writers two with whose typical and distinctive spirit that of all our contemporaries is in contrast—Dante and Thomas à Kempis. For Dante and for Thomas à Kempis the goal of man's existence was no more doubtful than is the reality and general situation of the unseen land in America for the British emigrant of to-day when he sets out from Liverpool to occupy it. There was no room in their days for intellectual bereavement, for sentimental or scientific revolt, or for any practical philosophy which, in any serious sense, was opposed to, or independent of, the authoritative moralities of the Church. But one or other of these things occupies each of the writers now before us. Each has, in his or her own way, to question much that was then taken for granted, and modifies, restates, or rejects it as a purely personal venture.

In certain other respects, again, some of these writers are almost as remote from Montaigne as from the author of the 'Imitatio Christi.' They find no room in their minds for even that otiose acquiescence, by which Montaigne was distinguished, in a traditional theory of the universe which sufficed to prevent the awakening of anything like theoretical scepticism, whilst it gave to practical scepticism free play in the affairs of life. There are two of them, however, between whom and Montaigne there are certain points of resemblance. Just as Montaigne acquiesced in the existence of the localised heaven of Catholicism and a visible Church on earth which was the custodian of supernatural knowledge, and yet contrived not to be hampered by this acquiescence when dealing with the affairs of life, so does Mr Austin acquiesce in the loss of both without feeling that the resources of life have suffered much change in consequence. The authoress of 'A Solitary Summer,' though in a less noticeable degree, exhibits traces of the same practical optimism. She is touched by the malady of the age; but mental health seems never beyond her reach. Though she has lost her belief in 'parsons,' the belief has left no aching void. Her duties to her family and neighbours satisfy her active faculties; and her garden, 'her divine filter,' so elevates and tranquillises her spirit that the life

of duty adds to itself the consolations and exhilarations of religion.

But, if the practical, the informal, the unreasoned optimism of Montaigne thus finds a sort of spiritualised counterpart in the literature of the twentieth century, there are two forms of optimism associated with a much more recent past which are, in the volumes before us, conspicuous by their absence. There are the visionary optimism of Rousseau and the scientific optimism of Mill. There is nothing wonderful in the fact that Rousseau's dreams of the future in store for human society should share the fate of his exploded ideas as to its origin. It is more remarkable that the optimism or the meliorism of Mill, which formed so distinctive a feature of the thought of the nineteenth century, and of which Comte, George Eliot, and Herbert Spencer were among the foremost exponents, should leave hardly any mark on the works of these gifted and sensitive writers of to-day.

If, however, the optimism of the nineteenth century fails to find any expression amongst them, what does find expression in two of them is that century's pessimism. We are not using the word pessimism in the sense of any formal creed. We use it to denote that particular mood or condition in which the mind, having recognised certain external conditions as hostile, admits its inability to combat them, and, as the sole means of saving itself from some mortal wound, withdraws itself in resigned dejection from the spiritual and intellectual fray. Such was the pessimism of Clough. It inspired many of the best-known poems of Arnold. In the nineteenth century it had a large literature of its own; and it breathes to-day, like the sobbing of an autumn wind, through the pages of 'The Upton Letters' and 'The House of Quiet.' In the author or authors of these works it is not due to any personal idiosyncrasy; it is the product of general intellectual conditions. They would, in different circumstances, have doubtless been different men; and it is precisely because their pessimism has this general origin, that their personal manifestations of it possess a general interest. But, though we do not presume to blame them on account of the mood in question, they both express it in a manner which shows with singular clearness that this mood is essentially a malady, and implies a degener-

ation of character. They both succumb to it gracefully, with the gestures of cultivated men; but the grace is the grace of weakness, not of health and strength. They both have talents which might have fitted them for active life; but both, by the same cause, are prompted to retire from action—from constructive mental action, no less than from social.

This retirement, the author of 'The House of Quiet' tells us, was due primarily, in his own case, to physical, not to intellectual causes; but the latter evidently influence him in the same direction as the former. His favourite occupation and pursuit is, he says, literary composition. Now to this his physical disabilities are a help rather than a hindrance; but his literature is the literature of observation, of elegiac regret, of aspirations that are doubtful of themselves; it is not the literature of healthy and whole-hearted exertion. With the author of 'The Upton Letters' the case is just the same. For a considerable portion of his life he had pursued an active calling; and an activity of judgment, especially in literary and educational matters, is abundantly evidenced by the pages of the book. But, when he reveals to us, as in that volume he constantly does, the actual condition of his mind, and the impulses that are most intimately his own, we find him practically paralysed by two conflicting influences, one of which hinders him from assenting to the creed in which he was brought up, and with which he is still in sympathy, whilst the other—namely, the influence of this abandoned creed itself—hinders him from trusting the philosophies in deference to which he has abandoned it. The final result of this situation, both in his case and that of his brother writer—who resembles him so closely as to rouse a suspicion of identity—is a condition of mere emotion, which they both express so charmingly as seemingly to reconcile them to the fact that it is a condition of practical impotence.

In itself this halting between two spiritual worlds, 'one dead, the other powerless to be born,' is not necessarily, let us repeat, a sign of personal weakness. We must, however, confess in honesty that these two particular writers hardly seem to ourselves to have made the best of their situation. The author of 'The House of Quiet' does indeed, as we have seen already, recognise

clearly enough what the difficulty which disturbs him is. It sums itself up, he says, in the great and obstinate question with which modern thought and knowledge are confronting the world anew: 'Is our life a mere fortuitous and evanescent thing? Is consciousness a mere symptom of matter under certain conditions? Who can tell us? Some would cast themselves on the Gospel. Alas, I must confess with a sigh that it is not enough for me.' But there is one thing which this writer makes no attempt to do, and that is to consider the nature of this modern knowledge itself. The Upton master bestirs himself less even than the author of 'The House of Quiet.' He is frightened by science; he is desolated by science; but he accepts these calamities at second or third hand. Of science itself, in the larger meaning of the word, he goes out of his way to boast that he knows nothing. In 'The Upton Letters' he gives us a criticism, most interesting as far as it goes, of the 'Autobiography' of Mr Herbert Spencer; but he accompanies this criticism by the drily complacent admission that of Spencer's interpretation of science he knows absolutely nothing. Now it is perfectly possible for a man to have a very sufficient conception of science in that unified form with which modern thought has invested it, and yet not to have read any one of Mr Herbert Spencer's pages; but, whatever may be the deficiencies of the Spencerian system in detail, Mr Spencer's contribution towards this unifying of science was so enormous that such complete ignorance of his philosophy as the author confesses to is compatible only with a systematic neglect on his part to give any serious and intelligent attention whatever to those intellectual forces the effects of which he is continually bewailing.

The results of the author's conduct in this respect may profitably be compared with that of the Poet Laureate. Mr. Austin probably knows as little of science as the Upton master does; while its principal effects on the tone and temper of the age he manages to misinterpret with the oddest and most grotesque perversity. 'The present age,' he says, 'is practical and pedestrian, caring for astronomy only as an auxiliary to navigation, and for chemistry only as it promotes light, heat, or locomotion.' But Mr Austin, though modern conditions of thought have, in all probability, severed him from the creed of



his childhood even more completely than they have severed the writer of 'The Upton Letters,' has not the same call to submit them to careful criticism; for, unlike that writer, the Poet Laureate has no personal quarrel with them. They may have affected his beliefs, but they do not deprive him of his energies; and having no case against them, he is not concerned to cross-examine them. It may, indeed, be suspected by some that the Poet Laureate's optimism, in the face of intellectual conditions which he so very imperfectly apprehends, is even less intellectually defensible than the other's invertebrate pessimism; but optimism such as Mr Austin's, for those who are able to maintain it, has its own justification in the fact that it is a state of health and vigour. We can hardly quarrel with him for being healthy without taking the proper medicine; but of the Upton master, who constantly complains that he is sick, we have a right to demand that, before he courts our sympathy, he should make all reasonable efforts towards effecting his own cure.

To pursue this question, however, would be to stray beyond our present province. We have been calling attention to Mr Austin and the other writers now before us with a view to exhibiting the ways in which they deal with life, not as sound or unsound, but as representative of the present age. To say that anything like a complete reflection of the religious, intellectual, moral, and artistic tendencies distinctive of the present day can be looked for in the group of works with which we have here been occupied, or even in the class of literature to which those works belong, would be absurd. This literature, which we have called the literature of egotism, though it may often be the work of powerful and active minds, never represents such minds in their more vigorous and active moments; and many of the most important forces now at work in the world lie beyond the reach both of the moods and the literary methods of which works such as these are the result. Still, within their own limits, the books which we have been here examining, especially if compared with similar books belonging to other periods, will, besides charming the reader with their many individual qualities, exhibit to him, reflected in their several tranquil surfaces, many of the forces which are distinctive of our own epoch, and which no literary medium of any

other kind would be capable of presenting to us with equal clearness and delicacy.

The general impression which the reader will derive from this is reassuring. If, in some of these works, or in certain parts of some of them, we come upon signs of a wide-spread mental malady, which, originating with an earlier generation, has not yet spent itself, we find in it various and vigorous activities which may not unreasonably be accepted as symptoms of reviving health. Even the twin authors of 'The Upton Letters' and 'The House of Quiet,' in spite of the partial paralysis which their involuntary scepticism inflicts on them, are in many respects men of the healthiest taste and judgment, and exhibit the happiest mixture of the sensitive appreciation of the artist with the sober and sometimes caustic wisdom of cultivated men of the world. Mr Austin's optimism is exhibited, in these reflective works of his, as affiliated to enthusiasm for his country and its expanding future. 'The Solitary Summer' is evidently the work of one for whom meditative rest is associated with the active duties of the home. In all these volumes we meet with a spirit of high seriousness, enriched and harmonised by liberal and fastidious culture; and in none of them are these qualities more apparent than in that of the authoress who is the latest English contributor to this class of reflective literature, and who thus far is the least known. 'From December to December' represents the mind of a woman of to-day who has been brought up, as she says, under purely secular influences, and surrounded by the claims, duties, and distractions incident to wealth and leisure; but who has found, as a matter of daily experience, that the spiritual life alone can make the life of the world satisfying; and who indicates with singular vividness and a singular charm of style neither due to, nor showing a trace of, any conscious literary artifice, how in her own case the spiritual life and the common life have been united without definite opposition to creeds, and also without dependence on them.

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Art. XI.—THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

*Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.*  
(Cd. 3040.) London, 1906.

AT last the labours of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline have ended; and their fruit, in the shape of a long Report, and four volumes of evidence, is in the hands of the public. The time spent in the work has seemed long to the impatience of some; but we cannot think that any one who reads carefully the well-weighed words of the Report and considers the volume of evidence will charge the Commissioners with undue delay. The matter they had in hand is of vital importance to the Church of England at the present day; and they would indeed have been false to the charge reposed in them if they had hurried their deliberations by a single hour in obedience to ignorant clamour. It is clear that they have left no means untried of discovering the truth; and their judgment comes with the weight of the deliberate utterance of a body of impartial and responsible men.

The Commissioners are worthy of congratulation for having come to the end of a labour that must always have been arduous and often extremely distasteful; but it is matter of even heartier congratulation that their Report is unanimous. The composition of the Commission was representative of the various points of view existing among churchmen; and it might therefore have been feared that the Report, if unanimous, must necessarily be colourless. It is true that no member of the Commission is an extreme partisan on either side; and this fact in itself tended to make unanimity possible. But as it is true that the Commissioners themselves were not a colourless body of men, so it is true that their Report, though unanimous, is far from being colourless. They seem to us to have approached the questions at issue in a fair and comprehensive spirit; they have penetrated beneath the surface, and endeavoured to find the causes of troubles which we all know to exist; and we do not hesitate to say that, whatever the result of their work may be, they deserve the permanent gratitude of all who hope for peace in the Church of England. We

are not in the secrets of the Commission; but, as in every such body, the harmony and success of its deliberations depend mainly on the chairman, we cannot help feeling that a special share of that gratitude must be due to Lord St Aldwyn.

The Report opens with an account of the procedure followed, the sources of the evidence, and the present state of the law. The 'breaches and neglects' of the law are then considered in detail under several heads, the more venial being clearly distinguished from those of a graver kind. This discussion occupies nearly half the volume. After an historical survey of the Ritualistic movement, a very important chapter examines the 'causes of the failure to check irregularities,' and suggests remedies; this leading up to the final conclusions and recommendations.

It is greatly to be hoped that the Report will be read and considered as a whole. If this is not done, the Report, though conceived in a spirit of justice and toleration, will be used as an armoury for partisan arguments. For, to speak briefly, the evidence confirms in large measure some of the charges brought against a certain section of the clergy; but the recommendations go some way towards conceding the principle for which that section has contended. Hence it is clear that the extremists on both sides will be likely to be dissatisfied with the whole, and seek consolation in the different parts. We have great hopes that this will not be the result upon the general body of Englishmen. If it should be, the work of the Commission will virtually have been thrown away.

The Commission was appointed 'to inquire into the alleged prevalence of breaches or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England, and to the ornaments and fittings of churches.' The allegations referred to were frequent and persistent. It was asserted that a large body of the clergy, with the consent of the bishops, or, at least, with their lukewarm disapproval, were introducing practices into the English Church which were distinctively and disloyally Roman. The Commissioners give in their Report a succinct account of the circumstances leading to their appointment (pp. 62, 63); and we need say but little about them. The charges came from one section of

churchmen mainly; and, though it was largely asserted that they were exaggerated, yet the fact that they were persistently made caused great distress and confusion. It seemed clear that, if nothing were done, legislation would be forced upon the Church without full deliberation and reflection; and there can be no doubt that the Government of the day did wisely in recommending the appointment of a commission of enquiry. The charges as we have said, were mainly directed against 'Romanising practices'; but there was a feeling in many minds less vehement and strident in expression, but very strong, that irregularities of another kind were prevalent and required consideration. The Commissioners wisely addressed themselves to the investigation of regularities of all kinds. After receiving vast quantities of evidence from various quarters, they conclude as follows (p. 52):

'The law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and the ornaments of churches is, in our belief, nowhere exactly observed; and certain minor breaches of it are very generally prevalent.'

This, as it stands, seems a sufficiently startling conclusion, though we believe it to be absolutely true; and the question at once arises, of what nature are the irregularities, and is any classification of them possible?

The Commissioners have given us a classification of the irregularities. They first of all explain their view of the legal standard to be applied, and then catalogue the breaches of which they have evidence, distinguishing those which have no significance from those which imply a serious departure from the rule of the Church in England, and again from those which are insignificant in themselves, but derive constructive significance from the connexion, or some other circumstance. The standard applied by them is, roughly speaking, the wording of the Acts of Uniformity as interpreted by the King's Council. This, of course, raises the thorny question of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Commissioners tell us that they thought it right to receive and to consider the evidence proffered to them as to the position of the Judicial Committee and its judgments. But they did not think it a part of their functions, as not being 'a judicial

ody, to express opinions by way of criticism of, or agreement with, the judgments of the Privy Council.' They notice that these judgments 'are open to reconsideration by the Court itself'—a point on which popular opinion has, we think, held a different view; and they take the judgments as 'the latest judicial interpretation of the rubrics' (p. 10).

It is important to remember the standard applied in considering the list of irregularities. The Courts have virtually assumed that the Prayer-book and the Acts of Parliament connected with it give a complete and sufficient rule for the conduct of Divine Service. Hence a large number of practices appear as technical breaches of the law which are unimportant in themselves, and the inevitable result of the changing outward circumstances of the Church. We need say little of the numerous small breaches of law which belong to this class. They include such practices as the omission of the exhortation, 'Dearly beloved in the Lord,' in the Communion service; the introduction by the bishop of an address in the Confirmation service; and the making of a collection during morning and evening prayer. Some, though perhaps not to be classed as significant, are more important and serious than these, e.g. the saying of the words of administration to a row of communicants instead of to each individual; omitting the second part of the words altogether; omitting daily service, or all services for Ascension Day; omitting the ante-communion service at a celebration.

It is certain that different persons would attach different weight to these irregularities. It is commonly argued, for instance, that omissions such as some of these go far to justify the very wide departures from the letter of the law on the side of excess. But, apart from the fact that an argument like this will only bear rhetorical use, we think that the Commissioners are generally justified in their classification. The omissions above-named are in no sense the rallying-points of a party. No one would dream of going to prison rather than say daily service, though we have heard the omission defended on grounds which gravely imperil Church order. The ante-communion service is omitted by those who have evening communions, and in parts, frequently

in large parts, by those who follow Roman rubrics and directions. Moreover, it would appear that the importance of these breaches are diminishing under the direction of the bishops. Though it might seem, therefore, that the Commissioners have failed to apprehend the full significance of some of the breaches so classed under this head, we think that this would be a superficial judgment of their work. We hope that the more serious of these breaches will be corrected with speed, especially the failure to keep Ascension Day; but we cannot think that the correction of them will involve any serious or lasting difficulty. They imply a definite appreciation of the ideal of the English Church, but do not necessarily imply its rejection or the substitution of another; they might all be rectified without any general disturbance of the whole ecclesiastical position.

We come, then, to consider the breaches of the rubric which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, have significance. It is here that the severest strain must have been put upon the temper and fairness of the Commission. It has been the practice of the accusing party to label an immense variety of practices as Roman, or of Romanising tendency. In regard to some of these this charge has long since been seen to be absurd; e.g. the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit. Hence it is possible to say that, as some practices, denounced fifty years ago as Romanising, have been almost universally adopted without untoward results, it may be expected that the same thing will happen in other cases; and that practices which appear Roman to many to-day will find their place in a few years in the regular course of English Church life without causing offence to any one. The Commission might have chosen one of two courses, both of which they have avoided. They might have taken the average opinion of to-day as to what is and is not 'Romanising' and in the light of it given a rough judgment of praise or blame upon the various practices brought before them; or they might have accepted the principle of ritual innovation mentioned above, and refrained from condemning everything but avowed Roman propagandism. In either case they would probably have pleased one of the extreme parties in the Church. By accepting the average opinion as to what is Romanising, they would have pleased

accusing party; because, even if their final list of Romanising practices differed from that of the Church Association and Mr Bowen, the principle would have been conceded that the decision lies with average lay opinion. On the other hand, if the right of ritual innovation had been conceded, the extremists on the other side would have been encouraged, even if they had had to surrender for the present some things they like.

In the line they have taken, which is far the most difficult line, the Commissioners have certainly not courted popularity. They have, in effect, endeavoured to determine what is Roman in tendency, and why. They have asserted with emphatic decision, against those who seem to claim an almost unbridled liberty of innovation, the necessity of discipline and regularity and law in the services of the Church; and they have removed their decisions, we hope, from the very possibility of the charge of partiality by putting them upon an intelligible basis of principle. As we have said, we doubt whether they have courted popularity by so doing; and we do not doubt that their decisions on these points will be sharply criticised. But we venture to urge that all criticisms will be irrelevant which do not face the principles laid down. One person may wish that a given practice had been condemned more emphatically, others that the lines had been drawn less strictly; but all such states of mind fall short of the actual position of the Commissioners. Their judgment on this side or that has been governed by a principle; and the only question which can really concern them is whether their principle is wrong or right.

The test which they apply to ritual practices is simple enough in appearance. A ritual practice which has significance, it is assumed, is one that embodies or signifies a doctrine of some sort. It becomes necessary, therefore, in regard to any given practice, to enquire what doctrine it signifies. The Commissioners recognise here three classes of ritual practices:

- (1) those 'which either are not significant of doctrine at all, or may reasonably be regarded as significant of doctrine formally defined and adopted by the Church of England';
- (2) those 'which may reasonably be regarded as significant of teaching legally declared not to be contrary or repugnant



to the articles or formularies of the Church of England'; (8) those 'which are significant of doctrine or teaching contrary or repugnant to the articles or formularies of the Church of England' (p. 15).

The passage which follows (pp. 15, 16), and which indicates the effect of this classification, is of such importance that we transcribe it here in full.

'Deviations [from the legal standard] comprised in the first class are altogether free from objection on the ground of their significance, though in some cases they may offend against the Church of England's condemnation of excess and obscurity of ceremonial. Deviations comprised in the second class cannot be said to have of necessity a harmful significance. But, as they represent doctrines which Churchmen are neither required to hold nor forbidden to contradict, they can claim no sanction under the rule hitherto laid down, both by episcopal and judicial authority, that such forms of worship as are prescribed for general use should embody those beliefs only which are assumed to be generally held by members of the Church. The principle underlying this rule ought, in our opinion, to be maintained. Experience has, however, shown that a rigid enforcement of uniformity is apt to hinder the healthy progress of religious life under such conditions as those of our day; and there will probably be cases in which some practices significant of teaching legally declared not to be contrary or repugnant to the articles or formularies of the Church of England may reasonably be allowed. But in no circumstances would this, in our opinion, be right, except under conditions of efficient regulation, and with careful regard for the opinions and feelings of congregations.

It is obvious that irregularities in the third of these classes are far more serious than those comprised in the other two. The only question that can properly arise as to them is not whether they can be sanctioned, but how they can most effectively be dealt with so as to be made to cease.

Matters of doctrine are not included in the reference to the Commission, and therefore we will not attempt to define the precise limits of each of these three classes. Nevertheless we think it right to state that the question, whether a practice falls under the third category or not, indicates a principle of paramount importance which ought to govern all action with regard to ritual irregularity. It is hardly necessary to say that there are other considerations which must also be taken into account before a decision can be

suggested as to what ought to be done in any particular case. For example, a series of many practices, each of which would separately come in the first or second class, may, in combination, produce a result open to very grave objection.'

After this statement of principle the Commissioners proceeded to deal with a number of breaches of the strict law which have been reported to them. These are dealt with under thirty-six heads, to which are added three chapters on Confession, Prayers for the Dead, and Manuals (i.e. books offering instruction in ritual and in devotion). Among these practices they distinguish rightly for special condemnation the following (p. 75):

(1) The interpolation of the prayers and ceremonies belonging to the Canon of the Mass; (2) the use of the words "Behold the Lamb of God," accompanied by the exhibition of a consecrated wafer or bread; (3) reservation of the Sacrament under conditions which lead to its adoration; (4) Mass of the Præ-sanctified; (5) Corpus Christi processions with the Sacrament; (6) Benediction with the Sacrament; (7) celebration of the Holy Eucharist with the intent that there shall be no communicant except the celebrant; (8) hymns, prayers, and devotions involving invocation of, or confession to, the Blessed Virgin Mary or the saints; (9) the observance of the festivals of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the Sacred Heart; (10) the veneration of images and roods.'

Of these, (1) is said to obtain 'in some churches where extreme ritual is practised'; (2) occurs in fifty-two churches out of the 559 about which evidence was given; (3) in thirteen churches or possibly more; (4) in three or four instances; (5) 'in five services and nineteen notices of services'; \* (6) in one instance; (7) in 114 services where there was no communicant besides the celebrant (but not necessarily with intent that there should be none); (8) in four churches hymns addressed to the Blessed Virgin were used, but there is 'no evidence of actual invocation of the saints in the services of any church'; (9) there were in evidence two services and two notices of services on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; one service on the feast of the Sacred Heart; (10) there were reported thirty-one churches in which there are images with lights or flowers in front of them; and in sixty-seven roods exist,

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\* These services did not include processions.

but 'no devotions to the rood, such as are prescribed in the Sarum Missal for the [two Black-letter] anniversaries [connected with the Holy Cross], were reported in the evidence.' All these practices—and it may be noted that in many cases they appear to be extremely rare—are condemned without qualification. It is difficult to conceive on what principle they can be defended, except on the ground mentioned but not discussed by the Commissioners (p. 15), that they form 'part of the heritage of the whole Catholic Church.' To this point we propose to return.

Of the other practices mentioned in this section of the Report, some—for instance the use of vestments—are widely prevalent. The Commissioners have had before them reports concerning 559 churches, in 491 of which vestments are in use. But this total seems to fall far short of the number of places where they are used. The 'Tourist's Church Guide'—a work which has been laid before the Commission—states that in 1901 vestments were in use in 1526 churches out of the 14,242 in England and Wales. In dealing with these and similar irregularities the Commissioners draw a sharp distinction between practices which are clearly and historically connected with the definition of the doctrine of Transubstantiation and those which are not. They are apparently willing to accept the disclaimer of those who deny all connection between the vestments and Roman doctrine, but they say that in a large number of the services of Holy Communion described to them the combination of

'vestments, the Confiteor, illegal lights, incense, the Lavabo, the ceremonial mixing of the chalice, a posture rendering the manual acts invisible, the sacring bell, and the Last Gospel tends to 'change the outward character of the service from that of the traditional service of the Reformed English Church to that of the traditional service of the Church of Rome' (p. 23).

In the same paragraph they remark that

'it may well be doubted how far elaborate spectacular ceremonial of this kind can be consistent with the spirit and genius of the Church of England.' And they then add: 'In our opinion, such observances as the blessing and use of holy water, Tenebræ, the washing of altars, and the benediction and lighting of the Paschal candle, may emphatically be said to belong to the class of ceremonies which were designedly abandoned in the sixteenth century.'

If, then, we ask what condition of the Church of England the Report reveals, the answer would appear to be somewhat as follows. There are a certain number of practices, not 'accurately' to be 'described as prevalent,' which 'lie on the Romeward side of a line of deep cleavage between the Church of England and that of Rome.' There are others, more widely prevalent, which, by implication only, or in combination, can be said to involve Roman doctrine; some also which transgress the line of reserve which the Church of England has adopted. In other places there are omissions which, when taken together, set up 'a standard of worship and of religious observance . . . differing widely from that which the Prayer-book enjoins.' This is highly unsatisfactory; it implies in various directions a looseness of hold upon the principles of the English Church which cannot be good for it as a society; but it does not appear to us to be a condition of things which should lead to panic or hasty action of any kind. There was sufficient cause to justify serious and dispassionate enquiry; there is every reason for considering carefully the account given in the Report of the causes of this legal confusion, and, we hope, for making a serious effort to give legislative effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners. To these we now pass.

The latter part of the Report, which contains the legislative proposals of the Commission, is their answer to the second of the questions put before them in their reference, viz. 'to consider the existing powers and procedure applicable to such irregularities, and to make such recommendations as may be deemed requisite for dealing with the aforesaid matters.' They begin by giving a summary account of the rise of Ritualism, and of its development in the direction of illegality. We need not dwell upon this. They then pass to the consideration of the causes which have produced the present condition of things. The causes are twofold. In the first place the law itself is inelastic and imperfectly adapted to the Church-life of the present day.

'It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Church people, including many of her most devoted members, value; and modern thought and feeling are characterised by a care for ceremonial, a sense of dignity in worship, and an apprecia-

tion of the continuity of the Church, which were not similarly felt at the time when the law took its present shape' (p. 75).

In the second place, the constitution of the Court of Final Appeal has been 'another strongly operative cause of the failure to secure obedience to the law' (p. 64). The Commissioners appear to regard the objections to this Court as well-founded. 'It is recognised,' they say (in consequence of the 'clearer perception of the functions' of a Court 'exercising the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes' due to recent historical investigations), 'that the authority exercised by this Court is that of the Crown and not that of the Church' (p. 65). The result has been that the authority of the inferior Courts which are governed by the decisions of the Final Court has been weakened; and bishops have been disinclined to appeal to Courts the jurisdiction of which would probably be denied by their clergy, and have tended to deal with irregularities by private monition rather than by appeal to the law. These private efforts have been, in the opinion of the Commissioners, largely unsuccessful; and, though they attribute this in some measure to lack of firmness on the part of the bishops, they trace it mainly to the imperfect condition of the law.

'Occasions have arisen,' we read (p. 75), 'more often than has been realised by the Bishops, when the interests of the Church and her due administration demanded that discipline should be enforced by action in the Ecclesiastical Courts.'

But the real remedy is, in their opinion, a reform of the law.

The reforms recommended are extremely comprehensive. They include the abolition of the Episcopal Veto on prosecutions, though a power would be reserved to the Court to stay frivolous or vexatious proceedings. The changes to be made in the rubric should be determined, in the first instance, by the Convocations, acting under Letters of Business, and in consultation with the Houses of Laymen. The constitution of the Courts should be modified in accordance with the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission in 1883, except that the Final Court should be bound to ask and follow the opinion of the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces on any question 'touching the doctrine or use of the Church of England,

which question is not in the opinion of the Court governed by the plain language of documents having the force of Acts of Parliament' (p. 77). Apart from this, the 'Crown Court should decide all questions of fact in contest between the parties, including the proper construction of words and documents (if any) which are the subject-matter of the complaint' (p. 66). Bishops should have extended powers, as a body, for the regulation of special services, etc.; and in their own dioceses they should be empowered to refuse institution to presentees who fail to satisfy them of willingness to obey the law, and also to take action in their own Consistory Courts. The number of dioceses should be increased in order that supervision may be made more effective; and this increase should be made the subject of a general Act of Parliament. Wilful disobedience on the part of incumbents should lead to deprivation, with disqualification for further ecclesiastical office until they should have satisfied the Archbishop of the Province of their readiness to obey in future.

It will be seen from this summary account of the recommendations of the Commission that the changes they contemplate are neither few nor slight; moreover, the Commissioners definitely say that they regard them as mutually dependent, clearly looking forward to their acceptance or rejection as a whole. We most sincerely hope that this unanimous and weighty Report will not share the fate of the Report of 1883. Its unanimity may be a protection to it, and, we hope, also the manifest desire which is obvious in it to deal fairly and boldly with the situation. As we have already said, we hope that both parts of it will be considered, and in connexion. The Commissioners have confirmed the belief that breaches of order occur in considerable numbers in the Church; on the other hand, they find that

'the evidence gives no justification for any doubt that in the large majority of parishes the work of the Church is being quietly and diligently performed by clergy who are entirely loyal to the principles of the English Reformation as expressed in the book of Common Prayer' (p. 76).

It should be impossible for the present state of recrimination and controversy to go on in face of conclusions like these. But it is easy to find points in the Report, speci-

ally in its second part, which will arouse criticism. Many will be alarmed at any prospect of alteration in the rubrics; already some persons have addressed memorial to the Commission deprecating any change in the legislation of vestments, or of the requirement to use the *Quicumque vult*. Others may feel that the opinion of the majority of the Archbishops and Bishops might be of somewhat one-sided character, as would have been the case in the days when Lord Shaftesbury exercised a paramount influence in their appointment. Others again may feel that the recommendation that the Crown Court should interpret documents having the force of Acts of Parliament will give rise to difficulties; the interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric, for instance, by the majority of the Judicial Committee being a case which has not commanded universal assent. We ourselves are inclined to wonder whether the Bishops whose compromises are condemned had really any course open to them other than that which they took, at a time when there was no hope of any legislative amelioration of the conditions. But all these points, however interesting and important in themselves, are of infinitesimal importance compared with the great issue which is really raised by the Report, whether the Church of England in its present form is to go on at all.

The situation described in the Report is one of gravity, not so much because of the practices of omission or commission detailed in it, as because of the principles involved in them. From the first, the Church of England has included two principles or ideals which may easily be pressed into antagonism; the importance and the danger of the present situation is that they are being pressed into antagonism. The Commissioners found it no part of their duty to discuss or balance the conflicting elements in the Church; they have dealt with the external phenomena, which are the symptom of the inward conflict; and their Report is, in effect, an exhortation to both parties to make sacrifices of predilections and prejudices in the interest of peace. The party of ritual innovation are exhorted to look reasonably at the points in controversy and to remember the generally reserved character of Church of England worship; and they are assured of consideration in the legal changes contemplated. Their opponents are also exhorted to equity and reasonableness.

of judgment, and are assured of the maintenance of the true principles of the Reformation. If the precept, and still more the example, of the Commissioners is followed, we think the publication of this Report will give hope of a most encouraging kind for the future of the Church of England. No one can say that the last years of its history have shown it in a satisfactory light; but a general acceptance of the Report as a basis for future action will, we hope, make a fundamental change in this respect.

If this is so, it appears to us that to ignore or to shelve this Report will be to lose a great opportunity. Such a course will leave the conflicting elements in the Church to develop into sharp antagonism; and there will be every reason to fear that an actual disruption may be the result. The Commissioners have found, as a fact, that irregularities occur; and that the main hope for peaceful correction of them is to be found in the adaptation of archaic legal machinery to present requirements. It will surely be impossible in practice, now that this finding is before the world, to try to correct the irregularities and yet leave the machinery unreformed. On the other hand, we do not doubt that, unless the irregularities are corrected, and the rule of law restored in the Church, revolutionary changes must inevitably ensue.

We have said that the Commissioners found it no part of their business to discuss and to balance the conflicting elements in the Church of England. But it cannot be denied that their Report will be subjected to criticism by various parties in the Church in the light of the principles for which they stand. We propose therefore, in conclusion, to consider very briefly the relation of these principles to the present situation.

The circumstances of the Reformation brought into prominence one great religious principle which the later Middle Ages had obscured: we mean, of course, the right of individual access to God through faith in Christ. This principle was obscured rather than denied in the unreformed Church, for it has its place in all the books which were then counted authoritative; but it was obscured so effectively by the vast and complicated system of intermediaries as to be inoperative in the minds of most Christians. To have restored it to its



proper place in Christian thought was an inestimable advantage; and, even if we think that the processes of change might have been better ordered, with less complexity of motive, and less party spirit and passion, it remains that we owe the restoration of this supreme truth of Christianity to the Reformation, and especially perhaps to Martin Luther. But, though vital to the truth of Christianity, it does not exhaust the Christianity of the New Testament. In the New Testament it stands side by side with the idea of a society, and of man conceived as a social being for the purposes of religious relations to God.

As soon as this is said it becomes clear that a problem of adjustment has arisen, which must necessarily be difficult to solve. It is obvious that, if we lay exclusive stress on individual access to God, and on individual conviction, we shall think somewhat lightly of all the externalities which are involved in the existence of a society—the ministry specially set apart for the performance of religious functions, the sacramental rites, the fixed order of common worship. These may be retained by a conservative people for reasons ranging from mere expediency and conservatism to a sense of a secondary religious value in them; but they will not be regarded as possessing even a relative necessity. Further, it may easily appear to those who take this extreme view, that all things of an external sort which have ever been misused so as to come between the soul and God must be for ever condemned and surrendered. Here we shall have a principle of revolution rather than of reformation; and the idea of a continuous history of the Catholic Church will be lost. Instead of making changes with the least possible disturbance, people who hold this view will tend to lay emphasis on differences and demand freedom from the past without reserve or qualification. And once more, the loss of the desire for continuity with the past will have a further effect: it will put the whole question of Church order in a new light. The notion of a faith, once delivered, in any sense controlling the free right of the individual to interpret Scripture for himself, will tend to disappear; and in place of it we shall have either a variety of loosely organised societies, or a single society treated simply as a department of the State; for, if there is no inherent

necessity for any Church order, the State, composed of a body of persons possessing *ex hypothesi* equal right to interpret Scripture, may fix religious as well as social order.

These expansions of, or inferences from, the true principle which the Reformation emphasised are not imaginary. They have all taken shape in positive policy; and they are, some of them, with us still. To our mind they are both disastrous in themselves and inconsistent with the true spirit of the Church of England. They are disastrous in themselves, because they represent a one-sided interpretation of a principle true in itself, and have the fate of all one-sided interpretations; they end in a contradiction of the position from which they started. It is strange that a doctrine which started by vindicating the rights of the individual, the reality of his spiritual movements, and the necessary union of religion and life, should end by driving religion back into the recesses of the individual conscience, and leaving large tracts of life untouched by it. Yet this is so. We find extreme individualists in religion, like Harnack, criticising Luther for his inadequate view of the consequences of his position, and retaining, therefore, elements of visible order ('Wesen des Christenthums,' cap. xvi.); or like Martineau finding the true form of Christianity in 'lonely pieties' incommunicable to others; and it is past denial that one of the causes of the Tractarian movement was the limited character of the prevalent form of evangelical religion. It is a bad thing for men's religion to be too withdrawn and private; it tends to make them readily satisfied with themselves, their opinions, their conclusions, and their achievements; and the temptation to persecute always lies near at hand. The self-reliant believer in his own paramount religious capacity becomes intolerant when he finds people arriving at different conclusions.

This frame of mind has always existed within the Church of England, and exists now. There is a considerable number of English churchmen who are not only hostile to the Church of Rome, but suspicious of everything that has ever been associated with it; and it is in these circles that we find the most vehement defenders of the principle of Establishment as such. The findings of the Commission have brought most pro-

minently forward the question of the Romish significance of the legal irregularities complained of. The Commissioners feel bound to express their regret at the language employed by some of the witnesses; and a cursory consideration of the evidence certainly leads us to share this regret. The witnesses in question use a vocabulary of their own, of which 'question-begging epithets' form a large part; and they seem to see nothing strange in accusing others, on the ground of their own interpretation of certain practices, of holding doctrines repudiated by them. Doubtless, this method characterised the polemic of the Puritans in earlier centuries of the Church's history, but it has never been the method of the Church of England. We are grateful to the Commissioners for having so clearly and reasonably indicated the lines of distinction between practices which have Romish significance and those which have not. We earnestly hope that their boldness will be justified in the event, but we cannot help seeing that in this part of their work they are in conflict with a governing principle of many minds. A large number of those, however, who belong to that wing of the Church are far from being extreme; and we have every hope that the advantage of unity, and of the possession of a working principle for deciding ritual questions, will enable them to give their weight towards the carrying out of the recommendations.

We have spoken, perhaps somewhat frankly, of what we may call the accusing party in this debate. We have said we do not accept their principle in isolation; indeed, we do not think it in accordance either with Scripture or the mind of the Church of England. It certainly has its place in the Church of England; the mistake lies in forcing it into antagonism with everything else. We must now say a few words on the other side of the question—the side which those of whom we have been speaking appear to us to ignore.

From the time of the Reformation to the present day there have been persons who, while in general sympathy with the desire for reform, wished that it should be carried out with as little disturbance as possible to outward unity and continuity. They have a strong sense of the Church as a society governed by rule; and they are uncomfortable, not to speak more strongly, in

the presence of outward disunion. They see that the Church is more than a national expression of religious ideas ; they cling to the term Catholic ; and they claim for the Church a right of determining its own internal questions, quite independently, it may be, of the majority of opinion in any given State. They have no necessary and essential dislike of Church Establishment ; but they differ from the opposite party in sitting very loosely to it. If one party would sacrifice much to retain the principle of Establishment, the other is apt to be suspicious if required to sacrifice anything at all. The question of the relation of the State to the Church hardly figured at all in the complaints brought before the Commission, and was not included in the terms of reference. But the line of defence taken by some who supported the action of the party of ritual revival brings up this question immediately. At this point, again, we think the Report will have to run the gauntlet of adverse criticism, and we propose therefore to consider briefly what the Commissioners have actually said that bears on the matter, and how far the probable criticisms upon them from this side are well-grounded.

The Commissioners start with things as they are ; that is, they consider the Church in England as a body which is *de facto* under Acts of Uniformity, and in which the powers of the Crown, whatever they may be, are exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It is difficult to see what else they could have done. They were not bidden to consider fundamentally the relations between Church and State ; they were bidden to consider and report on the condition of the Church as it is. However wrongly, in point of theory, the Acts of Uniformity and the Privy Council are related to a spiritual body, there can be no doubt whatever that, in point of fact, they are in existence. Then, in their Report the Commissioners have recognised the possibility that not all ritual practices complained of are Roman in significance ; they have called attention to the breakdown of the present system of Courts ; they have proposed another in which the definitely spiritual character of the Church should have fuller recognition, and reserve their sternest condemnation for practices whose illegality does not depend upon judgments of the Privy Council (p. 75). So

far as the question of Church and State is concerned, it is difficult to see what more they could have done. The constitutional way of amending defects in the existing arrangements is by acts of Convocation and Parliament; and this is the method which the Commissioners propose for the defects which they recognise. We do not think that the most sensitive advocate of the spirituality of the Church can quarrel with them so far, except on grounds which would make Establishment impossible.

A more serious question arises over the position and rights of a national Church; and for this question it is irrelevant whether the Church is established or not. What powers has a national or local Church in the definition of its own doctrine and practice? The question is a complicated and difficult one; and we only propose to consider it here so far as it affects the Report before us. In two places (pp. 15 and 54) the Commissioners refer to persons who defend acts manifestly illegal according to the English standard, as 'part of the Catholic heritage,' or as part of 'Catholic custom' to which they feel themselves bound to submit. There is no discussion of this position in the Report; it is tacitly set aside; but it is maintained by some, as is obvious from the evidence; and we may well ask how far it is involved in the principle of continuity which, as we have said, is held tenaciously by a certain number of churchmen. Perhaps we may venture to say, to begin with, that, so far as we are aware, it is a new point; or rather it is an old question in a new form. It has arisen, in our opinion, as a necessary result of the claim of the present English Church to be continuous with the Church before the Reformation; in fact, it is a form of the difficult question of development. If we were contented to say that our Church is the creation of the sixteenth century, no such question would arise: we should only have to explain, if we could, our connexion with the Apostles and with Christ. If, on the other hand, we claim to go back through the centuries to our Lord Himself, and, at the same time, to adopt some things and reject others in the intervening period, it is obvious that we must settle on what principle this is to be done.

It does not appear to us that those who claim that the local Church is bound by Catholic custom are at all clear in their minds as to what this means. A very careful

examination, for instance, of Lord Halifax by various members of the Commission totally failed to elicit any clear statement as to the form or nature of the appeal to Catholic custom. This uncertainty is, we think, partly due to the newness of the point; those who have raised it in its present form have hardly yet had time to define their views and test them in application to various cases. And, still more, it appears to us that the question has been conceived so far in too close a relation to actual subjects of present dispute. Lord Halifax admitted (Q. 23,260) that the Church of England was justified in ordering Communion in both kinds—a regulation which, so far as we know, has never been seriously contested within the English Church itself; but he denied (Q. 23,218) that it has any right to forbid reservation for the sick—a matter in hot debate at the present moment. We do not understand on what basis he admits the one and condemns the other. We should say, and we think it probable that he would agree, that the Roman Church was acting *ultra vires* in limiting Communion to one kind in face of the Institution. And we should say, and he would certainly agree, that no Church has a right to exclude sick people from Communion because they cannot come to church, for this would certainly be a transgression of the Lord's command. But we do not see why a Church should be precluded from ordering that the Communion of the sick should take place in one way and not another. So long as reservation is only for the sick—and we understand that this is Lord Halifax's claim—it is a question of method and expediency, and no more. We doubt whether the Church can be said to have settled finally questions of this sort, which are essentially questions of local circumstance and convenience.

We think it will be found much harder than is expected to define the nature of 'Catholic custom,' and the degree of its authority over national Churches. It is in a position very different from that of doctrine. In the latter we have Scripture before us, to which all ages of the Church necessarily make appeal, and which exercises a regulative influence over all doctrinal discussions. It is comparatively easy, for instance, to show that the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin and the immaculate conception of our Lord stand, to say the

least, on totally different footings in relation to the teaching of the apostles. But there is nothing answering in character or authority to Holy Scripture for our guidance in questions of mere practice; in discussing Catholic custom we are in the same sort of position as we should occupy in the discussion of Catholic doctrine if all the books of the New Testament had been lost. It cannot but be that this must make a vital difference to the whole question. The Commissioners have not entered upon the subject in their Report, though they have clearly had much evidence laid before them in regard to it. We do not think that their recommendations necessarily raise the question; they propose to refer certain matters to the decision of the Church as a spiritual body; and for these a national Church would be admitted, probably by all, to be competent. We sincerely hope therefore that no difficulty from this quarter will impede the carrying out of the recommendations as they stand.

So far, the prospects of the Report would appear hopeful. It was anticipated with great and anxious foreboding by many, and there was good reason for the feeling. The Commission was appointed at a time when controversy was exceptionally acute; and it has been difficult to conceive that the Commissioners could travel so far as they have from the tone of the period of their appointment. They have worked hard, and looked fairly at things; and they offer the Church and nation a great opportunity. If the chance be lost, we shall, as we have already said, be worse off than ever; but, if the Church is allowed to set to work in the spirit of the Archbishop's appeal to Convocation, and if the other recommendations of the Commission are carried out without unnecessary delay, we have good ground for hoping that the danger of disruption, which is always present to a body constituted like the English Church, may be indefinitely postponed.

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## Art. XII.—THE GENERAL ELECTION IN FRANCE.

1. *The Church in France*. By J. E. C. Bodley. London: Constable, 1906.
2. *La Séparation des Églises et de l'État*. By Aristide Briand. Paris: Cornély, 1905.
3. *À propos de la Séparation des Églises et de l'État*. By Paul Sabatier. Second edition. Paris: Fischbacher, 1906.
4. *L'Année Politique*. By André Daniel. Paris: Perrin, 1904, 1905.

THERE is no truer maxim in French politics than the oft-quoted saying, 'It is always the unexpected that happens.' This absence of political stability makes prophecy or deduction absolutely impossible. When, in the nineteenth century, the future of a French dynasty seemed most assured, its downfall was imminent. Charles X had laid the foundations of the French African empire by the capture of Algiers, and the internal peace of France seemed assured by the birth of the Comte de Chambord, when a street-row was transformed by journalists into a Revolution which drove the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. Louis Philippe had to all appearances beaten his opponents, and M. Guizot had become Prime Minister in name as well as in fact, when the prohibition of a banquet roused the fury of the Paris mob and forced the King of the French to fly to England. The policy of the Third Napoleon had been fully ratified by a *plébiscite* when the rashness of M. Ollivier's Ministry plunged France into a disastrous war, which culminated in the overthrow of the Second Empire. In the same way a Parliament, in which, out of 590 deputies, only 129 were pledged to the separation of Church and State, has repealed the Concordat of 1801. Again, when the forecasts of political meteorologists, based on the unpopularity of the 'affaire des fiches' and of the inventories of Church property, foretold disaster to the Government, and even the confidential reports from the constituencies led the Minister of the Interior to anticipate the loss of some thirty seats, the Government has secured the largest solid majority yet given to any Administration since the foundation of the Third Republic. The question is, what relation this majority bears to that



conflict which has raged between Church and State during the last two years.

To understand the history of the Concordat, we must begin with that all-night sitting of the National Assembly on August 4, 1789, when the representatives of the clergy surrendered their privileges and their tithes to the nation. On November 4 all ecclesiastical property was also placed at its disposal for the support of public worship, the maintenance of the clergy, and the relief of the poor. On February 13, 1790, monastic vows were suppressed; and on April 13 the Catholic religion ceased to be the religion of the State. On July 12 the Civil Constitution of the clergy was passed, and the Pope disestablished in France. This Constitution was never accepted by the Holy See. In 1794 the Convention decreed the separation of Church and State, thus depriving the schismatic Church of all its revenues and privileges. There was some revival of religion after the suppression of the Reign of Terror; and many emigrant priests who refused to accept the Civil Constitution of the clergy began to return to France. This respite was, however, but short-lived, for, when the reactionary movement had been defeated by the Directory, the clergy was again subjected to persecution and the Church placed under disabilities. France was in a state of religious chaos; and the people were clamouring for the man who would not only restore the old forms of Christian worship but regularise the situation of the State in its relations to the Church.

Every circumstance was therefore favourable to the adoption of the Concordat signed at Paris on July 15, 1801. Its main object is set out in the preamble :—

‘The Government of the Republic recognises the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion as the religion of the vast majority of French citizens. His Holiness also acknowledges at the same time that this same religion has derived, and hopes for, the greatest benefit from the Establishment of Catholic worship in France, and especially from its profession by the Consuls of the Republic.’

Its chief provisions were as follows. The Catholic religion shall be freely and publicly practised in France. The First Consul is to nominate the bishops, and the Pope to confer canonical institution. The bishops and clergy

shall take an oath of obedience to the Government. Bishops are to appoint parish priests, subject to the Government's approval. The Holy See pledges itself not to disturb those who purchased Church property at the time of the Revolution. The Government guarantees a proper salary to bishops and parochial clergy, whilst full power of founding endowments is conceded to French Catholics.

The Concordat was supplemented by the 'Organic Articles,' the work of Portalis, the eminent jurist, which professed to define the points that had not been settled by the Concordat. These Articles provide that no bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, provision, or other document emanating from the Vatican may be published in France without the consent of the Government; no synod or other national or diocesan ecclesiastical assembly may be held without its express leave; no bishop may quit his diocese without permission from the head of the State. The professors in the seminaries must subscribe to the Gallican Declaration made by the French clergy in 1682, and undertake to teach its doctrines. The salary of archbishops is fixed at 600*l.*, of bishops at 400*l.*, of the first-class parochial clergy at 60*l.*, and of the second-class parochial clergy at 40*l.* a year.

Though these Articles were never cordially accepted by the Holy See, they have remained untouched as the complement of the Concordat even under the Restoration; but they are now abrogated at the same time as the original document. M. Sabatier regards separation as a natural evolution, though the abolition of the Concordat was not, as has been already said, part of the Ministerial programme at the general election of 1902. Whilst 129 deputies advocated separation, 140 absolutely declared against it; and the great majority regarded the question as so absolutely outside the region of practical politics that they did not even mention it in their election addresses. This was, however, no reason for leaving the Church at peace.

There was dissension and disagreement in the ranks of the Republican 'Bloc.' Radicals and Socialists, who had remained united in their campaign against the Congregations, began to drift apart. At Saint-Étienne all the eloquence of M. Roannet was insufficient to keep the revolutionary Socialists in order; and they showed them-

selves in a majority of three to one. M. Jaurès endeavoured to distract attention by asking the Chamber, after the outbreak of the Eastern war, to give up the Franco-Russian alliance. This attempt at reunion proved a conspicuous failure. The Radical Left decided to uphold the alliance, and were supported by the 'Union Démocratique.' This incident nearly broke up the Ministry; and there were rumours of dissensions between its more conservative and its more advanced members. The Government was placed in a minority more than once; and it was evident that an attack upon the Church alone could rally all sections in its support. The Government had therefore, in self-defence, to introduce a Bill for the suppression of Congregational teaching.

Under the old regime, and during the early part of the nineteenth century, elementary education had almost entirely fallen into the hands of the religious orders; and a certain number of these were specially authorised by the Government to teach in elementary schools. The Christian Brothers, the Brothers of Saint Viateur, the Marists, and others, had founded schools on every side. M. Combes therefore asked the Chamber to declare that in five years' time all Congregationist teaching should come to an end, and that the property of the authorised Congregations should be liquidated in the same way as that of those which had not been authorised by law. This measure was carried with a few amendments, of which the most important extended the period from five to ten years, while another permitted teaching Congregations to support novitiates in France for the supply of teachers to French schools abroad, in the colonies, and in countries under the French Protectorate. These modifications were not extensive enough to affect the union of the Ministerialists; and the Socialists rallied once more to the Government, on the plea that they would otherwise split up the majority and arrest the anti-clerical work of the Cabinet.

Fresh evidence had, however, to be given of its hostility to religion; and the Easter recess was devoted to the removal of all crosses, crucifixes, and other religious emblems from the courts of justice. This measure gave rise to protests on all sides, especially when Good Friday was chosen to carry the order into effect. The Order of

Advocates even talked of a public demonstration, to be headed by their president, but nothing was done; and the courts reopened without any of those disturbances that had been anticipated. These were, however, but passing skirmishes and led no one to expect the great fight on the separation of Church and State, which was the indirect result of President Loubet's visit to Rome.

French Catholics had done what they could to prevent this visit, which they regarded as a solemn ratification by a Catholic power of the spoliation of the Papal States by Victor Emmanuel; and an attempt was even made to refuse the necessary credits, which was defeated by an overwhelming majority in the Chamber. The Pope protested against M. Loubet's action; but his protest was not published until it appeared in M. Jaurès' paper 'l'Humanité.' This protest recalled the fact that the heads of Catholic states were bound in a manner totally different from the heads of non-Catholic states; that they were united as such by special bonds to the Supreme Pastor of the Church, and must therefore extend to him the greatest consideration in so far as regards his dignity, his independence, and his imprescriptible rights; that this duty, hitherto acknowledged by all, was specially binding upon France, which, through a bilateral agreement, enjoyed signal privileges, such as a large representation in the College of Cardinals, and possessed, by special favour, the protectorate of Catholic interests in the East; and that, in paying a formal visit to the King of Italy at Rome, on the spot that once belonged to the pontifical See, M. Loubet had seriously offended the Sovereign Pontiff. If, notwithstanding these facts, the Nuncio still remained in Paris, this must only proceed from grave motives of order of the most special character.

This protest was resented by the French Government. On May 21, 1904, M. Nisard, the French Minister to the Vatican, was recalled; and on the 27th an order of the day was adopted by the Chamber, approving of the rupture of political relations between France and the Vatican. This was the first step towards the separation of Church and State. The rupture was, however, by no means complete. M. de Courcelles remained in Rome as *chargé d'affaires*; and Monseigneur Lorenzelli, the papal Nuncio, was allowed to remain in Paris. Graver complications

were, however, at hand. Monseigneur Geay, the Bishop of Laval, had been for some time out of touch with the Catholics of his diocese, one of the most religious in the whole of France. He had, as a rule, distinguished himself by his enthusiastic support of the Government, and by his advanced political views. In this capacity he had been fortunate enough to earn the approval of a certain section of the press. On the other hand, the local Catholic newspapers were bitterly hostile to him. He had been accused of conduct which, if not positively proved to be immoral, was certainly most indiscreet; and his authority in his own diocese was absolutely nil. Then Monseigneur Le Nordez, the Bishop of Dijon, was also at loggerheads with his clergy; he had shown such want of dignity and propriety that seminarists in his own diocese had in many cases refused to accept ordination from him. These two bishops were however, notwithstanding their local unpopularity, special favourites with the authorities, as being animated with the most favourable sentiments towards the Government of the Republic.

On May 17, Cardinal Vanutelli wrote to the Bishop of Laval to remind him that the Holy Office had, in the name of the Holy See, already asked him to give up of his own accord the charge and direction of his diocese, and informed him that, as the very grave reasons which had inspired the Holy See with this resolution still prevailed in their integrity, he was himself compelled formally to renew this invitation. He therefore ordered him to take the necessary steps so that the Holy Office need not be compelled to adopt further measures, which would certainly be taken if, in a month's time, he had not obeyed this order. This letter was forwarded by the bishop to the Minister of Public Worship; and the French Government protested that by its action the Holy See was infringing the fifth section of the Concordat, which provided that nominations to vacant bishoprics should be made by the First Consul, and only canonical institution conferred by the Holy See. The Government argued that these provisions ought to apply also to dismissal and enforced resignation; and that a bishop's powers could neither be conferred nor withdrawn without the approval of the Republic.

On June 3 the Government again complained of the

ction of the Nuncio in writing to Monseigneur Le Nordez ordering him to suspend his ordinations. They argued that the Nuncio, as a simple ambassador, had no right to correspond with the bishops; and that this also was a violation of the Concordat, as the Papacy could in no way diminish the prerogatives of a bishop or partially depose him without the approval of the Government. This was followed by protests against the action of the Papacy in summoning Monseigneur Geay and Monseigneur Le Nordez to Rome. The Cardinal, in his reply, maintained that the bishops were dependent upon the Supreme Pontiff in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that they were obliged to visit Rome once in every four years. He also pointed out that these facts had already been mentioned verbally by the Nuncio to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had appeared to him satisfactory.

These explanations were of no avail; and the Government instructed M. de Courcelles to close all relations with the Holy See, intimating at the same time that they considered the mission of the papal Nuncio to the Republic as also at an end. M. de Courcelles left Rome, and the Nuncio Paris, on July 30, thus terminating to all practical purposes that Concordat which had governed the relations of France with the Holy See for over a century. The whole cause of all this controversy was shortly settled, so far as the bishops themselves were concerned. Monseigneur Le Nordez and Monseigneur Geay both left for Rome to make their submission. They were found guilty of disobeying the orders of the Minister of Public Worship, who had forbidden them to leave their dioceses; and their salaries were suspended. This was a great blow to the Government, which had hoped to found a national Gallican Church with the help of these two bishops; and nothing now stood in the way of the Bill which was to give parliamentary sanction to the abrogation of the Concordat with Rome by the disestablishment and disendowment of the Catholic Church in France. Although M. Combes had pledged himself, on October 21, to introduce the measure, he was in his turn assailed by a fresh agitation, which eventually drove him and his Government from office. The 'Figaro' of October 27 and 28 started this new movement by disclosing to the world the whole

system of espionage which had been organised in the French army by General André, the Minister of War, and some of his political supporters.

It appeared that, at the beginning of 1903, some Freemasons had decided, under the pretext of Republican defence, to organise within the army a secret service of inspection and information. This secret service set in immediately to work; and, within a few months, a regular intelligence department was established, with hundreds of amateur detectives ready to keep the Minister of War in constant touch with the religious views and political opinions of their brother officers, on the tacit understanding that they would be rewarded by promotion over their victims' heads. The whole of this secret service had its spies, its bloodhounds, and its inspectors, who were known they might expect crosses, stripes, and even special appointments, in return for good work done. The author of this organisation was Commandant Pasquier, the Governor of the Cherche-Midi prison; and his notice was taken up by the 'Grand Orient' of France, a body which has long been severed from all connexion with British Freemasonry. Under the title of Sol. Mil. ('Solidarité Militaire') they resolved to found a new association amongst those officers who were Freemasons. Brethren were invited to secure information themselves, and in their turn to pass it on to the 'Grand Orient.' Who were the father, the mother, the relations, and the belonging of their brother officers, and of their brother officers' wives? Where had they been educated—in a religious or in a lay school? What were their clubs, and what societies did they frequent? What were their religious opinions and where did they send their children to school? With whom did they shoot and hunt, and at what châteaux did they stop? The whole series of questions ended with 'Is he an anti-Semite?' The issue of this police circular was bitterly opposed by a section of the order before it was printed and circulated; indeed some brethren denounced it as dishonourable to Freemasonry; but they were overborne by the majority. Several local lodges declined to have anything to say to this policy; but the fact remains that some twelve thousand *fiches* or slips of paper were filled up. We can only give one specimen as characteristic of the rest.

'Fiche No. 22. Commandant Bonnan (I.L.C) at Bruyères will be recommended by General Bonnal for promotion. He is a fanatical clerical; started, on his arrival at Bruyères, by going solemnly to Communion with his whole family. Owing to the example he has given, officers and non-commissioned officers have begun to frequent church assiduously. When the local municipality had a dispute with the parish priest, who wished the children educated in the secular, to attend catechism in the free schools, he took the side of the parish priest. His wife hears catechism at the sisters'.—Note O.'

This slip also contained the names of four other officers, three of whom were condemned with the same fatal O, the fourth, however, being recommended. Commandant Bonnan had been licensed by the Staff College, and passed extremely high through the military school; but his chances of promotion were destroyed by this fatal mark, while his juniors have been made lieutenant-colonels over his head. Jacquot the 'informer' was, on the other hand, promoted out of his turn, and became the youngest lieutenant-colonel in the French army.

On October 28, 1904, Col. Rousset, Nationalist Republican Deputy for the Meuse, raised the question in the Chamber. He was followed by M. Guyot de Villeneuve, who produced the correspondence between Captain Mollin, aide-de-camp to General André, and M. Vadecard, the secretary to the 'Grand Orient' of France. The General attempted to stem the torrent of indignation which had been roused by these disclosures by disputing the authenticity of the documents produced. He even proceeded himself to burn those which had accumulated at his office; but he set fire to the chimney and thus made his complicity clear to the world. M. Vadecard made things worse by prosecuting his assistant, M. Bidegain, for having stolen the documents to sell them to M. Guyot de Villeneuve and his friends. The subject was again brought up; and General André, who had in the meantime thrown his aide-de-camp, Captain Mollin, to the wolves, argued that the practice was necessary in the interests of the Republic; whilst M. Berteaux, the reporter on the War Budget, went still farther and maintained that the system was a legacy from the days of clerical and reactionary domination at the War Office. It was useless to argue; and the Chamber threw out the order of the day by a majority of only two



votes. Some sort of reaction was however produced by the conduct of M. Syveton, a Nationalist deputy, who gave General André, who was an old man, so violent a blow on the face as to throw him to the ground. The mischief had however been done; and General André was forced to resign office. He has now revenged himself by telling the whole story to the press.

In the meanwhile M. Guyot de Villeneuve continued to prosecute his campaign with vigour, and every day published, either in the 'Figaro' or in the 'Gaulois', a series of 'slips' relating to suspected officers, with the names of those who had informed against them. The Legion of Honour took the matter up; and General Février, formerly High Chancellor, agreed to receive petitions from its knights and other members asking the Council to proceed against those members who had furnished secret and malicious information. The feeling grew stronger every day; and, when the Chamber took the order of the day, which was taken as a vote of confidence, was only carried by a majority of six. As it included six members of the Cabinet who had no vote in the Chamber, while M. Doumer, the President (who sided with the Opposition), could not vote, the result was virtually a defeat; and M. Combes had to resign. On Jan. 27, 1905, M. Rouvier's Government appeared before the Chambers and read a Ministerial declaration, which included a Bill for the separation of Church and State, which proved in some respects more indulgent to the Church than its predecessors, and was laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies on February 9.

Mr Bodley, in his interesting but somewhat sketchy essay on the 'Church in France,' which is but a prelude to a more comprehensive work, explains the position of M. Aristide Briand, now a Cabinet Minister, but then *porteur* of the Bill. A measure, even when introduced by a Government, is submitted to a small committee of the House, which reports upon it and, if necessary, redrafts

Consequently a Government Bill, when discussed in the Chamber, is only secondarily in the hands of a Minister but is in charge of the President and the Reporter of the Commission. The latter is a most important personage. It is his function to write an essay on the subject of the Bill, called a report, which, in the case of an important measure

attains colossal proportions. Thus, during the passage of the Separation Bill through Parliament, the Minister of Public Worship played only a minor part, while the Prime Minister of France took practically no part at all, actually never opening his lips during the long debate in the Senate of which he is a member.'

M. Aristide Briand's voluminous report is mainly occupied with the quarrels between the kings of France and the Papacy. He then reviews the history of the Concordat, and of the relations between France and the Papacy since its signature, discusses the position of the Church in other countries, and concludes with an exposition of the Bill itself, and of the principles underlying each separate clause. This statute, which became law last December, and applies to the Protestant and Jewish Churches as well as to the Catholic Church, begins with the declaration that the Government guarantees liberty of conscience and of public worship, subject to the provisions of the Act, whilst it in no way recognises nor subsidises any form of religion. All state, departmental, and communal subventions for public worship are to cease on January 1, 1906, except in the case of chaplains in schools, colleges, hospitals, prisons, and other public institutions.

Then follows the famous third clause, which provides for taking an inventory of all ecclesiastical property—the clause which has led to such commotion throughout France. Within a year from the passing of the Act all movable and immovable property of the 'menses' and 'fabriques' must be transferred to the 'Associations Cultuelles,' or associations for public worship. That property which in the past belonged to the State, the departments, or the communes, is to be given back to its original owners, with the exception of those pious endowments which have been created subsequent to the Concordat. Ministers of religion who are sixty years of age, and have been for thirty years in the pay of the State, are to receive a life-pension of three-quarters of their salary, whilst those who are forty-five years old, and have been salaried by the State for twenty years, receive a life pension of 60*l.* a year. This affects, to some extent, some of those highly-paid Protestant pastors who have hitherto received 120*l.* a year; but it is particularly hard on the

archbishops and bishops of the Catholic Church, whose salaries have amounted to 600*l.* and 400*l.* a year. Those ministers of religion who are not qualified for these pensions are to receive subsidies on a much smaller scale.

The cathedrals, churches, and chapels are left gratuitously at the disposal of the associations to be formed under the Act; but episcopal palaces, presbyteries, and seminaries are only granted rent-free for two years, when all these buildings will revert to the State, the department, and the commune. Further arrangements may, it is true, be made then; but this must depend on the goodwill of Governments and of local authorities. The 'Associations Cultuelles' are to consist of residents in the parish; and their membership ranges from seven to fifteen or twenty-five, according to population. They may raise funds by subscriptions, collections, and fees, and may distribute whatever surplus they possess to poorer associations. Their accounts are to be audited; but the amounts of their accumulated funds are strictly limited by a scale proportionate to their revenues. Beyond these there are other provisions of a general character. Religious instruction may be given, out of school hours, to children between the ages of six and thirteen. Libellous or provocative utterances in churches are punishable by fine and imprisonment. The budget of public worship, which in 1905 amounted to 1,700,000*l.* a year, will, after the expiration of life-pensions, be divided among the communes of France for the alleviation of taxation.

Such are, roughly speaking, the provisions of this new measure, which, nominally at least, gives full liberty to the Catholic Church in France, and emancipates the Jewish and Protestant communities from all connexion with the State. As Mr Bodley observes, with some truth:

'For the first time since the French people became a nation, the Pope is the absolute master of the bishops and clergy of France. Gallicanism, long declining, has received its death-blow; and Pius X himself sang its solemn obsequies on Quinquagesima Sunday, when, in his basilica of Saint Peter at Rome, he consecrated the first batch of fourteen non-concordatory bishops, forming one-sixth of the entire French episcopate, being, it is said, the largest number admitted at one time to the pastoral office since the Day of Pentecost, when it was conferred on twelve overseers of an unestablished Church.'

These words, notwithstanding their possible exaggeration, indicate a great gain to the Catholic Church in France; for, whatever may happen in the future, the Government can no longer legally object to the appointment of able and independent men as archbishops and bishops of the French Church, and can no longer advance the claims of those in whom they expect to find willing and subservient tools. The intrigues of ambitious men, ready to sacrifice their religious and political principles to secure the support of the Government, will, at least for the present, be of no avail. Rome need not negotiate any more over vacancies, or consent to the nomination of inefficient men in one or two instances so as to secure the consent of the Government to a good appointment in the third instance. The bishops are allowed free intercourse with Rome, and may go thither as often as they like. They may meet to discuss matters regarding the welfare of the Church, and even choose the subject of discussion without any interference on the part of the State. They will no longer be government officials salaried by the State, and may so far succeed in their appeals to the faithful on religious grounds.

Taken by themselves, these are great and substantial advantages. The question is, how long will the Church be left to enjoy them in peace? The Radicals and Radical-Socialists are in their hearts a *bourgeois* party, who dread a progressive income-tax and look askance at the programme of the Socialists. In their anxiety to divert attention from these dangers they may at any moment recommence their attacks upon the Church, and, by insisting that the Government shall exercise some control over the nomination of bishops and others, rob the Church of all the liberty she has acquired under the new law. Then, again, others argue that either the priest will not be free, or the State will not be master. The clergy may also, now that they are free, throw themselves into politics. This will not be wise on their part; but they may argue that, having ceased to be government officials, they have acquired all the rights of free citizens. As we have pointed out, libellous or provocative utterances in churches are punishable by fine or imprisonment. This provision may be abused and extended.

Past experience also makes one sceptical with regard

to the future. Recent years have witnessed a marked evolution in the administration of the Associations Law. M. Waldeck-Rousseau undertook that it should not be applied to teaching or authorised orders, and that authorisation should be granted to unauthorised orders if they made out a good case. These pledges were broken by M. Combes both in the letter and in the spirit. Therefore French Catholics ask anxiously with regard to the future—how soon the liberty they have gained will degenerate into persecution; how soon the State will again insist on having a voice in the nomination of bishops, of vicars-general, and even of parish priests; to what extent the auditing of the accounts of the 'Associations Cultuelles' will be carried; how long they will be allowed to enjoy the free use of their churches; and how much of their property acquired since the Concordat, and even since the passing of this Act, they will be allowed to hold free from all state interference.

This is, however, not their only grievance. The new law, even if fairly administered, contains a great element of hardship. The budget of public worship, which amounted to 1,700,000*l.* last year, was not an act of grace but a measure of compensation. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution the tithe alone brought in 3,200,000*l.*, or nearly double the income secured to the Church under the Concordat. Beyond this there was the annual income of the Church and the revenues secured by endowments, the product of legacies and gifts made by pious founders, which were appropriated by the State or sold by public auction. The budget of public worship was the result of a clear and definite bargain between Church and State. The purchasers of Church property were to be freed from all interference and guaranteed security in their possessions; but the State was to give the Church some measure of compensation, and this compensation was to be the budget of public worship.

This contract has been ruthlessly broken by the State; and, except for a few terminable pensions, the clergy will be absolutely dependent upon the faithful. This may be no great hardship in the large towns, or in those rural districts where there are rich and charitable landed proprietors, or where the people are religious and the churches full to overflowing. But such cases are the exception

and not the rule. Indifference and apathy in religious matters are now frequently to be found in the French peasant, who, however, often has a friendly regard for his parish priest, though he may not frequent his church except on great occasions. Even in these cases the lot of the disestablished and disendowed priest will not be so hard, as he is sure to get some compensation from his neighbours for what he has lost; but there are many parishes, especially in the centre and in the south of France, where the priest's salary from the State represents almost all his income, where baptisms and even religious marriages and burials are the exception, and where the churches are empty on Sundays and holidays of obligation. The position of these incumbents will be pitiable in the extreme. In a short space of time the incomes of those who have not held office for twenty years will come to an end; and they will be left either to starve on the spot or to depend upon whatever miserable pittance may be collected for them elsewhere. Their churches will be closed. Past experience has shown us how little prospect there is for the development of other religious teaching than that of the Catholic Church in many parts of France; and we anticipate the disappearance of all positive religion from these parishes.

A great deal must depend upon the decision of the Papacy with regard to the constitution of those 'Associations Cultuelles' which will be empowered to take over and administer Church property, and are authorised to distribute their surplus amongst the poorer parishes. There are rumours that the bishops have appealed to the Holy See to accept the law and to work it for the best; but this is not known for certain. The decision of the Supreme Pontiff must be fraught with the most serious consequences. On the one side it is argued that these associations may, in due course, become as wealthy as the Church was under the Concordat; and that the liberty which they enjoy under the law may, if liberally interpreted, give them great power for good. On the other hand, it is contended the Government is not to be trusted; and that the acceptance by the Church of these associations will be used against it. The necessities of the political situation may also force the Radicals to anti-clerical legislation with the object of uniting all sections of the

Left and of distracting public attention from other matters. Then, again, those who do not wish the Pope to recognise the 'Associations Cultuelles' maintain that in their hearts the people are really religious, and that they will never understand to what separation may lead until the churches have been closed, the priests forced to officiate in secret, and religious persecution is in full swing.

Strange to say, it was one of the fairest provisions of the law that first roused popular hostility to its administration. Some members of the Opposition realised the danger of transferring all the property that remained to the Church from the 'Conseils de fabrique' to the 'Associations Cultuelles' without an inventory; and an amendment to this effect was adopted with the consent of all parties. The Socialists wished to see the law administered before the general election. They therefore insisted on the enforcement of this clause before the rules were ready and published. The idea got abroad that this was done to make confiscation easier in the future. There had also been a series of attacks upon religion; and these attacks had left a good deal of bitterness behind them. Moreover, it was the first practical evidence of the existence of the new law; and it provoked an outburst of indignation from one end of France to the other. The peasant might not be a regular church-goer, but his Church had witnessed the most important religious events in his own life and in that of his forebears. It was part of his property, and he resented any interference with it on the part of Government officials. The opportunity was also an admirable one for a political demonstration. The elections were imminent; and it was hoped that the unpopularity of these inventories would react against the Government in the polling-booths. There were demonstrations in the most unexpected quarters. The most irreligious communes were often the most hostile. Matters culminated when, at Boeshoppe, a man was killed; the whole question was brought before the Chamber; and M. Rouvier was compelled to resign.

From this moment the fate of the Conservative party was sealed. M. Dubief, the Minister of the Interior, an honest and conscientious fanatic, made way for M. Clémenceau, one of the ablest and most unscrupulous

members of the 'Bloc.' Had M. Dubief remained in office, the Government would not, in all probability, have interfered very much with the elections. A zealous *préfet* might here and there have exerted himself to the utmost on behalf of the Government, but he would not have been encouraged from above to adopt extreme measures. This was not M. Clémenceau's policy. He was the last resort of the 'Bloc.' It was his duty to win the general election; and he was determined to do so at all costs.

His first step showed great wisdom. The inventories, which had roused so much ill-feeling, were stopped by a circular to the *préfets* wherever they were likely to lead to disturbances. A general uprising of the trade-unions, accompanied by a universal strike, was expected on May 1; and it was anticipated there would be fighting in the streets of Paris. The Opposition press encouraged this idea; and several timid householders fled from Paris across the frontier. There were strikes in the north of France and in the arsenals; houses were burnt; and those workmen who wished to fulfil their contracts were subjected to the most extreme forms of intimidation. The mining districts of the Nord and of the Pas de Calais were in a state of anarchy. M. Clémenceau showed great tact and firmness in the face of all these difficulties. Soldiers were sent to the disaffected districts in large numbers, but with strict injunctions to show themselves as little as possible. Their conduct was admirable, showing the greatest forbearance in the most trying circumstances. Paris was a centre of military activity. Fifty thousand men were quartered in the streets, and its houses were provisioned as if for a siege. One householder introduced trout into his bathroom and another admitted cattle and sheep into his garden to provide against emergencies. Hams and preserved meats were also purchased in large quantities. The first of May came and passed without any appreciable disturbance anywhere. Confidence in the Government and in its power of preserving law and order was established. This was M. Clémenceau's second triumph; and it was all the more complete as the Opposition press had anticipated disaster both in Paris and in the country.

The course was now clear for the general election. The Government had much to fear. The inventories had



been most unpopular; and the Socialists were decidedly discontented. Even the ministerialists expected a loss of some thirty or forty seats. They did not believe in more than that, for the Government holds all the trump cards in its hands. It is the source of all favours and the fountain of honour. A commune wishes for a new road, a railway, a bridge, or a canal. Its prospects are very much enhanced if it has steadily voted in favour of the Government. A hostile commune knows its chances of favourable consideration are very small. Again, there are said to be some 681,000 government officials in France. Each one of these must be a canvasser, or at least vote for the Government of the day. Promotion is usually the reward of the zealous official. There are constant vacancies in these posts, which are filled by the nominations of the local party-hack. The *préfet's* power is, moreover, omnipotent, for he is the channel through which all recommendations reach the Ministry of the Interior. He is represented in the *arrondissements* by *sous-préfets*, and in the communes by *délégués*, who keep him in touch with all that goes on. The *fiches* had materially increased his power; and the terrorism that runs through the whole government service is a strong factor. Each official knows that everything he says and does—even, as some fear, his most secret thoughts—will in due course reach the ears of the authorities. They therefore must at least appear to be ministerialists.

This feeling necessarily permeates the whole of the civil service, and inspires not only the official, but those who depend upon him, to support the Government. Nor is this all. The right to sell stamps and tobacco is regarded as a great privilege in a small commune, and goes by favour. Moreover, the Frenchman dearly loves a decoration. The Legion of Honour, the *mérite agricole*, and the *palmes académiques*, though originally destined for those who had earned them in their respective spheres, are now too often given as rewards for political work, or withheld from political opponents. It is therefore not astonishing when a Government survives disgrace or disaster; the miracle is when it is turned out of office. Some constituencies are, it is true, still anti-ministerial; but this may generally be assigned to laxity on the part of the local authorities, or to the presence of

a wealthy candidate or resident who can do more for his constituents than the Government can; in some cases, no doubt, it is due to strong political feeling.

On May 6, 1906, the parties met at the polling-booths. On the Opposition side were ranged, first, the 'Action Libérale,' led by M. Jacques Piou and Count Albert de Mun, which includes Royalists and Bonapartists who have remained staunch, or who have, in obedience to the Pope, rallied to the Republic. They represent those Catholics who protest against the whole policy of the 'Bloc,' its treatment of religious orders, and the separation of Church and State. In some cases its representatives did not make much profession of devotion to the Church. For instance, one of the candidates for Carcassonne said: 'They accuse me of being a clerical—me, Pendariés, who never drag my knees over the flags of a church, but protest from the bottom of my heart against delation, sneaks, informers, and Freemasonry.' Next came the Nationalists, the outcome of the Dreyfus agitation, a body of men recruited from all parties, who put national defence in the forefront of their programme, and regard M. Doumer, the former Governor of Indo-China, and M. Gauthier de Clagny as their leaders. Finally, the Progressist-Republicans, men of moderate Whiggish views, the remnant of the old country party, organised by M. Méline, and strongly opposed to anti-clerical legislation. Their most prominent leaders are M. Ribot and M. Renault-Morlière.

On the other side were ranged the Republicans of the Left, a party of eighty-three members founded by those moderate Radicals and Republicans who left the Progressists under M. Waldeck-Rousseau. They cover a wide range, some having followed, before the formation of M. Sarrien's Ministry, M. Poincaré and M. Barthou, who represent the moderate elements in the Cabinet, whilst the more Radical section followed M. Buisson, M. Berthelot, and M. Rabier. Next come the Radicals, ninety in number, who are not easily distinguished from the Radical-Socialists, 119 strong. They have, in fact, since 1901, fused their organisation with that of the 'Radical and Radical-Socialist party,' and adopted a common programme. If a distinction were drawn, we should say that the Radical-Socialist inclines to state-

monopolies more than the Radical; but they are a *bourgeois* party, and will not tolerate state-ownership of the means of production.

The Socialist party were, in 1902, split up into two sections—those who advocated the presence of M. Millerand as the Socialist hostage in M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Ministry, and those who wished to preserve their independence of all *bourgeois* parties. They have been united since April 1904 under the name of 'Socialistes Unifiés.' M. Jaurès has now adopted the collectivist programme in its entirety, and severed his alliance with the Government. The old distinction between 'Blanquiste,' 'Allemaniste,' and 'Guesdiste' has disappeared; and all socialists of these various sections are united under the leadership of M. Jaurès, whose action is however carefully watched by his rival, Jules Guesde, a fanatical and conscientious socialist of the old school, who has returned to the Chamber as deputy for Roubaix. Outside the 'Socialistes Unifiés' are the 'Socialistes Indépendants,' who call themselves by many epithets, such as 'Républicain,' 'Patriote,' 'Anti-Collectiviste,' and belong to the same party, but are scattered over all parts of the Chamber. Some indeed, like M. Millerand, were supported by the Nationalist party, and were therefore regarded as absolutely outside the pale of M. Jaurès' followers.

The result of the general election was a complete triumph, all along the line, for the supporters of the Government. The 'Action Libérale' have suffered less than any other section of the Opposition. They have fallen from 84 to 78, showing a net loss of six seats. The Nationalists, whose *raison d'être* is no longer what it was in 1902, have fallen from 53 to 30; whilst the Progressists have, through their very moderation in a fight between extreme views, fallen from 95 to 66.

On the other hand, the Republicans of the Left have increased their numbers from 83 to 90, while the Radicals have risen from 96 to 115, and the Radical-Socialists from 119 to 132. The 'Socialistes Unifiés,' who at the first ballots only held their own, have now increased from 41 to 54, whilst the 'Socialistes Indépendants,' who were previously only 14, are now 20 strong. It is, then, with the Radicals that the future of the new Parliament lies. With the assistance of the Republican Left they

can form and maintain a Government which shall be absolutely independent of the Socialists on the one side and of the Right upon the other.

This majority cannot be regarded as fully synonymous with popular sentiment. We have already referred to the extent to which an election can be prepared by the Minister of the Interior and the organisation at his command. The peculiar machinery by which the will of the people is ascertained in France also tells in favour of the Government of the day. In the first place, the ballot is not, strictly speaking, secret. The ballot-papers are not ready-made with the candidates' names printed upon them and space left for the necessary cross. The voter either secures a slip of paper on which the candidate's name has been printed, or he writes it himself. This paper can be so marked that the presiding officer can identify it and ascertain who has voted and how he has voted. The votes are counted in each village or ward, and not in the chief town of the constituency. Identification is therefore a comparatively easy task. The stuffing of ballot-boxes is also extremely common, as has been proved, amongst other cases, by the Lodève election petition. Thus, at St Felix-de-Lodez, 151 votes were recorded from a total of 125 names on the register. In another commune 91 voted where there were 80 names on the register. In a third commune 320 voted, and yet there were only 300 names on the register. The validity of an election is determined by the Chamber; and it is therefore not surprising that M. Pélisse is declared duly elected for Lodève (Hérault) by a majority of 400 to 69.

Similar scandals have occurred in many other constituencies. Thus, in 1902 there were more votes recorded at Carmaux, in the Tarn, than there were names on the register. Moreover, when the electors arrived, they found that the mayor and his bureau had taken possession of the polling-booth before the legal hour; and it was strongly suspected that the interval had been devoted to stuffing the ballot-boxes. The Marquis de Solages wished to take every precaution on this occasion. His friends therefore determined to watch the proceedings, and arrived on the spot a few minutes before the legal hour, 7 o'clock in the morning. When the mayor arrived, he refused to declare the poll open, and shut himself up in his own house,

though all he was asked to do was to allow two of M. de Solages' supporters to see fair-play. It was only when the troops arrived, and he could clear the polling-booths of all hostile elements, that the polling began. M. de Solages' friends were allowed to be present at first; but when they tried to find out how many of the voters were on the register, they were summarily expelled by the troops. They were afterwards readmitted, but kept in a corner of the room, and refused leave to take any notes. Although the legal hour for closing the poll was 6 o'clock it was kept open until 11.40 in the evening. M. de Solages had some fifteen counters ready to see fair-play, but they were refused admission; whilst the whole counting was placed in the hands of some fifty supporters of M. Jaurès, the Socialist candidate.

Such is the story told in the Chamber by Baron Amédée de Reille. It may or may not be true; but the evidence in its support is overwhelming. Baron de Reille did not ask to have M. Jaurès' election invalidated, but only for an enquiry; and this enquiry was refused by an overwhelming majority. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that a greater number of petitions are not presented. No member of the minority has any prospect of succeeding in an election petition. It is often argued that no member of the 'Bloc' who has secured a smaller majority than five hundred is legally elected. This is possibly a gross exaggeration; but, until the control of the Chamber over election petitions is abolished, and these matters transferred to independent tribunals, we have no opportunity of gauging to what extent the majority really represents the wishes and aspirations of the people.

Other elements have doubtless helped the 'Bloc' to secure their victory. The Catholics are very much divided and split up, some believing in resistance to the utmost, others thinking that the country is sick of the question and ready to submit to the worst for the sake of peace. Again, the Opposition is by no means united on social reform. Some believe they can never rally the democracy to their side until they show their earnestness on their behalf, whilst others are afraid to deal with such dangerous questions. It is not easy to know what France really wants. The situation is most complicated, and is beyond

the comprehension of most Frenchmen. Thus, the inventories had aroused the most violent opposition in many parts of France where the electors have always supported anti-Catholic deputies. Peasants who usually voted for the Radical candidate came out in their hundreds to protest against any attack upon their Church. In one village no less than eighty-eight made their wills before resisting the authorities; and yet, when the general election came, the Catholic candidate hardly received any support in that very village.

This want of logic and consistency has been explained by ignorance and by Ministerial pressure. These two factors may have great weight, but they are certainly inadequate to account for the overwhelming victory of the Government. The peasant has remained a Catholic by tradition and by sentiment. He may even believe in his inherited faith; but he sees no connexion between his religious convictions and his vote. In one village of Savoy the mayor sings every Sunday in the choir and goes regularly to the Sacraments, but he always votes openly, as a delegate, for the Radical senator. Why this inconsistency? There is no denying it—the peasant distrusts the Catholic candidate, be he Royalist or Republican. In the first place, he can do nothing for him; he can neither secure for the district the railway or the road it wants, nor obtain for the voter's son the place of road-mender or postman he desires. Besides, the Catholic candidate is usually supported by the *château*; and the peasant believes his interest is antagonistic to that of the *château*. As a Burgundian peasant said recently to an eminent political economist who had property in his parish: 'Listen to me, monsieur, and I will speak frankly to you. We like you, and my father was your father's tenant. If you really want our help, you have only to call upon us, and it is yours. But do not ask me to vote for your candidate. What do you expect? We belong to the people, and must support the candidate the people want—the man who will pass laws in our favour.' It is for this reason that some French Catholics are strongly in favour of their party adopting social reform as part of their programme.

In fine, we may sum up the situation by saying that, beneath all the apparent indifference, there are far more Catholics in France than people think. If ever

persecution were to become acute, if the churches were to be closed, this would become clear to the world; but, until this extreme is reached, the voters will not give their support to a man who does not thoroughly understand their wants and requirements. M. Sabatier, who relies on reform from within the Church, may perhaps expect too much when he looks forward to a new Catholicism,

‘in which earnestness, hard work, manliness, love will be the supreme virtues, a Catholicism which will resemble the old no more than the butterfly resembles the chrysalis; and yet it will be the old, and will be able to-morrow to emblazon on the pediments of its temples the words of the Galilean, “Non veni solvere sed adimplere” (“I have not come to destroy, but to fulfil”).’

But those who know France well, who have mixed with the people of all classes and of all parties, are by no means despondent of the future. They know how uncertain it is, how it is always the unexpected that happens in France. The children of the Revolution produced the great Catholic movement of the thirties and forties; and their children again, educated under the ‘loi Falloux’ in Congregational schools, are the authors of all this anti-clerical legislation. The future is therefore uncertain, full of possibilities for good and for evil; but underneath it all there is that toiling, laborious France which works quietly and unostentatiously. It is in this France that all hope for the future must lie. The unexpected may therefore be awaited with some measure of confidence; and it will probably come when the casual observer has given up all hope of its realisation.

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# Art. XIII.—THE GOVERNMENT, THE SESSION, AND THE EDUCATION BILL.

WHEN the process of selecting crews for the University boat-race is in its embryonic stage, it is no unusual thing to hear cautious critics say that this crew or that is made up of men who are individually excellent oarsmen, but that it is impossible to judge whether the collective crew will be good, bad, or indifferent until it has been rowing together for some time. And the result more often than not justifies the prudence of the reservation. The same cautious criticism applies also to Governments. No task perhaps that falls to the lot of a statesman is more difficult or delicate than the formation of a Ministry. Other considerations than personal merit and aptitude have to guide his choice. He has to conciliate interests, and allot to the various sections upon which he relies for his majority what is called a fair share of official appointments. In this respect the Prime Minister is at a disadvantage as compared with the presidents of the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Clubs. They, it is true, may err in judgment, and sometimes perhaps be influenced by favouritism, but at least the preponderating motive must be to get together the very best available crew.

Probably no Prime Minister has had greater difficulties in making up his Ministry than had Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in December last. There were, to recur to our analogy, no lack of excellent oarsmen, and it may fairly be said that the *personnel* of the present administration is above average merit; but the crucial question arose: Would these capable oarsmen pull together when it came to racing? It is not imputing disloyalty or selfishness or obstinacy to any members of the Cabinet to say that they could not pull together, and that, in the circumstances in which they were selected, it was impossible that they should. Out of a fairly united party it is no intolerable business to construct a fairly united Cabinet; but, when the actual or anticipated majority is composed of numerous sections not agreed on more than a few points, then a harmonious Cabinet is out of the question. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's party was made up of 'items,' of whom it is true to say that there



were only two great questions upon which they were thoroughly at one. In the first place, they desired, and from their point of view rightly, the ejection from office of the late Unionist Government. Secondly, they were determined to adhere to the principles of Cobdenism in their entirety. But even here we are called upon to make a qualification. There is no evidence to prove that the Irish Nationalist party and its supporters in the constituencies have ever concerned themselves much about the theories and practice of Free Trade. Indeed there are not wanting signs that a majority of these gentlemen would, if dealing with this problem solely on its merits and not as affecting the fortunes of parties, be rank Protectionists.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman must be credited with the intelligence that anticipates events before they occur, for the Government he formed on the eve of the dissolution was approximately representative of the different sections of those returned as his supporters. But, while there was great electioneering advantage in limiting the issues to two very simple points, it was and is a misfortune for the Government that both those points were negative. The late Administration had already left office before the elections; and so, when Parliament met, the former of the points had disappeared. With regard to the other, the return of an overwhelming majority pledged to Free Trade converted the defence of Cobdenism into the easiest of sinecures. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the result really destroys the absurd but much advertised fallacy of mandates. If a Government is morally and politically incapacitated from legislating when it has exhausted its mandates, then Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government had practically run to the end of their tether almost as soon as they took their seats in Parliament.

That is the *reductio ad absurdum* of a theory which so unimpeachable a Radical and so well informed an historian as Mr Herbert Paul has rightly called ridiculous, unconstitutional, and undemocratic. That there were so-called mandates of diverse nature given to the component sections of the majority is beyond doubt. But they were not given unanimously by the electors who returned the majority; and consequently the Cabinet as

a whole has never been unanimous on these secondary issues. The net result of all these considerations is that, good as are the oarsmen, they do not pull together; the boat naturally rolls a good deal, and much of the individual strength and skill of the crew is wasted. But, before beginning the task of criticism, it is a matter of great satisfaction to note one exception to this rule.

In the first place the whole country feels that the conduct of its foreign relations is in hands as thoroughly to be trusted as were those of Sir Edward Grey's immediate predecessors. It is part of the large debt of gratitude we owe to the late Lord Salisbury that, from the time when he returned to the Foreign Office in 1886, with an ample majority at his back, he set himself to work to mark out a chart, not only for his own guidance, but for that of his successors, on such a comprehensive scale that no one would be tempted to neglect it or to shape his course without reference to it. It was, if we may say so, the Magna Carta of latter-day foreign policy. Lord Rosebery and Lord Kimberley, to their lasting credit, followed the directions bequeathed to them. Sir Edward Grey, with the unanimous approval of all schools of political thought, is adhering to the precedents set by his two immediate Whig predecessors, and with the most satisfactory results. When we remember how large the controversy on foreign affairs loomed for more than three decades before 1886, we have indeed much to be thankful for.

It would have been a cause for most profound self-congratulation if this unqualified praise of the Foreign Office could also be conceded to what is really a sister office, that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. We shall not enter into details as to the filling and backing, the precipitation and sudden arrests, which have characterised the conduct of the Colonial Office under the control of Lord Elgin and of Mr Winston Churchill. We abstain from close examination, principally because experience seems to be teaching the Department the beginning of wisdom. And no man who puts patriotism above party will utter a word of unnecessary recrimination which might possibly drive the Administration back into the paths we all hope they have abandoned. We cite the recurrent changes of tone and even of policy with

regard to South Africa only as an illustration of the divisions in the majority amply reflected in the divisions in the Cabinet. One day a Minister would inflict a wound; the next day another member of the Government would assuage the pain with soothing and honeyed words. The troubles of the Government in Imperial matters are traceable not to inconsistency, which is generally a venial vice, but to lack of cohesion amongst themselves. How can it be otherwise? In the Cabinet, as in the majority, there are staunch Imperialists, who would appeal to the country to make great sacrifices for the defence and development of the British Empire. There are others who, with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, rather dislike the word Imperialism. There is yet another section which openly maintains that the money spent upon Imperial defences is wasted and should be given to the poor; and one result is that Mr Haldane, who, in more senses than one, is the most promising statesman who has presided in Pall Mall for many years, is beset upon two sides to reduce expenditure upon the army.

The same cause is responsible for the same effects in every measure of primary or secondary importance introduced into the House by the present Government. Nothing could be more startling than what occurred in connexion with the rival Bills dealing with labour disputes. There are many Liberals in the House and in the Government who are or have been manufacturers and merchants and large employers of labour; to them the claim put forward by trade-unions to be 'exempt from the law' was naturally repugnant, and their opinions were shared by most if not all the lawyers in the Ministry. The Government Bill bore upon the face of it the unmistakable stamp of compromise. It was introduced in an able and moderate speech by the Attorney-General. The compromise, if not agreeable to the capitalist, was absolutely hateful to the Labour members and extreme Radicals in the House of Commons. Member after member rose from below the gangway on both sides of the House to declare that they would not accept the Government Bill as it stood. On the second night of the debate, to the astonishment of many of his colleagues, and to the consternation of the House as a whole, the Prime Minister threw over his own chief law-officer, and declared that he agreed in principle

with the arguments of the Labour party. The timely indisposition of the Attorney-General enabled Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to place the conduct of the Bill in the hands of the more expansive Solicitor-General, whose gratuitously offensive rhetoric is doing the Government no good. The Royal Commission appointed by Mr Balfour to consider the problem raised by the Taff Vale judgment, which is the crux of the whole question, had strongly and almost unanimously protested against the claim of the employés that their funds should not be liable for damage done by the action of trade-unions. The Government Bill, while it conceded many of the demands made by the Labour party, still proposed to grant immunity only where the actionable damage was unauthorised by the committee or some person acting on their authority. In the Labour party's Bill, clause 3, with a frankness amounting to cynicism, seeks to enact that 'an action shall not be brought against a trade-union or other association aforesaid for the recovery of damage sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of a member or members of such trade-union or other association aforesaid.' As the Attorney-General pointed out in his opening speech, such a clause would permit committees of trade-unions or groups of trade-union members to sanction with impunity even criminal means in furtherance of a strike. If the Labour party have their way, the only remedy left to the employers is to prosecute the person or persons guilty of the act—if they can lay hands upon them—or to sue them civilly for damages, which, of course, would be futile. The hoarded funds of the trade-unions, whose members brought about so ruinous a catastrophe, would be altogether exempt, even though it could be shown that the contemplated act had been known to the members of the committee. How these conflicting principles are to be remedied remains yet to be seen. Once more we have a forcible illustration of the difficulty of keeping straight a boat in which various members of the crew are striking the water at different times.

Much the same tendency is noticeable in the Bill for extending existing Acts providing compensation for accidents. In principle this measure is non-contentious, though several of the clauses are highly controversial.

It was read a second time without division, and referred to a Grand Committee. Again and again the Government members of the Committee were beaten by their own nominal supporters. Clauses were introduced or amendments proposed so adverse to the capitalist that even Mr Gladstone, who, as Home Secretary, had charge of the Bill, was obliged to resist; and on more than one occasion he hinted at the possibility of the abandonment of the measure. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the amendments forced into the Bill by the Labour party and their sympathisers; it is sufficient to say that one of them at least would ruin many a small tradesman in every part of the United Kingdom. In order to maintain even the semblance of rhythm in 'the racing oars,' we suppose that there will be further concessions and further compromises. To the same category belongs a measure dealing with Land Tenure introduced by a private member, subsequently unseated after petition. It is not a good Bill, but it has enjoyed the patronage of those Ministers whom a complacent Premier allows to 'go as they please.' Its object is simply to introduce into England the thin end of the wedge of the system which has not been a conspicuous success in Ireland. There is no demand amongst tenant-farmers for such a so-called reform; and it is notorious that the conditions of British farming are so utterly different from those of Ireland that the provisions of this Bill would prove equally injurious to landlord and tenant.

In regard to the Education Bill, the same causes have produced and are producing the same effects; and the whole measure bears an impress of the divisions in the Cabinet and in the majority of the House of Commons. The elections of January were won largely by the consolidation of the whole Nonconformist vote. It was incumbent therefore upon Ministers, who indeed were deeply pledged, to make some attempt to reward the resolute cooperation of their dissenting supporters. On the other hand, the Irish Catholic vote in England was cast solidly in favour of Radical candidates who expressed more or less nebulous sympathy with the cause of Home Rule. But the Irish Catholics in England, supported by their more powerful allies in Ireland, and acting under

the imperative advice of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, are bitterly opposed to the destruction of denominational education; and, while the mass of Labour members, not, we believe, in this particular case representing Labour opinion, demanded purely secular teaching, there was also a considerable number of Liberal churchmen who declined to be parties to what, as we pointed out last April, is a flank attack upon the Church of England. So great was the confusion caused by these cross-currents in the party and in the Cabinet that we understand that the final settlement of the Bill was not effected until noon of the day on which it was introduced.

The course of the discussion of the Bill in the House of Commons has in the main followed the lines which appeared probable in view of the circumstances attending its introduction. More than once Mr Birrell has been unable to resist the contention of the Opposition, reinforced by independent Liberal members, that the Bill as drawn would permit the infliction, on those who have hitherto provided or enjoyed definite religious teaching, of gross injustice, going far beyond what his own declarations had led the House to suppose to be contemplated. Thereupon he has offered 'concessions' which, if they had stood alone, might have been reasonably regarded as in some degree mitigating the harsh possibilities of the measure, but has accompanied them by qualifying provisions which counterbalance, or more than counterbalance, the value of the suggested modification.

Thus it was pointed out that, under the combined operation of clauses 1 and 2, if a local education authority were to refuse to take over existing voluntary schools, extensive areas might exist in which there would not even be available the meagre 'ordinary facilities for special religious instruction' contemplated under clause 3 as attachable to the transfer of a voluntary school. This contention was reinforced by the public declarations of persons connected with one or more considerable local education authorities, that, for their part, they would be altogether against taking over any voluntary school. In these circumstances Mr Birrell admitted that there was a 'gap' between clauses 2 and 3 which needed to be filled up, and intimated that a new clause would, or might be, introduced later for that purpose. The new clause

would give the Board of Education power to require a local authority not to refuse, without good reason, to take over any voluntary school within its area. So far, well. But this compulsion, Mr Birrell said, must be bilateral ; if the owners of a voluntary school refused to transfer their school without good cause, the Board of Education must be empowered to require their consent. It is obvious that the owners might, and in a great number of cases probably would, consider that a transfer of these buildings, erected and dedicated for the education of children in the principles of the Church of England, to undenominational uses, would be little, if at all, better than sacrilege. But the Board of Education must be able to override any such scruples, or else all local education authorities must be left entirely free to dispense with all the voluntary schools in their respective areas.

A similar example of the fashion in which the Government affect to provide evenhanded justice occurred in connexion with clause 4. The question at issue was that of the duty of the local education authority in regard to the granting of the 'extended facilities' for special religious instruction contemplated by that clause as equitable in certain circumstances in populous urban districts. Was this duty to be made obligatory? Mr Evelyn Cecil proposed that it should be made so by the substitution of the word 'shall' for 'may.' But that was a course far too clear and direct to suit the Government. Mr Birrell brought forward an elaborate series of amendments, one effect of which was to empower the Board of Education, when the conditions specified in the clause were satisfied, to require the local authority to grant the 'extended facilities'—in other words, to allow the denominational character of the teaching in the schools in question to continue. So far, good. But, coupled with this 'concession,' were other provisions constituting a double set-off. On the one hand, it was prescribed that, in the case of a school in which 'extended facilities' were granted, the local education authority should obtain the use of the school-house rent free, though no assurance was given that, when new teachers were appointed, they should belong to the denomination concerned. On the other hand, it was laid down that, if, in the opinion of the Board of Education, special circumstances existed making such a

course desirable, they might, instead of requiring the local education authority to grant the 'extended facilities,' issue an order constituting the school a 'State-aided' school, in which the denominational education would indeed be allowed to go on without interference, but which would receive no aid from the rates. Practically, as was pointed out, this means that if the Board of Education, in the case of any particular school, should shrink from coming into collision with the local education authority concerned, they might issue an order for the school to starve.

These instances are enough to exhibit the slavery, partly willing and partly unwilling, under which the Government lie to the political Nonconformist section of their supporters. That bondage is the main controlling influence upon their educational legislation. The only circumstance qualifying it is the desire to avoid alienating the Irish Nationalist party and the Roman Catholic vote in this country, which was largely secured for the Radicals at the General Election by promises that the denominational character of the Roman Catholic schools should not suffer. It is evident, from the speeches of Lord Edmund Talbot, Mr Dillon, and others, that these promises are now regarded as having been scandalously broken, and that no amendments so far introduced into the Education Bill are held to have repaired the breach.

From time to time Ministers refer to the principles underlying their Education Bill; but there are none. As was pointed out in the last issue of this Review, the professed desire for the establishment of a uniform type of school under a uniform type of control had been abandoned in the Bill as introduced. The Bill provided for at least three types of school; and now, under Mr Birrell's complex amendments to clause 4, of which many were carried, without discussion, under the operation of the closure-by-compartment arrangement, a fourth entirely distinct type—the State-aided, but not rate-aided school—is prominently provided for. The whole justification for this proposal is that, by the sacrifice of rate-aid, the owners of voluntary schools might be willing to redeem themselves from the control of the local authorities by a great price to obtain freedom. We should be far indeed from cavilling at any educational system because it provided



for variety rather than uniformity of type. But what is to be said for a general disturbance in the name of uniformity, carried out at heavy cost in money and far heavier cost in religious and social embitterment, which nevertheless results in enhanced diversity?

What, again, is to be said for a revolution in some of the essential conditions of life in rural England, carried through on the cry of 'Abolition of tests for teachers,' which, as was made clear from ministerial statements in clause 7, will simply result in the general establishment of the test involved in an enquiry as to the teacher's willingness or capacity to teach undenominational religion?

It is absolutely impossible that the patchwork scheme embodied in the Government Bill, as it now stands, can provide a settlement with any hope of permanence. The agitation which has been in progress ever since the provisions of the Bill were set forth has shown that it rouses feelings of indignation and alarm among members of very diverse schools of thought. Those who know the nature and course of that agitation are agreed in holding that, in the intensity of the emotion exhibited, and the magnitude of the numbers roused, there has been nothing more remarkable within living memory. The things which so profoundly stir the popular mind are the perversion of sacred trusts and the threatened denial of all assurance to the parent that his child will have any opportunity of being brought up in his own faith. These feelings have been manifested in every part of the country, urban and rural, industrial, commercial, agricultural, and seafaring, on an unprecedented scale and in an unmistakable manner.

Thus the House of Lords, when the Bill is sent up to them, will have been provided with every possible evidence known to the Constitution that the allegation of a mandate for any such measure is altogether contrary to the facts. It was not understood that the Church schools were to be abolished and their trust-deeds torn up, either in town or country. It was not understood that the teaching of an undenominational form of religion at the public expense would be established. Still less, if possible, was it imagined that, if the Liberal party were returned to power, a cruel and arbitrary disability would be imposed upon many of the most competent members of a

very important profession. It will be for the House of Lords to take the necessary measures to secure that the unconstitutional pretext of an electoral mandate shall not be used to pass an Act of wholesale oppression.

As to the precise steps which the Peers may take to prevent so great a wrong, this is not the time to speak dogmatically. But we believe that it will be found that the interests of religious freedom and equality, and those of common justice, are safe in their hands, which have been strengthened both by the massive movement of protest in the country, and by the marked falling-off on important issues—such as that of the mandatory character of clause 4—of the strength of the ministerial majority in the House of Commons. Nevertheless it is important to bear in mind that our whole educational system is in a condition of altogether unstable equilibrium, and that strenuous efforts will be required to bring it as soon as may be on to a firm and lasting basis.

There are many thoughtful persons who hold that, with that view, and also with the object of strengthening and giving coherence to the opposition to the Bill in both Houses and in the country, a constructive policy should very soon, at least in outline, be put forward by the friends of the Church. There would be no use in any such attempt if no approach to unity had already been indicated among churchmen; but happily that is not the case. The main essentials of a just and lasting settlement have already attracted a very large amount of agreement among churchmen. The debates on the first clause of the Education Bill, and especially on Sir William Anson's amendment, brought out a substantial accord, in a striking fashion, among the opponents of that measure in the House of Commons, in favour of a settlement consisting of an adoption and adaptation to English needs of the German system. No such accord was obtainable with reference to the scheme which has been especially associated with the name of Mr Chamberlain. Its theoretical justice indeed, as among different religious bodies, is not denied; but it is recognised that if the State simply stands aside in the matter of religious education, while allowing facilities, however extensive, for the giving of religious teaching, there can be no guarantee that universally or even generally effective use will be

made of those facilities. That use would vary in completeness and effectiveness with the zeal, the wealth, the energy, and the organising faculty of the religious bodies as represented in different parts of the country. There could, in a word, be no security under it that many children would not grow up in paganism.

Mr Chamberlain's scheme, in fact, notwithstanding its abstract justice, and while infinitely preferable to the policy of pure secularism which the House of Commons has emphatically condemned, is yet at variance with the fundamental principles on which the educational policy of a Christian State ought to be framed; for it fails to make secure provision for definite religious teaching as an integral part of our system of education. The sound policy may be expressed thus. The English State rejects secularism in its school education, and considers that religion is an essential feature of any sound system of education. But, alike on grounds of justice as among the various religious bodies, and in view of its own incompetence, even if justice allowed it to make selection among them, it refuses to make such selection, and invites, through the local education authorities, the co-operation of the religious bodies in obtaining teachers whom they can trust as competent to take part in the work of educating the children of their respective members. In order that such co-operation may be as effective as possible, the teachers so appointed by the local education authority must be employed, as far as is reasonably practicable, on the staff of the schools. This is the German plan. In Germany, if there are enough Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic children in a district to fill, or nearly fill, three schools, a school for each denomination is erected; but, if there are not enough children to fill three, or it may be two, schools of adequate size, one school receives children of two faiths; the headmaster being chosen from among members of the Church to which the majority of the parents belong, and the second teacher from members of the other Church.

There is no reason why a plan of this nature should not be adopted in England. Its operation would probably be that many schools in towns would remain, as is contemplated, but not at all secured, in clause 4 of the Government Education Bill, practically denominational,

though under the local education authority. But in all schools attended by children of different faiths the teachers would be, so far as possible, appointed in such a manner as to be representative of those faiths, and to give instruction to the children of the parents respectively attached to them. In the case of Nonconformists, who have combined to produce the Free Church catechism, and who, to a large extent, now practise intercommunion, it would be in almost all cases satisfactory to their feeling that a teacher able and willing to give instruction based on the Free Church catechism should be appointed. But, if there were a certain number of parents who desired instruction for their children in accordance with some other syllabus, it ought to be provided. It is contemplated that access should be enjoyed by the clergy and ministers of other denominations on suitable occasions to the children of their respective flocks in the schools, to test the character of the teaching given, and possibly to take part in giving it.

Under the scheme above outlined the salaries of the teachers employed by the local authority, after consultation with recognised representatives of the religious bodies concerned, would be charged to the public account; for the teachers would be employed in discharging a vital public service—that of bringing up the children in the faith of their parents. Their qualifications for the work of secular instruction would continue to be ascertained in the usual fashion.

Of course this system would not, in the cant phrase, abolish tests for teachers. On the contrary, it would be based on the rational principle that assurance must be obtained of the qualifications of teachers to do the most vital part of the work. There is good reason to believe, having regard to the intense interest shown by the parents of Church school-children all over the country, and by many Nonconformists also, in the maintenance of the existing provision for definite religious instruction, that there will be a great ultimate preponderance of feeling in favour of the view that the question of religious education in elementary schools must be determined with reference to the rights of parents and the interests of children, and not with a view to making the profession of teacher universally accessible.

The fact that a system based on these principles successfully in operation in the country to which, at all others, we habitually defer on educational questions and that a system based on similar principles has been satisfactorily working in our industrial schools would sufficiently refute the allegation, if it should be made, that churchmen are setting up an impracticable ideal. Meanwhile the great object to be sought is that no legislation shall be placed on the statute-book which will inflict injustice on any Church, or disabilities on parents or any teachers, or will in any manner bar the way to the ultimate establishment of denominational freedom under public control.

The symptoms of ministerial disunion referred to are disquieting in themselves; but the political disease which they are the product threatens even more serious consequences. The House of Lords is in a very difficult position when the majority of its members are confronted by an overwhelming majority of opponents in the Lower House. It has always been a matter of astonishment to men of sense that so distinguished a politician as the present Chancellor of the Exchequer should allow himself to indulge in catchpenny phrases about the House of Lords being a mere adjunct of the Carlton Club, and as being inert when Toryism is in the ascendant and active when it is in a hopeless minority in the Lower House. Of course the rank and file of the Radical party utter this kind of nonsense upon platforms to audiences only less ignorant or careless than themselves; but the country naturally expects better things from the intellectual leaders. The Second Chambers have always been designed to check extravagant measures, and to give the electors an opportunity of time for thinking twice before they commit themselves to irrevocable changes. It is therefore in the nature of things that Second Chambers should be in their essence Conservative, and for two reasons. In the first place Radicalism admittedly implies a more or less destructive policy—we use the adjective in no offensive sense. The very principle of its existence is to make changes, and even violent changes, for what it thinks to be the public good. And whatever else may be said about a destructive policy, this, at least, will hardly be denied, that, if carried

out, it is irrevocable. If Conservative Administrations pursue the policy of reaction and resistance, the next Radical House of Commons can reverse their action. On the other hand, if the Radicals destroy a Church, confiscate property, or ruin any particular form of business, the mischief can never be undone. In the second place, it is obvious that the Conservative instincts of the majority of the House of Lords must be generally in sympathy with those of a Conservative Administration pursuing a line of slow, evolutionary progress. Some time before the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill, Mr John Bright was a guest at a dinner-party composed almost exclusively of advanced Radicals. Incidentally some one attacked the late Lord Salisbury, for whom, as is well-known, Bright entertained the most profound respect and admiration. After rebuking the assailant, he went on to say : 'To-day there is really no great difference between an intelligent Tory and an intelligent Liberal. The question is only one of driving ten miles an hour or eight ; and upon my word,' he added, with emphasis, 'there is a great deal to be said in favour of eight.'

When thoughtless persons make it a ground of accusation against the Upper House that it acts as a drag on the wheels of the chariot of Radical progress, the only reasonable reply is that this is the very function which all Second Chambers exist to fulfil. Nobody but an imbecile would dream of applying the brake to a coach while it is travelling steadily along the level, or when it is climbing a hill. It only comes into operation when the chariot is rushing down steep places at an excessive rate of speed. As we have said, in normal times and in normal circumstances the position of the House of Lords under conditions such as now prevail is difficult and delicate. When, however, the Government of the day adopts what has been called the 'cabman's policy' of 'leaving the fare to you, sir,' the moment it flounders into trouble, an additional and unfair responsibility is imposed on the shoulders of the Peers. Every one of us must have some Radical acquaintance or other who, shaking his head over the more revolutionary proposals of his leaders, or of the extremists who force the hand of their Government, consoles himself with saying that 'the House of Lords will set that right.' This is grossly unjust to the Upper

House; and the injustice is intensified when, as has been so often the case during the last few months, the Government, divided and perplexed, leaves, as we have said, most important issues as open questions to be decided by the majority of the House of Commons. Party ties, especially in a new Parliament, are very strong; and, even when matters are left open, individual members do not like to vote against proposals which are supported by the majority of their leaders. Many a member walks into what he considers the wrong lobby, because he feels sure that the House of Lords will do all that is necessary.

It may be that the next election, or the election after that, will turn upon the relations between the two Houses. There will be scores of members who, having prayed secretly that the Lords will reverse some policy accepted by the Commons, but of which these members heartily disapprove, will go to their constituencies and use this very action of the Peers as an argument for curtailing the powers of, or abolishing, the Second Chamber. And, though the growing habit of imputing unworthy motives to your opponents is to be reprehended, it is impossible to ignore the accumulating mass of evidence which seems to show anxiety on the part of the Ministry to pick a quarrel with the House of Lords. Take what is, after all, a comparatively minor issue, the Bill for the abolition of plural voting. We will not here discuss its merits or demerits. The Prime Minister and all his colleagues are perfectly aware that the Upper House has always insisted that any change in the franchise should be accompanied with a scheme for the redistribution of seats. We learn from Lord Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Lord Granville' that the present Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Hartington, the mainstay of the Cabinet of 1880-85, most strongly urged the justice of this proposition upon Mr Gladstone. It is therefore very likely that the House of Lords will follow historical precedent with regard to this particular Bill.

It must further be remarked that there was no pressing reason why such a measure should be submitted to Parliament in its first session, and to a Parliament in which, in spite of the plural voter, the Liberals are in a majority of three to one. For our own part we do not believe that the plural voter is so determining a factor in elections as he is generally represented to be. It is a

rather curious comment upon the opinions entertained by Radicals of their own policy that they should take it for granted that every man who possesses property in more than one part of the country should of necessity be a Conservative. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful whether there is anything like a large majority of Conservatives over Radicals amongst the out-voters. The creation of faggot-votes has been stopped; but it is well to remember that the first public man who raised the principle and practice of creating faggots to the dignity of a fine art, was no less a person than Richard Cobden. Even assuming that all plural voters are Conservatives or Unionists, their partial disfranchisement cannot materially affect the proportion of the parties in the present House of Commons. So large is the majority at the command of the Prime Minister that he can afford to lose every by-election occurring during the normal life of Parliament, without seriously diminishing that majority.

The question therefore might well have been left in abeyance till a more convenient season, especially when the time at the disposal of the Government was, through circumstances for which they are not to blame, so unusually limited. It seems, then, as if the Prime Minister and his colleagues were bent upon coming to loggerheads with the House of Lords at the first available opportunity. If we look at the amazing acrobatic feats performed by the Government with regard to the Trade Disputes Bill, to which we have already referred, it is difficult to blind oneself to the inference that Ministers saw their way to putting the House of Lords in a predicament. Their Bill was, presumably, the result of careful deliberations in the Cabinet before it was submitted in its original form to the House of Commons. Let us suppose that the House of Lords simply contents itself with restoring the Bill to the form it bore when it was presented by its authors, and before the Labour party had driven the Prime Minister into the repudiation of his chief legal adviser. One of two things would happen: either the Government would induce a majority to accept the amendment of the House of Lords in order to secure the other advantages which the Bill confers upon employes, while hinting to the Labour party to stir the country with the cry that the House of Lords 'is the



enemy'; or, on the other hand, they might, illogically, inconsistently, and immorally, make this issue the ground of an open declaration of war against the Peers. Yet how, in the name of common-sense, can they properly blame the House of Lords for setting the seal of their approval on what is really a Government measure?

It would be no difficult task to multiply instances in support of the theory that there is on foot an intrigue, not to say a conspiracy, to sap and undermine the House of Lords, just as the Education Bill is flagrantly an attempt to weaken the Church of England. It would be as inexpedient as unbecoming to dictate to the Peers what particular line they should take in dealing with the various Bills submitted to their judgment, though it may be taken for granted that they will at least give Mr Birrell's measure a second reading. But it is an even greater offence against constitutional usage to attempt to menace and bully one branch of the Legislature before it is known what course they intend to pursue. We learn, in the 'Life of Lord Granville,' that when John Bright was in his first Cabinet, and was still a hot-headed, passionate demagogue—if one may use the phrase without offence—he wrote a letter to his constituents fiercely denouncing the Upper Chamber. And from the same source we gather that Mr Gladstone and Lord Granville, the respective leaders of the two Houses, though questioning the construction put upon Mr Bright's words, laid it down as an indisputable constitutional dogma, that it was in the highest degree improper to attempt to limit the freedom and independence of the Upper House. Times have changed; and Mr Lloyd-George, President of the Board of Trade, is permitted without objection or rebuke to repudiate the principle so forcibly insisted upon by Radical leaders of an earlier day, and even to declare that the House of Lords must be 'scrapped' out of the Legislative machinery.

This, of course, is neither the time nor the place to discuss the *rationale* or the authority of what Radicals love to call the 'Gilded Chamber.' But it will be admitted by educated and intelligent men of every shade of political opinion, that, if it be desirable to reform the House of Lords, or for that House to reform itself, the business must be done in an honest, straightforward, and open

may, and not by deliberate and discreditable manœuvres to provoke the Lords into a quarrel with the House of Commons. The evils consequent upon the present abnormal state of public affairs, as we have endeavoured to point out above, are grave. Unfortunately it is a far more easy task to call attention to them than to find, or even to suggest, a remedy. The very foundation of Parliament, as it at present exists, is the two-party system. That system, though it had its faults, was elastic enough to meet the demands of many generations of Englishmen, and strong enough to support the burdens of a constantly growing Empire. That system is disappearing, if it has not already disappeared. Groups have threatened to become as numerous, as antagonistic to one another, and as well organised, as in Germany or in France. It may be well to recall a dictum of the late Lord Salisbury's on this point. He quoted Bismarck's frequent failure, in spite of his enormous advantages, to control the groups in the Prussian or the German Imperial Parliament. He further stated that, though possible, it was extremely difficult to carry on a Government under the group system, even in countries which practically possessed no territory outside their political geographical area. And he concluded, with much emphasis: 'I believe it would be an absolute impossibility to administer the British Empire if the group system ever took root in this country.'

It is to be feared that the motley composition of the Cabinet, and of the majority on which it rests, has not been without its effect on the counsels of the Secretary for War. Mr Haldane's recent speech discloses, or rather shadows forth, a scheme far too large and complicated to be fully discussed in the time and space left at our disposal. But it is clear that it suffers from a duality of aim—the desire for efficiency and the necessity for a large diminution of expense. The former is the natural wish of a competent and conscientious War Minister; the latter is forced upon him by the clamorous demands of a large proportion of his followers. Mr Haldane contemplates a considerable reduction in the regular infantry, and—what is more important and, it must be added, far more dangerous—a still larger proportionate reduction in the artillery. This is surely not the time, with a movement of religious fanaticism spreading in Egypt, a native

revolt, of which no one sees the end, in Natal, the new colonies in an unsettled condition, and growing hostility to the British Government in India, to talk of reductions in our military forces, especially in that arm which cannot be improvised. There was much force in Mr Balfour's criticism that such a change is beginning at the wrong end. It is surely unsafe to make any serious reduction in the Regulars until a complete and efficient scheme has been set on foot for utilising the auxiliaries, and for expanding and supplementing our field-force in time of war. And where is the certainty, or even the probability, that we shall have, under Mr Haldane's plan, an adequate reserve, especially of officers, to supply the losses of war? Mr Haldane is prone to large ideas and magniloquent phrases, but he 'gave away the show' by asserting that, in the general desire for a reduction of armaments, this country was to give the lead. We can imagine the mirth with which such an assumption will be greeted on the Continent; as if we, forsooth, with the smallest and least efficient army possessed by any great Power, were to 'lead' the military states of Europe in the race for economy. What becomes of his nebulous scheme for expansion, of his fine phrases about the Militia and the Volunteers, if it is confessed that there is to be a net reduction of the national force after all? This is the upshot; the army must be reduced; and that before there is anything, or the certain prospect of anything, to take the place of the forces to be disbanded. And this is to be done at the bidding of 'groups,' whose members have constantly shown their ignorance of foreign and colonial affairs, and their disregard for the dangers and responsibilities of Empire.

The genius of our race invariably finds, by the most illogical and theoretically absurd devices, a way to solve problems apparently insoluble. That our good fortune will not desert us now is the expectation of every student of our history, and the hope of every patriotic Briton; but that the situation is very formidable, and that it demands the most painstaking consideration from all men of 'light and learning,' is a proposition which few will dare to deny.

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2. Report from the Select Committee on the Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis) Bill. Presented to the House of Commons, July 31, 1906.		
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# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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## Art. I.—THE NAVAL SITUATION.

1. *The Naval Annual*, 1906. Edited by John Leyland and T. A. Brassey. Portsmouth: Griffin and Co.
2. *Jahrbuch für Deutschlands See-interessen*. Edited by Nauticus. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn.
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THERE is a growing tendency to regard a gloomy pessimism as a badge of patriotism. The British horizon is always represented as dark with gathering clouds. No matter what happy circumstances may occur—as occur they do—to dispel the distant and hardly discernible storm-portents to the east or west, prophets of misfortune remain unsatisfied and cast round for indications of trouble in other directions. Whatever happens, they never admit that the perils which threaten the British Empire have been dispelled or even lessened. There is always a threatening cloud somewhere, which may burst at any moment and overwhelm us. With this passion for pessimism goes the movement for depreciating all things British. Such a mental attitude is not altogether unhealthy, in so far as it serves as a corrective to the sense of smug satisfaction and indolent content in which lie the seeds of national decay. The British people should be conscious of their heritage and remain ever on watch and ward. But this pessimistic spirit may be cultivated to a point when it becomes a positive disease; and a nervous condition may be created which is calcu-

lated to undermine the self-reliance and sturdy confidence of the British people.

The British fleet is the favourite target for insistent prophets of evil. They trade upon the jealous anxiety for its first and indeed only defence. Every opportunity is seized with avidity may serve as an excuse for depreciating the value of the British navy and appreciating the which the mere existence of foreign fleets can, by fetched ingenuity, be made to represent. At this we are menaced, not by any warlike forces wielded by alien hands, but by the frothy exaggeration of pat which batters on the Englishman's ignorance of the intricacies of naval policy and the amazing development in the instruments of warfare which are always in progress. At a time when the British fleet occupies a position of unchallenged and unchallengeable supremacy, such a campaign would be doomed to failure but for the nation's unfamiliarity with the meaning and reality of sea-power, its nervous fear lest its only line of defence should be weakened, and its apparent inability to utilise the experience and memories of the past as guides for the future.

For a decade or so naval events have conspired to favour Great Britain, with the result that to-day it is only actually but relatively to rival Powers, the strongest than it has ever been. In 1897 there were no great fleets, those of France, Russia, the United States, Italy, Germany, and Japan, each a possible antagonist. In framing the estimates from year to year, the Admiralty had to base their calculations on the building activity of all these Powers; and an eye had to be kept on the not inconsiderable warlike preparations of Spain, because, owing to her contiguity to Gibraltar, it was fully realised that she might prove an access to our defeat in case of a serious struggle with either. For instance, France and Russia, states which were then only in close alliance, but were hostile to this country, and in command of warlike instruments of such potential strength as to give occasion for justifiable anxiety. In the Far West, where our relations with the United States lacked the cordiality of to-day, we witnessed with unfeigned alarm the growth of the American fleet, on which

money was being spent lavishly; while in the Far East the navy of Japan was increasing in strength, and had already shown in the struggle with China that it was a force which, though small, could not be neglected. The outlook was further complicated by the Italian fleet, which then ranked almost with that of France.

Two simultaneous movements supervened which further changed the naval situation. On the one hand, the dispute between the United States and Spain came to a head; and in the ensuing war the Spanish fleet was completely destroyed. On the other hand, the naval movements in Russia and Germany gathered strength; and with extraordinary determination both nations bent themselves to the task of augmenting their sea squadrons. The significance of the German Naval Act of 1898 was not then apparent. At first sight it appeared to be a comparatively meagre provision for procuring a defensive naval force commensurate to the growing oversea trade and mercantile marine of the German Empire. The special Russian programme was a matter of more immediate moment. The Tsar set aside a special grant of 9,000,000*l.* over and above the ordinary annual provision for the naval service, which was to be devoted exclusively to the construction of men-of-war. This sudden resolve completely upset the calculations of the British Admiralty; and supplementary estimates were at once presented to the House of Commons by Mr (now Viscount) Goschen. This spirited reply to Russian naval aggrandisement assisted in composing the mind of the British public.

The naval outlook, however, from this moment became one of increasing gravity; for, while Spain had disappeared, we had Russia, France, and Germany all engaged in a competition for sea-power which was calculated to undermine the supreme position of the British fleet. Within a couple of years of the dramatic announcement of the Russian special grant, the German Emperor determined to seize the opportunity furnished by the success of the propaganda of his own creation, the German Navy League, to commit the Reichstag to a further remarkable naval programme. Under the Act of 1898 provision had been made for a fleet of nineteen battleships. Now within two years a new measure was introduced and, by various tariff inducements to this party and that, it eventually

passed with only insignificant amendments, doubling the number of armoured ships contemplated in the first enactment. From a fleet merely for the purposes of coast-defence, Germany's aspirations had expanded to a fleet capable of taking the offensive against the greatest naval Power. In the preamble to the Naval Act of 1900 it was recorded :

'Germany must have a fleet of such strength that a war even against the mightiest naval Power would involve such risks as to threaten the supremacy of that Power. For this purpose it is not absolutely necessary that the German Fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest naval Power, because generally a great sea-power will not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us. But even if it should succeed in meeting us in superior force, the enemy would be so much weakened in overcoming the resistance of a strong German Fleet that, if a victory were gained, the foe's supremacy would not be secured to it by a sufficient fleet for the time being.'

'The mightiest naval Power' was then, as now, Great Britain, which at that time dissipated its force over the world so as to render concentration in the North Sea in a short time practically impossible. The significance of this official declaration was unmistakable.

At this moment German naval activity found its echo in the shipyards of Russia, France, and even of Italy. The naval outlook was calculated to create much anxiety in the British Empire ; and this feeling of uneasiness found appropriate, and indeed necessary, expression in the provision made from year to year in the Admiralty's estimates. With admissions of regret, Viscount Goschen, who, as a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, understood the financial aspects of increased demands for the navy, was compelled to ask Parliament for larger votes. From 1897 our expenditure on the construction of new men-of-war rapidly advanced ; in round figures, it stood at 5,000,000*l.* in 1897 and had risen to 11,600,000*l.* in 1904. In spite of this expansion there were not wanting prophets of misfortune who urged that the provision was inadequate. In these years, the years immediately following upon the abortive disarmament proposals launched by visionaries upon the Peace Conference at the Hague, the race for sea-power was at its height. The British Government of

the day admittedly deplored these 'bloated armaments.' It made no attempt to deter rivals from further enterprise by forcing the pace, as only a rich country can do ; it merely replied, as it was bound to do, to the proposals of rivals after they had been definitely adopted.

These were years of most serious anxiety. In northern Europe three Powers were piling up armaments ; and indications suggested that they might be employed to the disadvantage of Great Britain. One navy was being built and massed in the Baltic and the North Sea, another in the English Channel and the Mediterranean ; and the third was being despatched from the Baltic to the Far East as fast as the ships could be completed and manned. With none of these Powers were our relations cordial ; indeed, a stronger phrase might legitimately be used. Moreover, owing to the growth of Russian naval power in China waters, where British commercial interests were and still are paramount, the Admiralty were forced to detach battleships from the European squadrons and send them one after another to Hong Kong, so as to provide a counterpoise to the Russian Port Arthur squadron. Hitherto we had been able to keep all our battle units in European waters ; and concentration is strength. But, in view of Russia's action, and in spite of the tension then existing between ourselves and France and Germany, with their growing sea-forces, this policy had to be abandoned. Gradually the fleet available for immediate use in the home seas and the Mediterranean was weakened by the withdrawal of important ships for duty in the Far East. Six battleships and a number of large cruisers represented the minimum which the Admiralty considered compatible with safety in the South Pacific.

It thus happened that, when the present century opened, the naval situation was complex, and strongly suggestive of danger ahead. We occupied a position of complete isolation ; and no one could foretell when events in the East or in the West might not embroil us with Russia or France, or both, thus laying us open to the tender consideration of Germany. The attitude of Germany was reflected with faithful exactitude in the 'Hamburger Nachrichten' :—

'A wise policy dictates that we should hold aloof from England's conflict with France and Russia, which will not

seek war with us when fighting England in three continents, and should reserve our strength in order to be able to throw it into the scale when things come to be re-arranged. The British no longer believe entirely in the unassailability of the European Island Empire, for, whereas many things have changed elsewhere in the last decade, England's system of defence is still the same as in Wellington's time. . . . In view of the world-wide extent of her interests, she must have more ships on foreign coasts than Russia and France. But the Power or Powers which preponderate where the conflict must be decided, that is in the Channel or the North Sea, will be victorious. But the French Channel Fleet alone is already a match for the English; and its junction with the Russian Baltic Fleet would put an end to England's superiority in the waters in which the conflict must be decided. Add to this that her insular position involves the danger of England being starved out by the enemy, so that she must unconditionally surrender, if a victorious hostile fleet should succeed in cutting off her supplies. England has not ignored this danger, and is therefore working diligently at the task of increasing her navy to such an extent that it will be superior in all circumstances. If she maintains her superiority at sea, her antagonists must try to convert the sea-war as quickly as possible into a land-war, and to seek a decision where all the nerves of the World-Empire meet—that is, in London. . . . The attempt to invade England is still, indeed, a risky, but no longer an impossible enterprise.'

This picture of England's weakness in the then existing situation was regarded with increasing favour in Germany, as it was more fully perceived that the state of feeling between Great Britain and the Dual Alliance seemed to be approaching a crisis, owing, on the one hand, to the British occupation of Egypt and other incidents, and, on the other, to Great Britain's fitful and half-hearted attempts to curb Russian aggression in China. Undoubtedly the naval situation at the beginning of the century was full of possibilities of grave peril; and, though at this time the British fleet was strong, its superiority was not sufficient to allay anxiety.

In subsequent years practically every event which has occurred has favoured the task of British statesmanship. The contest for sea-power is very much less acute to-day than it has been at any time in the past twenty years. As a naval Power, Spain has entirely disappeared; as a

result of the war in the Far East, the Russian fleet has been practically annihilated; owing to want of funds the Italian navy is being starved; and the French fleet itself is feeling the effect of the socialistic movement in the government dockyards. Shipbuilding in France is now carried on in a leisurely fashion.\* The six battleships of the 'Patrie' class, which were authorised in 1900, are not yet in commission, though two of them have undergone their trials. Year by year naval construction in France becomes more expensive and more dilatory. The naval organisation is cursed with officialdom at its very fount; and the control of the administration over its workmen is ineffective and lax. It is true that this year the Minister of Marine has been directed to lay down six battleships of great power. It is almost certain that only three of these vessels will be begun immediately; and past experience renders it unlikely that these six vessels will be complete before 1912†. Indeed it will not be surprising if even at that date three of these ships are unready for service.

It has always been the custom in this country to attach a high fighting value to the French navy; but in the past two or three years the French people, after carefully studying German naval methods, have been led to doubt whether the war efficiency of their large navy would prove equal to the striking power of the German fleet, at present of smaller size, which is animated by a spirit of sober devotion and single-eyed thoroughness that has never been excelled in any modern fighting force, and has behind it a definite policy consistently pursued. During the Morocco incident this questioning attitude of the French people towards their own fleet led to the rapid development of the *entente cordiale* between their country and Great Britain. With Russia ploughing a lonely furrow of humiliation, weakened and distraught,

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\* According to M. Lockroy, a former Minister of Marine, 'of all the European fleets, that of France costs the most. The price of shipbuilding is sometimes one third, sometimes one quarter, more than it is abroad; the expenses of administration, of surveillance, etc., affect the votes more considerably than in other countries. The ships remain on the slip longer before they enter the service, and they take longer to finish their trials' ('Le Temps,' Aug. 28, 1906).

† This has since been officially admitted by the French Minister of Marine



France perceived that in any trouble that might arise she could look for little assistance from the Tsar and his advisers. A feeling of terror ran through France during the critical weeks when the news of warlike movements across the German frontier was being received, and there was every indication that the two countries were on the eve of war. By jettisoning M. Delcassé, and by drawing closer the friendly relations with England, the situation was saved. The crisis served at least to give the French Chamber a shock, and to facilitate the task of M. Thomson, the Minister of Marine, in obtaining authority for the new programme of naval construction.

It is, however, important that the real meaning of the six new French battleships and other war craft should be understood. As was candidly admitted during the debates, France is to-day relying upon the friendship of the British people; and she is no longer building battleships against the British fleet, whose absolute ascendancy afloat is admitted without any feeling of jealousy. France is building simply and solely because it was realised during the Morocco incident that Germany was gradually reaching the position of the second greatest naval Power of Europe; and that, in view of Russia's at least temporary eclipse, it was essential that the Republic should make a struggle to hold her own afloat. This marked rivalry between Germany and France, which may or may not be temporary, does not tend to simplify the naval situation so far as the British navy is concerned, because our strength is based on this particular two-Power standard.

At the same time Italy's fleet has become comparatively weak. Financial stringency has severely checked the development of the Italian naval forces. Commander Osvaldo Paladini, ('Naval Annual,' 1906) has put on record, in almost pathetic terms, some of the salient facts—rather under- than overstated—with reference to the Italian fleet.

'The causes for the temporary naval decadence of Italy, which are now in some measure disappearing, are of two kinds—politico-economical and technical, but, above all, economical. A careful examination of the navy estimates of Italy indicates that, if the nation has spent much, it has spent wisely, but little in a relative sense, since the praiseworthy exertions of a few years lasted too short a time, and the sums

voted diminished or remained stationary while the navy estimates of other countries increased.

'Rising from the revolution, and from a mixture of various elements with diverse traditions, the new naval administration of the kingdom had the merits and defects due to its origin. Among the defects, the most serious were the old bureaucratic organisations and provincial interests, some long-continuing, which did not permit, and still do not permit, the employment of the sums voted for the navy in a way to give the best results. On the other hand, while the first warships built had already absorbed more than 8,000,000*l.*, an immense sum for a poor country, the introduction of high explosives in shells and of quick-firing guns changed in a moment the problem for the naval constructor, virtually condemning all the ships already afloat or in an advanced stage of construction. The exertions made by the young navy were rendered fruitless, and new sacrifices were demanded from the country.

'The navy estimates, which stood at 5,089,878*l.* for 1905-6, have been raised to 5,570,158*l.* for the year 1906-7, and are intended to stand at a figure of about 5,380,000*l.* up to the year 1916-17, the Minister being given power to spend within four years the total increase of 4,980,000*l.* in addition to the ordinary navy estimates for naval construction.'

As an outcome of the economic and other factors which have retarded naval expansion in France and Italy, and as a result of the friendly foreign policy towards Mediterranean Powers which the British Foreign Office has pursued for some years past, the position of the British navy to-day is eminently satisfactory. On the shores of the Mediterranean it is perceived, as probably never before, that the British fleet is no machine of aggression, and that its presence in that sea is a guarantee of peace. In Italy, as in France, all thought of rivalling in strength the naval forces which we possess has been abandoned. In the English Channel, in the Atlantic, and in the Mediterranean, the supreme position of the British fleet is, for the present, as assured as is the ascendancy of its ally Japan in eastern waters.

Let us also not forget one entirely new factor arising out of the war. When Admiral Togo and his fleets scattered or destroyed the naval forces of Russia, he gave to the naval Powers of the world a shock from which they will not easily recover. He demonstrated that ships were

not sea-power. He showed that sea-power is a delicate combination between the instruments of war and those who are trusted to use them. The Japanese successes proved that a high standard of war-training, which can be reached only by persistent and honest efforts during the long quiet days of peace, is the real criterion of sea-power; and that a small navy, inspired by a high sense of duty, and trained to fighting pitch, may prove an easy victor in a contest with a mere collection of impressive modern ships manned by crews possessing all the warlike qualities but lacking the essential refining and sharpening process which must be undertaken day by day and week by week, deliberately and persistently.

If we omit the United States navy, which for many reasons stands apart in that it is isolated from Europe, is the most democratic and the most expensive war-force in the world, and is subject to social and other influences of a unique character, it may be said that there are only two navies—the British and the German—which have attained of late years to a high standard of warlike efficiency. The French navy has been retarded by the frequent changes in the Ministry of Marine—there have been over thirty Ministers since 1870, each with a brand-new naval policy; and the Italian navy is cramped mainly owing to inadequate appropriations.

For three years past the fighting fitness of the British navy has been stimulated; the Admiralty's watchword is 'the instant readiness of the fleet for war'; and this entails a continuous campaign against every indication of inefficiency. Now and again incidents have occurred in the routine of the squadrons at sea which have met with sharp punishment on the part of the authorities, as much as to say, 'Officers and men afloat, please remember the unfortunate case of Admiral Byng.' Before the late war the Board of Admiralty fully perceived that, if the navy was to progress, it must cast behind it many of its outworn traditions, abandon some of the characteristics of the sailing-days, and recognise that, with the arrival of the steam-engine and the adoption of scientific methods of warfare, a new chapter in naval training had opened.

It was the rulers of the youngest and most energetic navy in Europe who led the way in this movement. Some years ago President Roosevelt perceived that the

Germans, in massing their ships for strategical and tactical manœuvres for the education of the higher officers, and devoting great attention to the naval training of the subordinate officers and men, had set an example which the other Powers would be compelled to imitate. With the arrival of Sir John Fisher at the Admiralty, the revolution in the British navy began. It was so sudden in its initiation, so masterful in its execution, and so dramatic in many respects that conservative influences were at first somewhat shocked. But the revolution was the result of years of thought. The changes were overdue; but nevertheless the timid were alarmed. Squadrons of weak ships on the North American coast, in the Pacific, and in the South Atlantic were disestablished and recalled; certain dockyards, far distant from possible storm-centres, which had been maintained on a war-footing at great expense, were reduced to cadres; the reserves at home—ships and men—were adequately organised, the ships being provided with all the essential members of the crew, from the captain downward, and at each port placed under the orders of a rear-admiral, who was instructed that he was responsible for keeping the vessels efficient, and, in case of war, would have to take them to join the sea-going force to which they were allotted. Old and useless coast-defences were abandoned; the torpedo flotillas were enlarged; and efficient reserves were provided, so as to afford the younger officers of the fleet that early training in command and responsibility which in the past has given the British fleet its character for daring, initiative, and resourcefulness.\*

As was illustrated during this summer's manœuvres, every efficient ship in the navy is now kept in warlike condition. During the past summer 319 ships of the sea-going fleets and reserves were mobilised for the grand manœuvres without any undue strain on the naval organisation, and without the appearance of mechanical defects which led to so many 'lame ducks' creeping back into port in former years. At the same time, under the

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\* There are now over one hundred and fifty torpedo craft in charge of young lieutenants continually in commission either at sea or in reserve (the latter making frequent practice cruises), apart from a considerable number of torpedo-boats and submarines which act as a further training-school for the nerve of the young officers of the Navy.

inspiring influence and mechanical skill of Rear-Admiral Sir Percy Scott, the gunnery instruction of the fleet has been systematised, and now calls forth from officers and men a measure of enthusiasm which, it is feared, in some quarters, may go to extreme lengths. It is argued that the spirit of emulation may lead to artificiality, and that the annual 'gun-layers' competition' and the subsequent 'battle-practice' may approximate too nearly to the state of things which is seen at Bisley. Whatever danger ahead there may be in this respect—and no doubt it will be recognised and checked—the undoubted fact is that the gunnery of the navy has made remarkable progress. Commander Charles N. Robinson \* admirably summarises the result of the recent energetic work undertaken by Sir Percy Scott in association with Captain Jellicoe, the director of Naval Ordnance, an officer whose name is little known to the public, but whose quiet, painstaking work has been of inestimable value. Commander Robinson says :

'So far as the gunnery of the fleet is concerned, there has not been for a long time such a remarkable year as 1905. From the returns of battle-practice we may see that the rapidity of fire has been just doubled, and the hits doubled also, which means, in other words, that the fighting efficiency or battle-worthiness of the fleet has been doubled.† Then, too, as Mr Robertson explained to the House of Commons, the guns of the navy have been resighted in accordance with modern practical and scientific notions, while all the necessary appliances and instruments in connexion with battle-firing are now in course of being issued. This means much more than appears on the surface, because at the ranges at which battles are now likely to take place the sighting and range-finding and spotting can no longer be performed without special mechanical implements, in the use of which practice is as necessary as for laying and sighting a gun.'

While there is room for legitimate congratulation at the progress which the British fleet has made and the enthusiasm which has been exhibited by officers of all ranks, and by non-commissioned officers and men in

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\* 'Naval Annual,' 1906.

† If the rapidity of fire has doubled and the number of hits to rounds fired has also doubled, should not the efficiency of the fleet be regarded as quadrupled ?

reaching the present high standard, those who have been most closely associated with the new naval movement know that there is still much to be done. It would be a foolish and short-sighted policy to imagine that the British fleet is perfect. Such self-complacency is dangerous at a moment when a great naval force is being created at our very doors.

Under the inspiring influence of the Kaiser, who for years past has been a careful student of naval history and marine architecture, and an admirer of the works of Captain Mahan, the German fleet has always had before it the highest standard; and, by methods which have sometimes seemed unduly harsh, the Kaiser has reminded commanding officers and all in authority that he will be satisfied with nothing below the very best. In the German navy they are under no delusions as to the real ingredients of sea-power. Officers and men are trained so as to insure that the last ounce of fighting-weight will be got out of every man-of-war when the day of battle dawns. In the German navy the dominating spirit, it is true, is rather the automaton-like militarism of the army than the naval resourcefulness which still characterises the British fleet. At the same time civilians are apt to attach undue importance to mere nautical qualities, and cling to the idea that fishermen and others who have been accustomed from boyhood to the sea must necessarily make the best fleet-men. They forget the fact that a modern man-of-war is little more than a floating engine, containing hundreds of intricate machines, and that the main duty of officers and men in these days—apart from the work of navigation, which is rather less exacting than it was a quarter of a century ago, and is a special line under special officers—is to keep all these mechanical contrivances in order and learn how to use them to the best advantage. The British taxpayer, in his after-dinner ruminations, may, if he will, continue to plume himself upon the sailor-like qualities of the men of the fleet, but he would be nearer the truth if he understood that the British bluejacket is in process of becoming a first-class mechanic, and that mechanicians, with nerves of steel, will be the need of the fleet of the future. It is doubtful whether in the German fleet the same mechanical aptitude has yet been developed. Apart, however, from distinc-

tive differences between the personnels of the British and German fleets, the fact to be borne in mind continually by the British people is that the German navy is to-day a real embodiment of sea-power; that year by year increased attention is being devoted to its war-training and that in strength of *matériel* it is progressing more rapidly than any other fleet in the world, excepting only that of Great Britain, and more regularly than even the British fleet.

It may be that the German fleet is not being built with the single purpose of challenging British supremacy. With this delicate question Viscount Goschen dealt with rare lucidity in his speech in the House of Lords (Jan. 30, 1906,) when he said :

'If there was an idea that Germany was arming against ourselves, he thought that was a mistake; if it was thought that Germany was arming against France or Russia, or any particular Power, he believed that was also a mistake. Why did Germany push on her naval expansion, while France would be compelled to do the same? Not for aggression, but from a settled policy. She required more territory for her teeming millions. She felt that she must have colonies, that she must expand, as other growing countries must expand—that she must have outlets for her commerce, and that she must have sea-power like us to hold her own against every possible effort to limit her colonial expansion or paralyse her action. Her Ministers might say that they were a peaceful Power. They had no desire for war. But they had an Imperial German policy. Was it likely that anything that would happen at the Hague Conference would arrest what they considered to be their mission—what the Emperor considered to be a mission placed upon himself to expand the German power? Those who thought so were living in a fool's paradise.'

In this connexion, it may be remarked in passing that an interesting commentary on the recent alarmist 'war literature' which has appeared in this country and in Germany is supplied by an anonymous article, 'from a naval source,' which has appeared in the 'Schlesische Volkszeitung' (July 15, 1906), and undoubtedly represents responsible naval opinion in Germany.

'For the last three years books depicting the war of the future have sprung up like mushrooms. In the last few days a new production has appeared. All these works deal

with naval engagements of the German fleet, which takes the offensive and generally gives battle near Heligoland. Also there are certain circles where it is urged that our fleet should take the offensive in the open sea. These views can do much harm and cause untold mischief. The German does not like the defensive; but in a future war our fleet cannot do better than to confine itself to the defensive, if it does not wish to experience another Tsushima and disappear.

'The German fleet, which will most probably have to fight those of England and France, must look on it as its first duty to block the Baltic securely. Its strength is sufficient for this; and we have there a natural harbour than which a better could not be even desired. The second duty is the blocking of the Kiel Canal to enemies' ships; the third, the defence of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. Further than this we can do nothing, with the exception of harassing the enemy on the open sea.

'If the closing of the Baltic is omitted, the enemy will press in to Kiel, in which case the German battle-fleet is as good as lost—at any rate, rendered helpless in Kiel. If the German fleet retains the defensive it cannot protect the coasts in the North Sea; but, if the enemy should bombard the open coast-towns, he dare hardly manœuvre in the Watten Meer,\* especially when the sea-marks have been removed. Should he do so, it would be throwing away ammunition and would also reduce the accuracy of his guns; which might subsequently give the German fleet a favourable chance to venture on a battle. On these grounds all the sea-battles of modern war literature are improbable. If the fleet is lost it is irreparable. Army corps can be replaced in a week; ships cannot. Therefore our ship material must be economically used in a future war, and not all staked on one chance.

'Therefore, only the defensive. The offensive at the outset would be simply to murder our bluejackets without any compensating benefit; and one does not fight for murder, but to gain the advantage. Numerical advantage over the French and English fleets we can never get, and, moreover, never hope to get, alone.'

Every fleet is an expression of national policy; and, whatever may be the real aims which have prompted the Reichstag to an expenditure of upwards of 110,000,000*l.* upon the construction of new ships and the creation of

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\* These are the 'flats' off the North Sea coast of Germany, which are so admirably described in 'The Riddle of the Sands.'



an adequate naval organisation, it will be accepted that, in face of the naval aggrandisement of Germany, the British people are compelled to spare no effort to maintain their fleet in a position of invincibility. From the passing of the Naval Defence Act down to the defeat of Admiral Rozhdjestvensky's fleet in the Sea of Japan, the Admiralty, Parliament, and the nation stood by a two-Power standard, which was calculated from year to year on the appropriations for the Russian and French fleets. The Russian fleet has been annihilated; and the true inwardness of its defeat—the lack of training—has been generally perceived, thus discounting all immediate efforts towards its regeneration by mere shipbuilding. Consequently the basis of calculation for the two-Power standard, which has always been held to apply to the two fleets most nearly approaching in strength to that of Great Britain, has shifted from France and Russia to France and Germany. The Prime Minister regards this standard as 'a preposterous idea.' The nation will be running a grave danger if it supports this view. The two-Power standard is, it is true, a rough and ready method of assessing naval strength; but no better one has ever been suggested. It has the advantage of being one which the merest novice in naval affairs can understand. The two-Power standard is the sheet-anchor of British naval supremacy; and, however preposterous the idea of France and Germany uniting in war against Great Britain may seem to the Prime Minister, we shall be courting disaster to these isles, to our colonies, and to our oversea trade if we permit any statesman to abandon or even to whittle away this familiar and well-established formula.

Lord Selborne, when he was at the Admiralty, always insisted that we needed the two-Power standard, 'with a margin over' for contingencies; and the success with which Vice-Admiral Sir William May in last summer's manœuvres eluded Sir Arthur Wilson's far larger fleet and managed to get command of the Channel, if only for a few hours, revealed the unwisdom of calculating the two-Power standard in too parsimonious a spirit. Owing to the demands of Empire, Great Britain is compelled to maintain in distant seas a considerable fighting force. Our colonial and commercial interests demand local pro-

tection in the Persian Gulf, in China Seas, in the waters which wash the Australian continent, and at the Cape; while at this moment the Admiralty consider it necessary to maintain eight battleships in the Mediterranean and a similar number, based on Gibraltar, to serve as a 'pivot force, available either for use in the Mediterranean or to reinforce, after some delay, the thirteen battleships under Admiral Sir Arthur Wilson, to whom is entrusted the guardianship of the British Channel and the North Sea. Whatever may be the future of our relations with the German Empire, a force superior to the whole German fleet, massed as it will be in the Baltic and North Sea, must be maintained within striking distance. Unless the British people are prepared to evacuate the Mediterranean, and thus abandon an old and well-tried policy, they must be prepared to afford this counterpoise to Germany by building additional ships so as to ensure that there shall always be the requisite number of men-of-war immediately available for use on the east coast of England.

It would be madness to base our policy of defence by our one and only bulwark against aggression upon the transient fact that we happen just now to be on friendly terms with France, and that France and Germany happen to be still bitter enemies. Friendships are subject to sudden alternations of popular feeling. The events of a month may sweep away the *entente cordiale*, and may cement a friendship between France and Germany; but it takes years to build and train a fleet. Men-of-war with trained crews cannot be improvised to meet a sudden emergency. They must be persistently provided year by year, if we would have them ready when the hour of our fate strikes. If the Prime Minister persists in his belief that an alliance between France and Germany is 'a preposterous idea'—France, Germany, and Russia, it may be remembered, combined to coerce Japan in 1895, while England stood by displeased, but powerless—those who have at heart the well-being of the fleet would be quite prepared, for the purposes of calculation, to adopt Germany and the United States as the two Powers embraced within the standard. If this alternative, however, is accepted, the provision for British naval expenditure would have to be further increased, because the American

people are now rapidly overtaking France in the race for sea-power. It has always been the custom of the British authorities to regard the mere possibility of war between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race as an outrage upon the better feelings of the British and American peoples. But, if the Prime Minister persists in his theory, he will force the advocates of an adequate fleet into the unfortunate position of emphasising the points of possible conflict between this country and the United States, and will thus be doing the greatest possible disservice to the cause of peace which he protests he has so closely at heart. International peace is never promoted by British weakness.

Fortunately the British fleet at present is at least well up to the two-Power standard, whether that standard is based upon France and Germany, or Germany and the United States, or France and the United States. During Russia's period of naval aggrandisement, prior to the outbreak of war in the Pacific, we met every Russian ship by a superior British unit; and, when almost the whole Russian fleet was wiped out of existence, we retained these equivalent vessels and are reaping the advantage. On this vexed question of our relative strength there is complete unanimity among all qualified authorities. Though various bases of calculation are adopted in the 'Naval Annual,' in 'Fighting-ships,' in the 'Taschenrechner der Kriegsflootten,' and in the 'Naval Yearbook,' edited by 'Nauticus,' the results at which the compilers all arrive are similar. As the latest of these works to be published is the German Yearbook, we cannot do better than accept its evidence as to relative strengths. The table on the following page gives a summary of the *matériel*, (a) built and (b) building, possessed by the various great naval Powers at the end of May last, as set forth by the German statistician.

The pessimist intent on disparaging the strength of the British fleet may take what combination of Powers his fancy dictates, and he will see that, including ships built and building, Great Britain maintains the two-Power standard. This method of calculation is of course very detrimental to Great Britain's position, for two reasons. In the first place, we have adopted the policy of the scrap heap, and have struck out of the Navy List about 14

—	Battleships : armoured ships of over 5000 tons.	Armoured Cruisers.	Protected Cruisers.	Torpedo craft of over		Sub- marines.
				200 tons.	80 tons.	
	No. Displacement in tons.	No. Displacement in tons.	No. Displacement in tons.			
Germany	(a) 19 of 213,181	6 of 56,621	25 of 93,390	54	74	..
	(b) 8 of 115,450	3 of 38,200	7 of 24,150	17	..	..
Great Britain	(a) 56 of 775,024	28 of 323,690	77 of 430,246	163	37	26
	(b) 10 of 174,811	10 of 146,820	..	32	..	26
France	(a) 26 of 261,891	19 of 159,458	28 of 110,161	45	223	40
	(b) 12 of 197,210	5 of 66,764	..	28	46	49
Italy	(a) 11 of 137,005	6 of 39,633	10 of 25,316	36	90	2
	(b) 4 of 50,496	5 of 45,332	..	20	1	4
Japan	(a) 13 of 172,324	9 of 82,118	14 of 57,225	44	53	7
	(b) 4 of 77,600	5 of 71,740	4 of 13,000	10	..	12
Austria-Hungary	(a) 8 of 62,930	3 of 18,810	5 of 15,110	8	31	..
	(b) 1 of 10,630	..	..	11	23	..
Russia	(a) 11 of 126,114	3 of 34,107	10 of 59,076	80	74	22
	(b) 4 of 59,666	4 of 39,113	..	24	..	8
United States	(a) 18 of 214,028	9 of 112,612	17 of 71,328	22	23	8
	(b) 12 of 191,091	6 of 76,974	3 of 11,430	3	..	6

In addition Germany has eight coast-defence ships (old) with an average displacement of 4100 tons, Japan two (also old) of 4600 tons, and the United States seven (also old) of 3800 tons each; all these vessels are practically of no fighting value. The same remark applies to a few armoured gunboats possessed by France, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the United States.

The figures for the Russian fleet include the ships in the Black Sea—still a *mare clausum*. Apart from these vessels Russia has, built and building, only five battleships of 70,298 tons, seven armoured cruisers of 73,220 tons, ten protected cruisers of 59,076 tons, one hundred torpedo craft (fifty-two of under 200 tons), and seventeen submarines.

Practically all the Powers have ceased to build protected cruisers—that is, vessels without armoured belts and protected only by a steel deck—though Germany and Japan have not yet quite abandoned such craft of the smallest size.

ships which, from age or other causes, were held to be of little or no fighting value. No other nation has carried out such an energetic stocktaking policy, with the result that their totals in all classes stand at exaggerated figures. Secondly, British ships are built far more rapidly than those of any nation except Germany. Among the French battleships shown to be building, for instance, are six vessels which were authorised in 1900 and are not yet

complete, and six vessels which have just been authorised, but of which not one has been begun. In Italy, in the United States, and in Russia the rate of shipbuilding is also far slower than in England. In the first-named country the battleships 'Reina Elena' and 'Vittorio Emanuele III,' which were laid down in 1901, are still unready for service; in the United States the battleships 'Georgia' and 'Nebraska,' begun in April and July 1902, are still recorded as 'building'; and in Russia the four battleships under construction comprise the 'Imperator Pavel I,' the 'Andrei Pervozvannyi' (building at St Petersburg), and the 'Evstafi' and 'Ivan Zlatoust' (building in the Black Sea), which were laid down in 1903, and will figure in the 'building' list next year and possibly also in 1908.

On the other hand, we build the largest battleships in three years without any effort; and the Admiralty has announced that in future only two years will be allowed for the construction of even the largest battleships of the 'Dreadnought' and 'Invincible' types; while, under special conditions, the name-ship of the 'Dreadnought' class has been well and truly built at Portsmouth dockyard in a little over a year—thus establishing a shipbuilding record which no other country can rival. The advantages of expeditious construction are manifold. British ships, representing the last word in naval architecture, armour manufacture and gun-making, are at sea ready for war-service, while contemporary foreign vessels are still incomplete. Consequently the ships in the sea-going squadrons of the British fleet are always more modern, and therefore presumably more battle-worthy than those they would have to meet. This is specially true to-day because in Capt. H. S. Jackson, F.R.S., Controller of the Navy, a naval officer of wide experience who is also a scientist, and in Sir Philip Watts, the Director of Naval Construction, who, while at Elswick yard, designed and built many of the ships with which the Japanese did their deadliest work in the late war, the nation has two of the best brains in the country at its service. In naval construction we now lead the world, even more conspicuously than in the last years of the nineteenth century, when Sir William White was at the head of the construction department, and the present Admiral of the Fleet Sir

John Fisher, and Admirals Sir Arthur Wilson, Sir Arthur Moore, and Sir William H. May, were successively in the responsible position now filled by Captain Jackson. Apart from the fact that rapid shipbuilding feeds the fighting fleets with the best and latest ships, thus putting the capital invested to immediate use in insuring the Empire against aggression, it is also economical. Consequently, for this and other reasons, we build our ships more cheaply than any other nation, the advantage over France being about 25 per cent. and over the United States quite as great.

For the present the position of the British fleet is amply secured. The ships now building will form the first line of battle in 1910, and the older vessels will rank after them. According to the compilers of the 'Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten,' on the one hand, and the 'Naval Annual' on the other, the positions of the great fleets in battleships in 1910 will be as follows:—

## ESTIMATES OF STRENGTH IN 1910.

	'Taschenbuch.'	'Naval Annual.'
Great Britain . . .	56 of 815,500 tons . . .	55
Germany . . .	24 of 287,000 „	26
France . . .	26 of 299,000 „	20
Russia . . .	15 of 185,600 „	8
Italy . . .	11 of 137,800 „	8
United States . . .	23 of 381,500 „	25
Japan . . .	12 of 168,500 „	12

It is the policy of the German naval text-books to exaggerate somewhat the strength of foreign fleets so as to encourage the peoples of the German Empire to further efforts to increase the German fleet; and this little weakness accounts for the more flattering estimates of the 'Taschenbuch' in comparison with the 'Naval Annual.' From the British standpoint, the outlook, whichever estimate is adopted, while giving no occasion for alarm, justifies a word of caution. None of these rough-and-ready contrasts can be accepted without qualification. British sea-power is world-wide in its distribution, for the simple reason that the Empire is world-wide, and our trade is world-wide. It is true that the seas are all one, and that in these days of steam-mobility they unite and do not divide. But, in spite of the advantages which the development of the steam-engine has conferred on the

British Empire, it is held to be still necessary to afford local protection to British interests in distant parts of the world. While it is an axiom that trade follows the flag, it is no less a fact that the flag must follow trade. The Germans, of all nations, most fully recognise this. We cannot disestablish the squadrons which are ever on duty in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the China Sea, and the Pacific; and we must have adequate forces in the Mediterranean and at the Cape, which protect alternative routes to the Indian Empire and to its customers in the Far East and under the Southern Cross.

This problem of British defence, as it is governed by the strategy of Empire, will be forced into prominence as the German fleet develops. As ship after ship of the largest and most powerful types is completed, it will be the massed sea-squadrons of the German Empire in the North Sea or the Baltic. If we are content with a two-Power standard, calculated by the aggregate of tonnage or displacement or cost, we shall not have an adequate fleet always readily available for duty in the North Sea and the English Channel, owing to the necessities of the Empire in distant seas, where our sea-frontiers are parallel with those of Russia, China, and the United States. We cannot aim at solitary supremacy; we must abandon this rôle which we have supported for so many years in the Pacific. We have acknowledged this in the treaty with Japan, which assures to the two Powers a supremacy in the Far East as complete as our previous invincibility in the Far West. But Japan has no part to play in any trouble which may develop in European waters. Her co-operation is strictly confined to the Far East; and from Singapore to Rosyth we must bear the heavy and unwieldy burden of Empire absolutely unassisted. Our isolation is really no less than it was in the *entente cordiale* with France and the better relations which we enjoy with Russia may, after all, be no more lasting, if the Dual Alliance is resuscitated as a dominating factor in world-politics, than was the enthusiasm of 1855 when the French Emperor came to our shores bearing with him the hearts of his French subjects, as Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited Paris.

The permanence of the *entente cordiale* depends in the

main on the course of events in Russia. If Russia rises triumphant from the ashes of her Far-Eastern enterprises as a great military and naval Power with fresh dreams of Empire, then, *unless in the interval we come to terms with Russia*, either the Dual Alliance—in which Frenchmen have invested their surplus wealth for many years past—must go, or the cordial relations between Great Britain and France will give place to a less friendly attitude. The main lesson to be drawn from history is that the maintenance of the Pax Britannica depends, not on our Far-Eastern ally, nor on the passing friendships of the hour, which may be severed by a wave of popular feeling arising out of some insignificant incident, but on the superiority of the British fleet to any possible combination. The fleet is our one and only bulwark.

It is for this very reason that the growth of the German fleet is calculated to occasion increasing anxiety. The votes for the maintenance of British naval power depend from year to year upon the Government of the day. There is no continuity of shipbuilding policy, except so far as a strong Board of Admiralty stands guardian of interests which are above party. In Germany, on the other hand, the expansion of the fleet is independent of Treasury pressure and popular opinion. It is described by German writers as a 'programmatical' growth. Under successive naval Acts it goes forward with irresistible momentum; and, as it proceeds, it creates public opinion in its support. This is a significant fact. The vast programme of the present year has been reached in stages. A little step was taken in 1898, a greater one in 1900, and an even greater one in 1906. Can it be said that this last enactment, nominally fixing the rate of growth and the annual expenditure down to 1917, is the final one even within this period? There is no such assurance. An agitation for further naval expansion is already in progress throughout the length and breadth of the German states, where the propaganda of the Navy League is more active than ever; and women and children are co-operating, so great is the naval enthusiasm, to collect money to provide additional men-of-war. We may discount the naval preparations of France and Italy and the United States for various reasons which have been already enumerated, and we may make the most of our alliance with



Japan ; but, whatever may be the actual policy, defensive or aggressive, which lies behind the German fleet, we shall ignore this great war-force at our peril. Even if no measures are taken to increase the rate of shipbuilding in the German yards, its programme of shipbuilding and its progressive increase of expenditure, as provided in the latest Navy Act, are sufficiently impressive when it is borne in mind that in 1896—ten years ago only—the total outlay on the fleet was 4,312,995*l*.

## NEW SHIPS TO BE LAID DOWN.

—	Battleships.	Armoured Cruisers.	Small Cruisers.	Torpedo-boat Divisions (6 to a Division).	Total sum to be spent on the Fleet.
					£
1906	2	1	2	2	12,336,000
1907	2	1	2	2	13,496,000
1908	2	1	2	2	14,000,000
1909	2	1	2	2	15,030,000
1910	2	1	2	2	15,423,000
1911	1	2	2	2	15,667,000
1912	1	2	2	2	15,931,000
1913	1	1	2	2	16,024,000
1914	1	1	2	2	15,800,000
1915	1	1	2	2	15,838,000
1916	1	1	2	2	15,987,000
1917	2	—	2	2	16,132,000
Total . .	18	13	24	24	—

This is a menacing programme ; and German writers are pleading for a further extension. Each of these eighteen battleships to be built will be as big and powerful as the 'Dreadnought,' and will cost 1,875,000*l*.—611,000*l*. more than any German vessel hitherto designed—while the thirteen armoured cruisers will represent an outlay of 1,375,000*l*. each, or 416,500*l*. more than any existing German vessel of this type.

The present naval situation is incontestably favourable to Great Britain ; but, in the satisfaction which may be legitimately gained from this fact, it would be the height of unwisdom to omit to take note of the one fleet which most seriously threatens our position in the future. Germany has a right to a fleet as strong as she can make it, because she has great commercial interests and far-reaching Imperial ambitions. We have no legitimate cause of quarrel with Germany on this account. Our

sole duty is to stand on guard and protect our sea-frontiers with as much forethought and care as European Powers employ in protecting their land-frontiers. There is no reason why these ordinary precautionary measures should lead to bitterness. We have Prince Von Bülow's repeated assurances—which we may take for what they are worth—that peace with Great Britain is desired, and that no intention is entertained calculated to lead to war. 'Nauticus' expresses the same views. He admits that the recent interchange of visits must be regarded 'more in the sphere of private than official initiative,' and he adds:

'If the official relations leave nothing to be wished for, it must still not be overlooked that, among the English people, a deep-seated movement against Germany had taken place, fostered by one part of the press, through overcoloured pictures of the threatening danger of a German invasion and of the growth of the German fleet. The presumption lies on the surface that the attempt to represent the political situation as highly critical, and thereby to hinder or postpone the threatened change of cabinets (last autumn), was largely responsible for this. In more recent times men like Sir Thomas Barclay, Lord Avebury, and Lord Lyveden have tried to improve our relations; and the sympathetic reception which the authorities of German towns have recently met with in England bears witness that this movement is gaining ground. It is right to wish and to hope that the full realisation of these hopes may not be denied, and that the two nations, so nearly related, may arrive at a more complete understanding, however far they may have drifted apart, and however much room remains still for the development of their powers in peaceful competition. We hope also that German publicists who, it must in fairness be acknowledged, have on their side not been free from exaggeration, will do their part towards arriving at this goal.'

On both sides of the North Sea the policy of mutual irritation should be abandoned as dangerous and inimical to the welfare of both countries. We have no business with German ambitions except so far as they render precautionary measures on our part essential; and these demand no further action than the maintenance of the two-Power standard. But the retention of this formula, liberally interpreted, is absolutely essential to our safety.

Fortunately the reduction of the naval program recently announced does not affect this. We are building ships of entirely new types, and it is well not to go too fast. In the next eighteen months we shall lay down six 'Dreadnoughts,' costing ten and a half million sterling; and this will suffice for the time to give us the margin we must possess. By 1910 we shall have six 'Dreadnoughts' with seventy 12-inch guns of the latest and most powerful type, in addition to the 'Lord Nelson' and 'Agamemnon,' with eight 12-inch and twenty 9·2-inch weapons, and the eight 'King Edward VII's,' with thirty-two 12-inch and thirty-two 9·2-inch guns, besides 64 quick-firers, which are of small account. It may be argued that in gun-fire, if not in defensive qualities, the 'Lord Nelson' and her sister are equal to the 'Dreadnought'; and in any case they will be a fair match with any two of the six new French battleships which are to be completed in 1912. The new 9·2-inch gun carried on these British battleships has a flatter trajectory and a bigger 'danger space' than any 12-inch gun now in use, but of course it has a lighter shell—380 lbs. in comparison with 850 lbs. The 12-inch weapon to be carried in the 'Dreadnought' is the superior gun; but it is quite a moot point to argue that in battle, even at 10,000 yards, the latest 9·2-inch piece is better than the 12-inch gun (now in use) now borne in the newest British battleships, but even than those of the 'King Edward' class. We have obtained a notable lead in vessels which embody, more or less completely, the main lesson of the Far-East war. In the German and French navies they have been recently awakened to the new and dominant factor in naval war—the prime importance of the big gun. The German battleship built or building carries more than four 11-inch guns, and no French battleship more than four 12-inch pieces. In both navies they have only just realised that the 6·6-inch and 6·4-inch quick-fire weapons respectively are comparatively ineffective at the extreme ranges of the future. While we have seven ships, more or less fully representing war's last word upon naval force, France and Germany have not laid down a single vessel of the new type.

The stern struggle for the maintenance of an invincible British fleet has not yet come, but it is assuredly coming.

It is well that we should be forewarned and alert. The nation must understand that the reduction in expenditure on the fleet cannot be continued. In cutting down waste, and by various other means effecting a saving of five millions in our outlay in two years, the Board of Admiralty have done a patriotic act; but hopes that the navy estimates can be kept at about 30,000,000*l.*, at which they will stand next year, are ill-founded. The future depends not on the Government or the Board of Admiralty, but on the efforts of our neighbours. If they build, we must do so also, and up to the two-Power standard, with the necessary margin over. There is no possibility of the Peace Conference having any influence on France or Germany or Russia in the direction of the limitation of armaments; and we must prepare for the grim and costly rivalry in naval power from 1910 onwards which will become inevitable when the deliberations at the Hague have ended in idle words—if no worse.

We all desire peace; but it is a fool's paradise to imagine that this can be obtained by weakening the British Empire's only defensive weapon; and no Government will trifle with this supreme interest without paying the penalty. Happily the day has gone when, without protest, a Government could starve the navy in order to serve the petty and selfish and usually unpatriotic exigencies of party. The British people know what an invincible fleet means to them. This awakening to the inwardness of British naval ascendancy, as a palpable sign of the unity of the Empire, is one of the new facts which all political parties must take into account. The far-flung squadrons are the tentacles of Empire, unseen, but everywhere exerting the traditional influence of the British people. For our own sakes, as well as in the interests of the world's progress, the invincibility of the British fleet must continue to be assured; and politicians, however economically inclined, must learn that this is the bedrock upon which all policy, home, colonial, and foreign must rest.

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## Art. II.—RECENT ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION.

1. *The Voyage of the 'Discovery.'* By Captain Robert Scott, R.N. Two vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1905.
2. *Zum Kontinent des Eisigen Südens.* By Erich Drygalski. Berlin: Reimer, 1904.
3. *The Scottish National Antarctic Expedition.* By Wilfrid S. Bruce. Papers in the 'Scottish Geographical Magazine,' 1905 and 1906.
4. *Two Years in the Antarctic.* By Albert B. Armitage, Lieut. R.N.R. London: Arnold, 1905.
5. *The Siege of the South Pole.* By Hugh Robert Mill, D.Sc. London: Alston Rivers, 1905.

WHEN, in October 1901, the subject of the South was last discussed in this Review, two great expeditions had recently left European shores for the prosecution of antarctic research; and two others had just returned from those regions richly laden with new experience and interesting scientific results. Of the home-coming expeditions, the first had been fitted out in Belgium, and commanded by Captain de Gerlache. The ship appropriately called the 'Belgica.' Captain de Gerlache's companions were of many nations, but all of them ardent explorers. The funds available for the expedition amounted to no more than 12,000*l.*, yet the results do not fear comparison with those of expeditions costing many times this amount. To the 'Belgica' belongs the honour of being the first ship to winter within the antarctic circle; and she did so under circumstances of peculiar danger, being frozen in on the open sea far from all shelter of land. In this position the ship remained over a year, when, with great difficulty, she forced her way out and returned home.

The other expedition was that of Mr Borchgrevink, a Norwegian, who had already visited the antarctic seas on a whaling expedition. He induced Sir George Newnes to fit out a scientific expedition on board a single ship, which he landed him and his companions on Cape Adare in the north-east part of Victoria Land. For the first time a winter was spent on the antarctic continent; and the conditions obtaining on the land were ascertained, a meteorological record being of particular interest. The

expedition was planned and carried out in a business-like way. A Norwegian whaler was purchased, fitted, and loaded with huts and everything required by a party landing on a desert and inhospitable coast and proposing to spend the winter there. Notwithstanding the exposed character of the coast where a landing was effected, and the frequent storms which impeded the work, everything had been put on shore, the party installed in their new dwelling, and the ship had started on her return journey in the space of a fortnight. At almost the same date of the next year she returned, took the party on board again, and steamed south, visiting the sheltered inlet of Wood Bay on the way to McMurdo Bay. She coasted the great barrier from Cape Crozier, and not only reached the highest southern latitude which had been reached until then by a ship, but she was able to moor alongside the barrier at a place where it had the height of a wharf or quay, and to land her party for a day's excursion on the ice where they reached the farthest south so far attained, viz. lat.  $78^{\circ} 50' S$ .

A month before Captain de Gerlache and Mr Borchgrevink returned to Europe, the other two expeditions, to which reference was made above, had set out. One of these was on board the British ship 'Discovery,' Commander R. F. Scott, R.N.; the other on the German ship 'Gauss,' under the direction of Professor Erich von Drygalski. Both these ships were fitted with everything that ample funds could provide. They left Europe in August 1901. It had been arranged that the 'Discovery' should explore the district to which the Ross Sea gives access, lying south of New Zealand; while the 'Gauss' should endeavour to proceed southwards in the neighbourhood of the 90th meridian of east longitude, where the 'Challenger' had crossed the antarctic circle in 1874, and where Wilkes, in 1840, had seen the 'appearance of land,' to which he gave the name of 'Termination Land.'

But these four expeditions, of which two started and two returned in the autumn of 1901, do not exhaust the list. For some years previously Mr W. S. Bruce, who had considerable arctic and antarctic experience, had been endeavouring to fit out a Scottish expedition; but lack of funds stood in the way. In the end this difficulty was removed, mainly by the liberality of Messrs James and

Andrew Coats of Paisley. A Norwegian whaler, the 'Hekla,' was bought, and, under the generous direction of the late Mr G. L. Watson, she was made practically a new ship, which was named the 'Scotia.' The 'Scotia' left Scotland on Nov. 2, 1902, and arrived at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, after a smart passage of fifty-nine days. She left Port Stanley on Jan. 26, 1903, and spent two months making hydrographical and oceanographical explorations in that part of the antarctic ocean which lies south-west of the Falkland Islands, and bears the name of the Weddell Sea. The rapid approach of winter forced Mr Bruce to seek winter-quarters; and he found them in a bay in one of the South Orkney Islands. Here the ship was frozen in for eight months; and it is a remarkable fact that this happened in so low a latitude as 60°. During the winter a complete series of meteorological observations was taken; hydrographical and geological surveys of the island were made; and large collections of the land and marine fauna brought together. Mr Bruce made good use of the experience he had gathered in the expeditions of the Prince of Monaco, and prepared skeletons of nearly all the animals collected, by the Prince's method of sinking them in pots to the bottom of the sea, and leaving them there until the minute crustaceans had cleaned the bones of everything edible. Owing to this division of labour, the collection of skeletons brought home by the Scottish expedition is one of its most remarkable features.

On Nov. 25, 1903, the 'Scotia' was set free by the breaking up of the ice. Unfortunately it was necessary for Mr Bruce to get into telegraphic communication with Scotland to obtain the credit necessary to refit and supply his ship for a second season. To do this he had to go to Buenos Ayres, which occasioned a serious loss of valuable time. But there was some compensation. Through the friendly co-operation of Mr Davis, the head of the astronomical and meteorological department of the Argentine Republic, the Government of that country was induced to interest itself in the expedition, and, besides contributing most generously to the material necessities of the 'Scotia,' it appointed three observers to return to the South Orkneys with Mr Bruce and continue the meteorological work which had been carried on under the immediate

direction of the well-known Scottish meteorologist, Mr Mossman. When the 'Scotia' returned to the South Orkneys, Mr Mossman agreed to remain there for another winter in order to organise the meteorological service of these interesting regions. This was the beginning of what promises to be the most important network of meteorological stations in the southern hemisphere.

But much valuable time had been lost; and the exploratory part of the work of the 'Scotia' began no earlier in 1904 than it had in 1903. Nevertheless the season proved to be so open in the Weddell Sea that a large amount of useful hydrographical and oceanographical work was done; and the party were enabled to discover and delineate a portion of the antarctic continent, which was appropriately named Coats' Land. Here the 'Scotia' was beset in the ice for a week. Fortunately she freed herself, and Mr Bruce started for the north, making a very important series of observations along a meridian to Gough Island, an outlying member of the Tristan d'Acunha group. He surveyed the island itself and then went home by the Cape of Good Hope. As it will be some time before the results of this expedition are in the hands of the public, further discussion of them would be premature.

Two other expeditions visited the antarctic regions south of South America at or about the same time as that of the 'Scotia.' One was from Sweden, under the direction of Dr Otto Nordenskjöld, and the other from France, under Dr Jean Charcot. Both these expeditions made important additions to our knowledge of the natural history as well as of the physical and meteorological conditions of these regions; but it is impossible here to do more than mention them. The rest of our article must be devoted to the doings of the 'Gauss' and the 'Discovery.'

The German expedition was projected as a private venture, but early in 1899 it was taken over by the Government. The ship was built in the naval yard at Kiel, and was named after the great mathematician Gauss. The expedition was under the command of Prof. Erich von Drygalski. The 'Gauss' left Kiel on Aug. 11, 1901, coaled at St Vincent, and arrived at the Cape on Nov. 23. On Dec. 7 she left the Cape, and, after calling at the Crozet Islands, and spending some time at



Kerguelen, she left that island on Jan. 31, 1902. The course was first laid for Heard Island, which lies about 250 miles south-east of Kerguelen. The settlement of sealers which was there when the 'Challenger' visited the island in 1874 had disappeared; and the sea-elephants which they displaced had reoccupied the beach.

The first object after leaving Heard Island was to search for Wilkes' Termination Land. In February 1874 the 'Challenger' had looked for it without success. It may be of use to quote what is said about it in the report of that expedition (Narrative, i, 405, 407).

'On the 25th [February], at 3 A.M., the wind having moderated to force 5, and the weather being fairly clear, sail was made towards Termination Land. As the vessel proceeded towards the pack, the berg was passed which had been fouled early on the previous day, the score on its surface made by the jibboom remaining well-defined, notwithstanding the heavy fall of snow. . . . After getting clear of the pack at 11 A.M., the ship sailed along its edge until noon, being from 10 A.M. until that time within about fifteen miles of the supposed position of Wilkes' Termination Land; but neither from the deck nor mast-head could any indication of it be seen. The limit of vision as logged was twelve miles; and, had there been land sufficiently lofty for Wilkes to have seen it at a distance of sixty miles (which was the distance that he supposed himself off it), either the clouds capping it or the land itself must have been seen. If Wilkes' distance was over-estimated, that of the "Challenger" would be increased, and it may still be found; but, as the expression in Wilkes' journal is, "appearance of land was seen to the south-west, and its trending seemed to be to the northward," and not that land was actually sighted and a bearing obtained, it is probable that Termination Land does not exist. Still it is curious that pack-ice and a large number of bergs should have been found in nearly the same position as by Wilkes in 1840; and this would seem to indicate that land cannot be very far distant.'

This expectation was realised by the 'Gauss.' Having failed to find Termination Land in its reputed position, she steered west and then south through pack-ice carrying soundings of 1500 to 2000 fathoms. On the morning of Feb. 19 shelter from the wind and snow was sought under the lee of a large iceberg; and here a sounding was taken when a depth of only 130 fathoms was found. The

remainder of the day was spent in the endeavour to drive the ship southward through the pack-ice and against the wind. Towards evening a swell from the southward was met which gave hopes of open water; and these were fulfilled. The ice rapidly opened out, and Feb. 20 was spent cruising in a sea free from ice. The depth of the water had increased to 350 fathoms. The south-easterly wind, which blew with great violence, prevented much way being made. On the morning of the 21st the weather had improved and land was sighted. The photographs show a perfectly open sea with the land uniformly covered with ice. No bare land of any kind was visible. Everywhere the inland ice ended in a cliff which rose some 150 feet above the sea.

The reader will find it difficult to understand why Drygalski, when he had discovered new land with open sea in front of it, did not devote himself to exploring it in preference to any other work. It was legitimate geographical work, which would have afforded an opportunity for himself and his companions to refresh and recruit. During the fine weather of the early part of the day the 'Gauss' could have steamed well up to windward, and might have found shelter under the lee of the land. Even if the land had proved unapproachable, the oceanographical and biological survey of the sea would have afforded profitable employment for several days under shelter. In order however to obtain magnetical observations, the ship ran some four or five miles to the north-west; then dredging was done, while the ship drifted farther out towards the pack-ice, and an easterly wind arose and rapidly freshened. The ship ran before it—she probably could not have made head against it—into the pack-ice through an opening between two edges. 'I confess,' says Drygalski, 'that in passing between those edges I experienced serious misgivings.' Still, a north-westerly course was in the direction of the open water, and he could naturally expect that with luck he would work through. In the night he tried to put back to the open water off the newly-discovered land, but the ship could make no way against the storm. It mattered not how her head might lie, she drifted with the ice. This went on hour after hour. About four o'clock in the morning the motion both of the ship and of the surround-

ing ice diminished, and in a short time everything stood still. The open water was not more than a mile distant from the ship; and it was naturally hoped that she would get free. But the 'Gauss' had gone into winter-quarters, and she remained fast for a whole year, with open water almost always in sight from the mast-head.

This long period of confinement was spent in fairly comfortable circumstances. The 'Gauss' was ice-bound some fifty miles from the edge of the continental inland ice; but the travelling over that distance appears to have been remarkably easy. Frequent excursions were made to that part of the continent where the Gauss-berg protruded. No expeditions further inland were made. This was not due to any difficulty in travelling over the ice, but chiefly to the fact that the permanence of the ship's winter-quarters was open to doubt. So far as can be gathered from the narrative, a succession of north-westerly gales might at any time have broken up the ice; and then the position of a party no farther away than the Gauss-berg would have been precarious. Fortunately the east winds held, and the 'Gauss' never moved; indeed there was every possibility that she might have to pass another winter there.

When she did get free, in the middle of March 1903, there was heavy ice on all sides. An attempt was made to penetrate southwards on the route of the 'Challenger,' but the ice was too close; and in the early days of April the ship bore up for the north, reaching home on Nov. 24, 1903. The work of a busy winter in an antarctic station will be looked forward to with the keenest interest. Drygalski does not anticipate, but in the concluding chapter of his narrative he indicates that the magnetic work was particularly fruitful in results, especially in connexion with the displays of aurora, which were very frequent. A short summary of the meteorological observations could, one would think, have been given without indiscretion; and it would have interested even the least instructed reader.

The British national expedition, under commander Robert F. Scott, R.N., sailed from Cowes on August 6, 1901, in the 'Discovery,' a vessel built especially for the expedition. The ship arrived at the Cape on October 3, and re-

mained there until the 14th, when she left for New Zealand. During the passage she went as far south as lat.  $62^{\circ} 50'$  S. in long.  $139^{\circ}$  E., only about 200 miles north of Adélie Land, discovered by Dumont d'Urville. The final departure for the south was from Port Chalmers, on Dec. 24, 1901. On Jan. 3 the antarctic circle was crossed and the ice-pack entered. This belt of pack-ice proved to be about 200 miles in width; and the 'Discovery' did not get through it until the 8th. On the same evening land was sighted. The weather was perfect; and by the light of the midnight sun the blue outline of the high mountain-peaks of Victoria Land was seen far away to the south and west. The members of the expedition were astonished to find that, even at the great distance of more than a hundred geographical miles, they could clearly distinguish the peaks of the Admiralty range, discovered by Ross some sixty years before.

The ship's course was now directed to Robertson Bay, which is formed by the long gravelly spit which stretches northwards from Cape Adare. It was on this spit that the expedition sent forth by Sir George Newnes, and commanded by Mr Borchgrevink, spent their winter in 1896. On leaving Cape Adare and coasting southwards, the 'Discovery' was destined to experience the might of the tidal currents of these regions, and the risk of encountering them amongst heavy pack-ice. Not having the advantage of steam, Ross was unable to explore this coast closely on account of the extensive pack-ice; but he mapped all the features of the high land. The 'Southern Cross,' with the aid of steam, was able to follow the coast pretty closely in 1897. The 'Discovery' was still more fortunate in 1902, being able to approach some interesting places which were denied to Mr Borchgrevink. With the prevailing easterly and south-easterly winds and the westerly currents, this coast is constantly a lee-shore against which the pack-ice is apt to be pressed very close.

Contrary to expectation, the 'Discovery' was unable to penetrate into Wood Bay, which had been reported by the 'Southern Cross' to be capable of affording snug winter-quarters, with a considerable extent of land free from ice and snow at the base of Mount Melbourne. This fine mountain rears an almost perfect volcanic

cone to a height of 9000 feet; and, standing alone with no competing height to lessen its grandeur, it constitutes the most magnificent landmark on the coast. It is shown in two beautiful photographs to be covered with snow to the summit, with, however, some bare patches of rock. South of this point the character of the Victorian coast changed; and very little snow was observed on the high mountains behind it. In a beautiful sketch by Mr Davis, master of the 'Terror,' preserved in the Hydrographic Office, the diminution of snow on the mountains south of Cape Washington is apparent. It commences, however, with Mount Melbourne itself, which is shown as bare of snow for at least two or three thousand feet from the summit. This suggests the possibility that the volcano may have been active shortly before the date of Ross' visit; and it would tally with the fact that Mount Erebus was in considerable eruption in 1841, though quiescent in 1902. Another remarkable feature of Mr Davis' sketches is that the smoke from Mount Erebus is depicted as travelling from east to west, while during the whole of the sojourn of the 'Discovery' it was observed to travel in the opposite direction. Ross estimated that at each explosion the ejected matter was thrown to a height of 2000 feet above the summit; it may therefore have reached a region where the wind was from the east.

South of Cape Washington, miniature ice-barriers were met with, due to enormous glaciers, one over fifteen miles across, which thrust their snouts many miles out to sea. In Granite Harbour a safe anchorage was found, but it was too much shut off from the south to be selected at once as winter-quarters for the expedition. From Granite Harbour the 'Discovery' reached over towards the great volcano discovered by Ross and named after his ship the 'Erebus.' In doing this, Captain Scott examined McMurdo Bay, afterwards known as McMurdo Sound, and formed the idea that he might winter there.

The 'Discovery' then proceeded along the north coast of what was afterwards called Ross Island, towards the ice barrier *par excellence*. This feature must be reckoned as one of the wonders of the world. No excuse is therefore necessary for quoting the simple narrative of its discovery by Sir James Clark Ross in 1841. It is all the

more important to do so, because there is some conflict between the evidence of Captain Scott and that of Sir James Ross, which is not to be decided off-hand on the mere basis of date.

On Jan. 28, 1841, Ross writes ('Voyage,' i, 218 ff.):—

'As we approached the land under all studding sails, we perceived a low white line extending from its eastern extreme point as far as the eye could discern to the eastward. It presented an extraordinary appearance, gradually increasing in height as we got nearer to it, and proving at length to be a perpendicular cliff of ice between 150 and 200 feet above the level of the sea, perfectly flat and level at the top, and without any fissures or promontories on its even seaward face. What was beyond it we could not imagine; for, being much higher than our mast-head, we could not see anything except the summit of a lofty range of mountains extending to the southward as far as the 79th degree of latitude. These mountains, being the southernmost land hitherto discovered, I felt great satisfaction in naming after Captain Sir William Edward Parry. . . . Whether "Parry Mountains" again take an easterly trending and form the base to which this extraordinary mass of ice is attached, must be left for future navigators to determine. If there be land to the southward, it must be very remote, or of much less elevation than any other part of the coast we have seen, or it would have appeared above the barrier. . . . The day was remarkably fine; and, favoured by a fresh north-westerly breeze, we made good progress to the E.S.E. close along the lofty perpendicular cliffs of the icy barrier.

'Jan. 29. Having sailed along this curious wall of ice in perfectly clear water a distance of upwards of one hundred miles, by noon we found it still stretching to an indefinite extent in an E.S.E. direction. We were at this time in lat. 77° 47' S., long. 176° 43' E. . . . I went on board the "Terror" for a short time this afternoon (29th Jan.) to consult with Commander Crozier and compare our chronometers and barometers. . . . After an absence now of nearly three months from Van Diemen's Land, the chronometers of the two ships were found to differ only 4" of time, equal to a mile of longitude, or, in this latitude, less than a quarter of a mile of distance.'

These quotations from Ross' voyage show how careful he was about his observations. The position in which he lays down this part of the Barrier may therefore be

accepted with absolute confidence as determined by one of the most experienced, accurate, and cautious officers, controlled and confirmed by the captain and staff of the consort ship. In questions of this kind, and as between the years 1841 and 1902, date counts for nothing in weighing evidence; the determining factor is the competence and the experience of the observer. The 'Discovery' had no second ship to act as control; and none of her officers had experience of polar navigation which could be compared with that of those serving on the 'Erebus' and 'Terror.' When, therefore, other things being equal, there is any conflict between the evidence of the 'Discovery' and that of the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' regarding the determination of geographical positions, we have no hesitation in abiding by those fixed by Sir James Ross and his consort.

Captain Scott writes (vol. i, p. 171):—

Already there was a strong case against the Parry Mountains; and later we knew with absolute certainty that they did not exist; it is difficult to understand what can have led such a cautious and trustworthy observer as Ross to make such an error. I am inclined to think that, in exaggerating the height of the barrier in this region, he was led to suppose that anything seen over it at a distance must necessarily be of very great altitude; but, whatever the cause, the fact shows again how deceptive appearances may be and how easily errors may arise. In fact, as I have said before, one cannot always afford to trust the evidence of one's own eyes.'

As the height of Ross' mast-head would be at least 140 feet above the water, there can be no suspicion of over-estimation when he gives the height of the Barrier as from 150 to 200 feet. The observation of the 'Discovery' that the edge of the Barrier on the west lies further south than it did in Ross' time confirms that made on board the 'Southern Cross'; and the estimates of these two expeditions agree in making its height from 60 to 70 feet. It is obvious that, if twenty miles of the ice have disappeared, the first part to go would be the cliff which Ross surveyed in 1841; and the belief which Captain Scott expresses, that Sir James Ross over-estimated its height, cannot be founded on direct observation. The only legitimate conclusion which can be drawn

from these facts is that the Barrier ice-sheet in this region at the present day has such a thickness, or is otherwise so circumstanced, that it exposes above water a cliff having a height of not more than 60 or 70 feet; whereas, in the year 1841, when it extended some twenty miles farther out to sea, it exposed a cliff of from 150 to 200 feet in height.

The distance from Cape Crozier to the nearest point on the 79th parallel is 90 geographical miles. Captain Scott often remarks on the visibility in these regions of very distant mountain-peaks, e.g. on his first view of the Admiralty range at a distance of over 100 miles, and again when he saw at one moment Mounts Melbourne and Monteagle with Coulman Island to the north and Mount Erebus to the south, 'that is, an included range of vision of 240 geographical miles.' If, then, there are mountains of the requisite height in the required direction, we must conclude that these were the mountains which Ross saw and named the Parry Mountains.

On his map accompanying 'The Voyage of the "Discovery,"' Captain Scott lays down a range of very lofty mountains between the parallels of 78° and 79° S., and he specifies the following peaks with their heights, viz. Mount Lister, 15,384 feet; Mount Hooker, 13,696 feet; Mount Rooker, 12,839 feet; Mount Huggins, 13,801 feet; Mount Harmsworth, 9644 feet; Mount Speyer, 8913 feet; Mounts Dawson and Lambton, 8675 feet; and, further to the west and nearer to the Barrier, Mount Discovery, 9887 feet; Black Island, 3456 feet; Brown Island, 2750 feet; and White Island, 2375 feet.

White Island, Black Island, and Brown Island would be distant from Ross' position between 40 and 45 miles; Mount Discovery would be distant about 50 miles; Mount Huggins about 65 miles; and Mount Harmsworth about 95 miles; and all would bear from south-west to south-south-west. There is nothing in Captain Scott's map to show that they would not be visible on a clear day, so soon as the shoulder of Mount Terror was open to the south-west. Therefore we abide by our conviction that Ross was not mistaken when he reported having seen lofty mountains to the southward, reaching nearly to the 79th parallel; and we are convinced that the above-named peaks are some of those which he saw and named



collectively the Parry Mountains. Lieut. Armitage, in his book, confirms this view. When navigating the ship along the Barrier he saw over its edge these mountains from the crow's nest; and he says they 'were evidently the Parry Mountains of Sir James Ross.'

On Jan. 23, 1902, the 'Discovery' started on her cruise along the Barrier. On Jan. 29 Captain Scott gives his noon position as lat.  $78^{\circ} 18' S.$ , long.  $162^{\circ} 6' W.$ ; and he remarks that this position is an interesting one, being to the southward and eastward of the extreme position reached by Sir James Ross in 1842, whence he reported a strong appearance of land to the south-east. But this remark of Captain Scott's is inexact.

On Feb. 23, 1842, while approaching the Barrier from the north-west, Ross reports having passed a berg with a large rock on it, apparently about six feet in diameter. followed later by some bergs and pieces of heavy ice with numerous stones and patches of soil, which raised his expectation of sighting land to a high pitch. Ross noticed also that the appearance and character of the Barrier in this locality differed from that presented by the Barrier nearer its western end. Having arrived within a mile and a half of the Barrier, he hove to, in order to allow the 'Terror,' which had dropped behind, to come up, when an interchange of signals between the two ships took place. The latitude of the 'Erebus' was  $78^{\circ} 8' S.$ , that of the 'Terror'  $78^{\circ} 11' S.$ , the mean of which,  $78^{\circ} 9' 30'' S.$  was adopted; and this placed the face of the Barrier in lat.  $78^{\circ} 11' S.$ , in the long. of  $161^{\circ} 27' W.$  The 'Discovery's' noon position on Jan. 29, 1902 ( $78^{\circ} 18' S.$ ,  $162^{\circ} 6' W.$ ), lies west and not east of this position, the difference in longitude being  $39'$ ; and it is still further to the west of the extreme position reached by Ross. In this position Ross found the height of the highest part of the Barrier to be 107 feet, and observed that from this point it gradually declined for about ten miles to the eastward, where it could not have been more than 80 feet. Ross then made sail along the Barrier to the eastward until he came to the lower part of it above-mentioned, being about ten miles east of his previous position, and therefore about twenty-three miles east and north of the noon position of the 'Discovery' on Jan. 29, 1902. On his arrival at this point, Ross says (vol. ii, p. 202):—

'We perceived from our mast-heads that it [the land] gradually rose to the southward, presenting the appearance of mountains of great height perfectly covered with snow, but with a varied and undulating outline, which the barrier itself could not have assumed. Still there is so much uncertainty attending the appearance of land, when seen at any considerable distance, that although I, in common with nearly all my companions, feel assured that the presence of land there amounts almost to a certainty, yet I am unwilling to hazard the possibility of being mistaken on a point of so much interest, or the chance of some future navigator under more favourable circumstances proving that ours were only visionary mountains

'The appearance of hummocky ridges and different shades, such as would be produced by an irregular white surface, and its mountainous elevation, were our chief grounds for believing it to be land, for not the smallest patch of cliff or rock could be seen protruding on any part of the space of about thirty degrees which it occupied. I have therefore marked it on the chart only as an "appearance of land."'

As on Feb. 23, 1842, in the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' so on Jan. 29, 1902, in the 'Discovery,' all the appearances of the Barrier suggested the proximity of land. From his noon position on Jan. 29 Captain Scott steamed along the face of the Barrier, and he says (i, 178):

'Our course lay well to the northward of east; and the change came at 8 P.M., when suddenly the ice-cliff turned to the east, and, becoming more and more irregular, continued in that direction for about five miles, when it again turned sharply to the north. Into the deep bay thus formed we ran, and as we approached the ice which lay ahead and to the eastward of us, we saw that it differed in character from anything we had yet seen. The ice-foot descended to varying heights of ten or twenty feet above the water, and behind it the snow surface rose in long undulating slopes to rounded ridges whose height we could only estimate. If any doubt remained in our minds that this was snow-covered land, a sounding of 100 fathoms quickly dispelled it. But what a land! On the swelling mounds of snow above us there was not one break, not a feature to give definition to the hazy outline. Instinctively one felt that such a scene as this was most perfectly devised to produce optical illusions in the explorer, and to cause those errors into which we had found even experienced persons to be led.'

A careful consideration of the positions of the ships as above discussed shows that on the evening of Jan. 29 1902, the 'Discovery' must have arrived at a position close to that attained by the 'Erebus' and 'Terror' on the evening of Feb. 23, 1842; and the report which each explorer furnished of what he saw can leave no doubt that they were both looking at portions, and probably identical portions, of the same landscape. To Captain Scott, therefore, belongs the honour of confirming Sir James Ross' discovery of land in this part of the south-polar regions, and of vindicating the trustworthiness and the caution of that great navigator.

The 'Discovery' proceeded along the face of the Barrier, or rather the ice-edge which now represented it. On the evening of Jan. 30 small patches of bare rock were detected appearing through the icy covering of the distant high land. After this the ship wandered among ice and fog, but on Feb. 1 she got back to the position where the rock patches had been seen; and, the weather clearing up, a good view was obtained, not only of the coastal range, but also of what was probably the summit of a distant and lofty range of mountains. The 'Discovery' could now return westward with the satisfaction of having not only confirmed the existence of land on the eastern side of the Barrier ice-sheet, but of having to a certain extent delimited it.

On Feb. 3 the 'Discovery' entered the same creek as, or one in the immediate neighbourhood of, that in which the 'Southern Cross' moored in 1897. While lying alongside the ice-wharf for twenty-four hours, the ship and wharf rose and fell together, so that the ice-sheet was afloat. As the depth of the water was 315 fathoms, it could not well be otherwise. Captain Scott makes the important observation that the surface current set into the Barrier and under the ice for a certain time, then turned and set out again to sea. It would be very interesting to know how far 'inland' this flux and reflux penetrates. The surface of the ice is smooth and undulating; an extensive view of it was obtained from the captive balloon.

On Feb. 8, 1902, the 'Discovery' was brought into the bay which was to be her winter-quarters; but the weather persistently declined to freeze her in. As a matter of

**fact** the open season was only beginning. It was not until March 24 that the ice between the stern of the ship and the shore was strong enough to bear the weight of a man; and then the bow of the ship was in open water. Almost up to the date of the disappearance of the sun (April 20), open water frequently appeared outside that point. Indeed, the behaviour of the ice in the neighbourhood of Ross Island was at all seasons very capricious. One of the first expeditions undertaken after the return of the sun was to Cape Crozier, to deposit a record for the relief ship. On Oct. 13, corresponding to our April, the party arrived at the cliffs above that cape, from which they had an extensive view over the ice-bound sea. From the 12th to the 18th the party were confined to their tents by a blizzard, during which they were almost buried by the drifting snow. When they were able to quit their tents, they found that the Ross Sea, which before the storm had been frozen over as far as the eye could see, was now a sheet of open water. Not a scrap of ice remained in sight, excepting the small shelf immediately under the Barrier, which formed the breeding-place of the Emperor Penguin. It is very difficult to account for the phenomenon, unless the whole pack was moved bodily seaward. The movements of the ice and of the water in this district deserve close study.

As a centre of exploring expeditions the winter-quarters proved very advantageous. Besides many short expeditions to the nearer islands and channels, which furnished much useful information, the principal sledge-journeys in the first season were that to the farthest south led by Captain Scott, and that to the high plateau of inland ice to the westward led by Mr Armitage. In the second season the principal expedition was that of Captain Scott to the farthest west on the lofty plateau of the inland ice. All these journeys are remarkable achievements; and they show Captain Scott at his best, as a man of indomitable pluck and energy, who not only did the hardest work himself, but was able to get others to follow suit, and to do so willingly and cheerfully.

On his journey to the farthest south, Captain Scott started on Nov. 2, 1902, from the winter-quarters of the 'Discovery' in lat. 77° 52' S. Immediately to the southward lay White Island, Black Island, and the Minna

Bluff, a long ridge stretching eastwards from Mount Discovery. These necessitated a detour over the ice to the eastward. About eight or nine miles off the extremity of Minna Bluff a station, called *dépôt A*, was made. This was not only of great importance to Captain Scott's party on their return journey, when, besides other misfortunes they were nearly at the end of their provisions, but it was the means of revealing the fact that the ice in this district moves northward at the rate of between 500 and 600 yards per annum. Further observations, however, will be required before it can be accepted that the Barrier ice-sheet has a general motion at this rate.

From *dépôt A* the route continued southwards until lat.  $79^{\circ} 40'$  S. was reached; the mountainous coast-line on the west having been kept at a distance of about seventy miles. From here the course was altered to south-west in order to close the coast and, if possible, to land. A second *dépôt* (B) was established in lat.  $80^{\circ} 25'$  S. and here attempts to land were made, but they were defeated by crevasses and other ice disturbances. From *dépôt B* the course was continued southwards in discouraging circumstances, against which few would have been able to make head.

On December 28, the camp was pitched in lat.  $82^{\circ} 11'$  S. and, although the actual 'farthest south'  $82^{\circ} 17'$  S. was reached on the 30th, the weather both on the 29th and the 30th was thick so that no distant view could be obtained. On the 28th Captain Scott writes (ii, 76):—

'It is a glorious evening, and fortune could not have provided us with a more perfect view of our surroundings. We are looking up a broad deep inlet or strait which stretches away to the south-west for thirty or forty miles before it reaches its boundary of cliff and snow slope. Beyond, rising fold on fold, are the great *névé* fields that clothe the distant range; against the pale blue sky the outline of the mountain ridge rises and falls over numerous peaks till, with a sharp turn upward, it culminates in the lofty summit of Mt Markham. . . . The eastern foothills of the high range form the southern limit of the strait; they are fringed with high cliffs and steep snow-slopes. . . . Between the high range and the barrier there must lie immense undulating snow plateaux covering the lesser foothills, which seem rather to increase in height to the left until they fall sharply to the barrier level almost due

south of us. To the eastward of this again, we get our view to the farthest south; and we have been studying it again and again to gather fresh information with the changing bearings of the sun. Mount Longstaff we calculate as 10,000 feet. It is formed by the meeting of two long and comparatively regular slopes; that to the east stretches out into the barrier and ends in a long snow-cape which bears about S.  $14^{\circ}$  E.; that to the west is lost behind the nearer foothills; but now fresh features have developed about these slopes.

'Over the western ridge can be seen two new peaks which must lie considerably to the south of the mountain, and, more interesting still, beyond the eastern cape we catch a glimpse of an extended coast-line; the land is thrown up by mirage, and appears in small white patches against a pale sky. We know well this appearance of a snow-covered country. It is the normal view in these regions of a very distant lofty land, and it indicates with certainty that a mountainous country continues beyond Mount Longstaff for nearly fifty miles. The direction of the extreme land thrown up in this manner is S.  $17^{\circ}$  E.; and hence we can now say with certainty that the coast-line, after passing Mount Longstaff, continues in this direction for at least a degree of latitude.'

'Instinctively' the reader feels (as Captain Scott felt on a previous occasion) 'that such a scene is most perfectly devised to produce optical illusions'; and he will reflect that, however certain the explorer may be, it might have been prudent, in dealing with these great distances, to confine his report to 'appearances of land.'

On Jan. 13, 1903, depôt B was fortunately found. The provisions there picked up made the conditions in respect of food favourable; but the strength of the party was diminishing, and the health of one of their number—Lieutenant Shackleton—caused serious misgiving. The dogs had long ceased to be of any use for dragging, and had had to be sacrificed. A straight course was now made to depôt A, which was reached on Jan. 28, and the party joined the ship on Feb. 3. The journey had occupied 93 days; and during it 960 statute miles were covered. The credit which is due to Captain Scott and his companions in this journey can only be appreciated by those who read the account of it, and know something of what arctic travelling is.

During the whole of his journey Captain Scott travelled on the ice-sheet, which terminates northward in what is

known as the Great Barrier. This is land-ice, not sea-ice. Through four and a half degrees of latitude it maintained the same level; and Captain Scott concludes that it is afloat. If this be so, then the Ross Sea stretches at least to latitude  $83^{\circ}$  S.; and, as there were no signs to the southward of a change in the character of the scenery, it is impossible to guess how much farther it may stretch. There was no appearance of this *mer de glace* being delimited by a coast on the east. In the latitude of the Barrier, which may be taken as  $78^{\circ}$  S., the ice lies between longitude  $160^{\circ}$  E. and  $160^{\circ}$  W. It extends therefore over  $40^{\circ}$  of longitude, or about 480 nautical miles. In latitude  $83^{\circ}$  the same distance in longitude would equal 290 nautical miles, a distance which would preclude the possibility of seeing land, even if of great height. The possibility of the existence of a deep inland sea, such as that discovered by Nansen in the north, with a depth of perhaps 2000 fathoms, is not excluded; but the source, if a source be required, of the ice that forms the sheet which ends in the Great Barrier, becomes more and more puzzling the further south it is shifted. It may lie on the other side of the Pole; for instance, on the southern declivities of Coats' Land. If the observed dislocation of dépôt A is to be taken as any indication of the movement of the ice-sheet as a whole, the supply of ice must be enormous; and, bearing in view the scarcity of precipitation in those high polar latitudes, it is almost impossible to imagine where the supply is to be found. The subject is full of difficulties, but all of them are fascinating; and before long the solution of the problem will attract not one or two but many, who will have to thank Captain Scott and his brave companions, Dr Wilson and Lieutenant Shackleton, for having shown the way.

Not less remarkable than his journey to the farthest south was Captain Scott's expedition in the spring of 1903 to the high continental plateau behind the lofty mountains which bounded the view from the winter-quarters towards the west. In the preceding season an important expedition had been carried out in the same direction by his second in command, Mr Armitage, who performed a mountaineering feat which would daunt most Alpine guides. He took his expedition, dragging everything in the way of provisions and shelter for fifty-two days, on

ledges up glaciers and over ridges never before trodden by man, to a height of 9000 feet, at a temperature generally about that which freezes quicksilver. Captain Scott was able to improve on the road; but he had abundance of other difficulties to overcome, and he overcame them most successfully. While he did not attain any greater height than Mr Armitage, he pushed on beyond his turning-point, and travelled over the continental plateau at a height of 8000 to 9000 feet for a distance of 12° of longitude, or 150 nautical miles, preserving an average latitude of about 77° 45' S. It will be long before this achievement is surpassed.

It has not been possible to notice the other expeditions made by the crew of the 'Discovery'; but every member was busy, and contributed his best to the great fund of new knowledge which is the result of the two years' sojourn in south-polar regions. At the end of Captain Scott's book summaries of results of observations are given by himself and several members of the staff which throw much new light on these interesting regions, and at the same time raise many questions which it is not easy to answer.

The ice of the great tabular bergs was known to be vesicular, belonging rather to the *névé* than to the glacier type. The ice of the Great Barrier appears to be of this character. This sheet consists, for at least a considerable thickness below its surface, of snow, more or less consolidated and passing into *névé*. Excavation showed many thin sheets or crusts of solid ice intercalated with the snow; and in this respect it resembles the winter snow of the High Alps. To what extent consolidation takes place in the deeper layers of the ice is uncertain. Captain Scott's impression was that the mass must throughout contain large quantities of air, an impression supported by the examination of some ice taken from the bottom of an overturned berg. Theoretically this appears to us to be likely. According to Buchanan's theory the motion of a glacier under the influence of gravity is intimately connected with the melting and regelation, or generally the metamorphosis, of the grains of which it is composed, in a medium containing varying though minute quantities of dissolved matter. The variation of the dilution of the medium is accompanied by variation of its



freezing temperature. When ice is removed from it by freezing, the grain immersed in it increases, and the freezing-point of the medium falls. When ice is removed from the grain by melting, the medium is diluted and its freezing-point rises. The effect produced molecularly by variation of dilution is similar to that produced mechanically by increase and diminution of pressure. The maximum size of the grain at any point in a glacier is roughly a function of its distance from the source, and is a measure of the amount of metamorphism which the ice has experienced ('Antarctic Manual,' pp. 93, 94). If the Barrier ice-sheet is a self-contained *névé* or *firn*, situated at, and to a great extent below, the level of the sea—and we think that Captain Scott's observations clearly point to its being so—it can have no motion in its mass under gravity, and cannot therefore develop the adult grain of the glacier. Its granular structure must remain rudimentary like that of the *névé*. Being already at the lowest possible level, glaciers cannot flow from it; and its surplus material is dispersed as icebergs, which are thus generated directly by the *névé*.

It is remarkable that, in spite of the very low temperature continuously experienced by the expedition, in certain parts, as on the Ferrar glacier, there was at the beginning of January, locally at least, extensive melting of the ice. The Ferrar glacier appeared to be stationary. There must, however, have been at some time considerable motion of ice from the inner highland to the level of the sea, or to that of the Barrier sheet, in order to furnish the abundance of moraine matter which is found on Ross Island, covers White Island nearly to the summit, and is distributed all over the lower ice-flats in the vicinity of the 'Discovery's' winter-quarters. When a glacier is moving, it develops of itself the heat which initiates and promotes the metamorphosis of the ice. No information as to the size of the grain of these glaciers is given; and indeed it is not easy to obtain it in latitudes where the power of the sun, even at midday, is insufficient to disarticulate completely the grains of a mass of ice. The ice of the inland plateau seems to be an accumulation of snow more or less consolidated; the annual increment, if any, is probably small. The continuous and violent westerly wind appears to keep it

always on the move, and Captain Scott formed the view that the snow which is evaporated probably equals, and may exceed, that which is precipitated, so that the ice-covering is not increasing, and may indeed be diminishing. All the ice and snow on the antarctic continent represents water removed from the southern ocean by the westerly winds. As in other land masses exposed to moist winds, the first high land that the air meets deprives it of the greater part of its moisture. On passing farther inland it contains so little that it has almost none to deposit. As regards the supply of material, the Barrier ice-sheet seems to be more favourably situated than the inland plateau. According to Captain Scott's experience, it is frequently swept by warm snow-laden southerly winds, which must be the return northwards of the upper westerly winds, shown by the smoke from Mount Erebus to be a very constant feature at high levels.

It is interesting to notice that Mr Ferrar, the geologist of the expedition, has arrived quite independently at the conviction that a covering of ice, so far from being destructive, is an eminently conservative agent as regards the land surface beneath. This conviction was arrived at by the writer many years ago; but it was due to the contemplation of the far-reaching destruction produced by the warm moist air of equatorial regions on unprotected rock surfaces.

From all the observations there appears to be no doubt that there has been a great diminution of the icy covering of the land in a period the length of which there are no adequate data to determine; and it is argued that the climate of Victoria Land must have changed very much in the interval. Those who have had the opportunity of witnessing during their lifetime the enormous removal of ice from the surface of Switzerland without the occurrence, according to meteorological data, of any appreciable change in the climate, will not attach too much importance to this conclusion.

Captain Scott returned from his great journey to the farthest west on Christmas eve, 1902. During his absence much work had been done in preparing the ship for sea and in attacking the ice with saws. On Jan. 5, 1903, to the surprise of every one, two relief ships appeared; but they were unable, owing to the fast ice, to approach

within less than ten miles of the 'Discovery.' It was not until Feb. 17 that everything was ready and the three ships left McMurdo Sound. The journey home was effected without further incident.

To the selfish reader of Captain Scott's charming and instructive book the relief of the 'Discovery' comes as a disappointment. Having followed him in his first, or apprentice's, journey to the farthest south, and seen how he every day gathered more and more experience of the work; having then followed him in his next journey to the farthest west, and observed the remarkable development of his power of covering ground against difficulties, it is impossible not to regret that he was unable to deliver the master-stroke by following up his own pioneer work and going still farther south, perhaps to the Pole itself.

We think that it would have been legitimate for Captain Scott to take the view that his expedition had a quasi-warlike character. He was engaged, as Dr H. R. Mill puts it, in the siege of the South Pole. The attack of the fortress had to be delivered on land, and claimed the presence of the chief. The service of support and relief had to be conducted by sea, and fell naturally under the command of a subordinate. Such a scheme of division of labour would have offered many advantages. The costly ship would have continued to be active in the service of the expedition, which would then have become self-supporting; and every department of it would have come under the immediate personal control of Captain Scott. The reappearance of the 'Discovery' in Australian waters in April 1902 would have relieved the promoters of the expedition of the obligation to find a second ship, and would have been welcomed by the friends of all the members of the expedition, about whom some anxiety had begun to be expressed. Indeed there would have been no necessity to evacuate Ross Land at all; for the members of the expedition could have been relieved and replaced, and the occupation continued, until the fortress had fallen. The public is never backward in supporting an enterprise when it has begun to show sure prospects of success.

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### Art. III.—THE ROMANTIC ELEMENT IN MUSIC.

1. *The Oxford History of Music*. Vol. v : The Viennese Period, by W. H. Hadow. Vol. vi : The Romantic Period, by E. Dannreuther. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1904-6.
2. *J. S. Bach, le Musicien-Poète*. By Albert Schweitzer. Leipzig : Breitkopf and Haertel, 1905.
3. *Richard Wagner, 1813-34*. By the late Hon. Mrs Burrell. Privately printed, 1906.
4. *Johannes Brahms*. By Max Kalbeck. Vol. I (1833-1862). Vienna and Leipzig : Wiener Verlag, 1904.
5. *The Life of Johannes Brahms*. By Florence May. Two vols. London : Arnold, 1905.
6. *Clara Schumann*. By Bernhard Litzmann. Two vols. Leipzig : Breitkopf and Haertel, 1902-6.
7. *Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*. By Modeste Tchaikovsky. Edited from the Russian with an introduction by Rosa Newmarch. London : Lane, 1906.

THE famous antithesis between 'Classical' and 'Romantic,' which is probably due to Goethe, provides a couple of useful labels for analysts of works of art who do not want the trouble of thinking for themselves; but, like other antitheses, it is often misleading, for its terms are far from being mutually exclusive. The whole of art will not by any cajolery be induced to fall definitely into one category or the other; for every really romantic work has in it the germ of vitality which some day will raise it to the rank of a classic; and every true classic has been inspired by the passionate desire to express, in terms of art, some spiritual vision, some flash of inspiration, which is at the root of the romantic idea. While the greatest things in painting, poetry, or music, are at once romantic and classical, and while it is only necessary to turn to the walls of the Royal Academy of Arts, the shelves of the publishers, and the programmes of the concerts, for manifold examples of things which are neither one nor the other, yet there is a real opposition between the two elements, not so much in the works of art themselves, as in the mental attitudes of their creators.

While the world endures, creative artists will obey one primary impulse; this man will seek above all things to

find expression for his idea in any form that may chance, so long as the idea is expressed ; that man will be almost indifferent to the essential value of his thought if he may but clothe it in a beautiful and becoming garment. To the one, the substance or content of his work seems all-sufficient, to the other its form. These are of course the two extremes of the Romantic and Classical schools respectively ; in all the arts there have happily been men who gave due regard alike to form and content, and from among these it might be maintained that the greatest men have come. Of Beethoven, as of Shakespeare, it is impossible to assert with confidence that either form or content was paramount in the original conception. If Beethoven were not universally accepted as the greatest of all the classics, one would hesitate in which class to place him ; for his ideas are presented in a manner untrammelled by formal conventions, while in the very course of their expression, as it seems, the greatest mastery of design is manifested.

A large view of all the arts will reveal the fact that the successive ideals of great men follow a regular sequence and recur in the same order. First, there is the man who is so delighted at having something to express, some real, new message to the world, that he cares little for the form of its expression ; this freedom, with his followers, degenerates into license and formlessness ; as a protest against this formlessness, beauty and symmetry of design are in the next period placed, it may be, above the weighty thought, form above content ; and, after this stage the love of form degenerates into formalism and conventionality. Again, as a protest against this last, the essential thought is once more exalted above design ; and the formula is endlessly repeated—Content above Form : Formlessness : Form above Content : Formality.

The whole art of the Renaissance is an example of the spirit of protest against the free forms of Gothic art ; the literary movement that culminated in the work of the Lake poets is a protest against the polished couplets of the school of Pope and Dryden, whose work, in turn, was in more or less conscious opposition to the poetry of that Romantic school which came to an end in Donne. Pre-raphaelitism and Impressionism in painting are a dual protest against the convention into which pictorial art

fell in the middle of the Victorian era; and the great revolutions of music had their root in the desire to be freed from stifling formalism. Monteverde, Caccini, and the rest of the monodists, groped their way with feeble steps towards the direct expression of dramatic emotions, and thereby founded modern music; Gluck broke away from the cold formalism of Handelian opera, Wagner from the endless succession of trills and roulades that had satisfied the admirers of Rossini and his contemporaries; and each of these men created a change that can only be described as a revolution.

Just as Gluck, before reforming the opera of his day, conformed to the conventions of the men before him, so Wagner, in his earliest works, and even as far down the list of his works as 'Rienzi,' wrote music that is indistinguishable from the orthodox productions of the day. The wonderful and literally monumental life of Wagner, begun by the late Hon. Mrs Burrell, and issued to a few privileged persons by her husband and daughter, gives specimens which are quite enough to prove how little the great champion of operatic reform realised his mission at first. The book is not printed but engraved throughout, and is illustrated by facsimiles of every document quoted; so that it whets one's impatience to know how the later part of the history would have been treated by so conscientious a worker as Mrs Burrell, who spared neither money nor pains, to get at the exact truth. Many as have been the biographies of the composer, and loud as has been the chorus of praise bestowed upon each, it was reserved for Mrs Burrell to establish the accurate form of his mother's maiden name. As a study of a revolutionary in embryo, the volume (of which a copy is in the British Museum) is of surpassing interest.

So strong a word as 'revolution' can perhaps only be applied with justice to the transition from formality to formlessness. More gradual and more peaceful are the steps which lead from formlessness to design. The change from chaos to cosmos is not noisy, but it is not for that reason the less momentous. As a matter of fact, those who restore the arts of design attack a defenceless position. Formlessness has no bulwarks for its shelter; it has no school, for, if it had, it must cease to be formless and itself become conventionalised. The master of design, the man

who can clothe his thought in a fitting garment, by something definite to show which appeals to every intelligent hearer. The musical period that is known as the 'Classical' exhibits the process most instructively. It centres so entirely round Vienna that the penultimate volume of the 'Oxford History of Music,' in which Dr Hadow treats of the classical masters with his usual brilliance and insight, bears for its subtitle the words 'The Viennese Period.'

The development of the great classical form for the first and most important movement of a work that is sometimes called 'sonata form,' and sometimes, by an unfortunate ambiguity, 'binary' or 'ternary' form, is the central point of interest in the history. The two ambiguous terms are so misleading that it might be wise to discard them altogether. In the original intention 'binary' stands for that form in two divisions in which, as a rule in earlier specimens, only a single thematic germ is developed; at a point rather less than half-way along the movement, a stop is made, and in the regular way there is a double bar with the repetition of the section on each side of it in the older pattern, and of the preceding section only in the newer. As time went on, the interest of composers became more and more centred on the portion which immediately succeeded this dividing point. In key-relationship, the dividing point represented a key moderately removed from the original tonality; and from that point a return was made, gradually or suddenly, to the original key. This returning process, called variously 'free fantasia,' *durchführung*, and 'working-out,' is the section in which originality of design has the fullest scope, and in which, as a matter of fact, the greatness of the greatest musicians is most conspicuous. As the first portion of the movement is repeated, after the return to the original key, in all its essential features, it seems rather a pity not to accept the formula 'A, B, A,' and still to call the form a 'binary' one, rather than to insist that the formula is 'A, B, C,' and so to claim the title 'ternary.' This, however, is but a small point in regard to the history of the development of the form which, more than any other, has carried the greatest thoughts of the greatest musicians through the ages. An essential feature of it in its maturity, is the presence of two principal subjects

which are announced in a recognised succession, presented in certain conventional ways, and finally united in the same key surroundings. It is at once clear that the analogy of the average love-story, in which we follow the adventures of two personages from their first meeting until their union, is close, and enlightening to a student of form; and here is another of the points at which the classical and romantic elements touch most instructively.

Where and how did the 'two-subject' form take its rise? This is a question which has never been quite satisfactorily settled; and even Mr Hadow does not make it altogether clear. In Sebastian Bach there is little or no trace of it; though his movements are often divided into two sections, they are for the most part built on a single theme; and, when he uses more themes than one, as in the various concerto movements, one subject is generally identified with the solo instrument or the solo group of instruments, the other with the accompaniment. The two are presented in a manner quite different from that which was usual in the sonatas of a later day. Domenico Scarlatti's many 'sonatas' for harpsichord occasionally show a rudimentary 'two-subject' form; but in nearly all of these the 'working-out' section is of the most timid and cursory kind.

It is generally held to have been Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach who presented us with the earliest instances of the type of movement with all its essential features complete; and in certain of his works it is undoubtedly true that this type appears. The curious thing is, however, that, having invented or discovered so beautiful a pattern as the 'two-subject' form, he should not have used it more often; it appears, but in the same set of sonatas in which it occurs other forms of far less significance appear side by side with it. It is a little as though some poet had stumbled on the sonnet form, complete with its number of lines and rhyme-scheme, and, after using it once or twice in a volume, had passed on to other patterns of verse far inferior in organic value. In Haydn—who for a time was C. P. E. Bach's contemporary—and in Mozart, the 'two-subject' form was accepted as the regular type for all instrumental music of a serious aim; and exceptions in their works are as rare as specimens of the 'two-subject' type are in those of C. P. E. Bach. The mystery



is, at what point of time did musicians realise the possibilities concealed in the 'two-subject' pattern, and virtually settle to discard all other possible types of composition for this alone? It is hardly possible that we should ever know, unless letters should some day turn up dated from the few years during which Emanuel Bach and Haydn were working, as it were, side by side.

The books before us throw much light on these and kindred problems. Mr Hadow is always brilliant and suggestive; and nothing in his volume of the *Oxford History* is better in this way than the opening chapter, 'On the General Condition of Taste in the Eighteenth Century.' It must always be a problem how a century in other ways so artificial and conventional should have given birth to the greatest of all the masters of music; but the forces that culminated in Beethoven are here set forth with vivid realisation and perfect truth. On 'The Conflict of Styles,' and on all which deals with the opera the author is at his best; in the instrumental forms he traces the influence of Haydn and Mozart upon Beethoven; and, naturally, he does not forget his own researches into the source of many of Haydn's themes, as preserved in his valuable little study for this book, 'A Croatian Composer.' On Beethoven, nothing of equal value in so short a compass as the single chapter in which he is here discussed has yet appeared; every word tells, and room is even found to expose the generally accepted myth about Haydn's having disapproved of Beethoven's early trio in C minor. The final chapter on 'Song' sums up the fruit of the whole period in weighty and memorable words. The volume, as a whole, is certainly one of the most valuable of the series.

There is no reason to doubt that, but for the untoward circumstances of the author's illness and death before his contribution could appear, Mr Dannreuther's volume on the Romantic period would have been a great deal better than it is; those who recognise the author's genius and insight will of course be most thankful that he was spared to finish the actual writing of it, and for the sake of what is most precious will forgive the many misprints and peculiarities of arrangement. In reading it we have to accept the narrower use of the word Romantic—that use which has been current since Goethe's day; this being

granted, Mr Dannreuther's volume is an admirable study of the Romantic movement as it affected musicians after the great days of the Classical school of Vienna. He points out how the operatic subjects of Weber, the names chosen for his works by Schumann, the illustrative overtures of Mendelssohn, the melodramas preferred for musical setting by Verdi in his earlier years, all have their rise in a taste for the literature of their day, and how the musical and literary movements ran side by side. The volume embraces everything that can be called distinctively 'Romantic'; and this is nearly identical with the music of the whole nineteenth century.

While the opinions of the writer may possibly not coincide with what everybody thinks to-day, they are absolutely sound, and will be the common property of all critics in twenty, fifty, or a hundred years' time. There is, however, one very strange omission—that of any continuous and detailed survey of the work of Johannes Brahms. That master's name occurs very often in the book; and from the use made of his works as standards of comparison, it is clear that Dannreuther had the utmost reverence and love for his work; but when men like Cornelius, von Bülow, Rubinstein, and even the young Russian composers, are treated in detail, there is no adequate reason for the grave omission of the greatest man of the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the fact that his work is almost confined to the latter half of the century is to be found the actual, if inadequate, reason of this omission; for, as the preface states, the scope of the history had to be modified after this volume was planned. The six volumes were originally to have stopped short of the Wagner controversy; and 1850, or, more precisely, 1856, the year of Schumann's death, was fixed as the limit of the period. In such a plan Brahms, of course, would find no place; but neither would the younger Russians, Cornelius, or Goetz. César Franck is another name which, if these were included, deserved far more than a passing reference; but the most serious blot on the book is undoubtedly the omission of a critical study, such as Dannreuther could have given us, of the work of Brahms.

That the writer's judgment would have been of great value is proved by the moderation of his views on Liszt

and his music. Dannreuther was numbered among the first and most faithful of the English admirers of Wagner; and he speaks of the music-dramas with the understanding born of a deep study of their contents. But his estimate of Liszt underwent very considerable modification in his later years; and no more just, temperate or far-sighted judgments are to be found anywhere than those which may be gathered from the different parts of this volume on Liszt's music and on his qualities and defects as an artist, whether creative or interpretive. On the eternal dispute between the musical colourists and the designers—the antithesis is temptingly like that between the Romantic and the Classical schools—and on the propriety of 'programme music,' there are words which students would do well to lay to heart. Programme music is described as music 'posing as an unsatisfactory kind of poetry.' And the following is as true as it is tersely expressed: 'By devices of orchestration the colourist tries to reach that which the melodist fails to attain for want of warmth, the harmonist for want of power, and the designer for want of skill.' This is spoken especially of Liszt's symphonic poems; but it is generally as well as specially true.

The omission of a thorough study of Brahms' music from Mr Dannreuther's volume is especially to be regretted, because it gives colour to the silly practice habitual with some modern critics, of referring to Brahms as belonging to the 'coldly Classical' school, and as if he eschewed romance altogether. Even in the more limited sense of the word, as opposed to the conventional style of the Classicists, there can be no need to remind musicians that Brahms' mastery of musical design did not prevent his being also a poet of the deepest imagination. In songs like the whole of the 'Magelone' cycle, in 'Die Mainacht,' 'Von ewiger Liebe,' 'Immer leiser,' 'Feldeinsamkeit,' and many more, there is the quintessence of romance as usually understood. In all four of the symphonies, in the two overtures, and in the chamber-music, point after point could be adduced as evidence of this quality. How should 'romance' be defined so as to exclude the famous horn passage before the finale of the C minor symphony, the close of the first movement of the second, or, in the third, the delicate melancholy of

the *allegretto*, or the final summing-up of the whole work in the coda of the last movement, with the lightly breathed allusion, quite at the end, to the opening theme of the symphony? Those who maintain the narrower interpretation of the word 'romantic' are fond of sorting everything they hear into the two classes of Romantic and Non-romantic, according to certain arbitrary standards. If, say they, a man scores well, if his orchestration glows with beautiful colour from end to end, he is, by that fact, a Romantic. Now Brahms, it cannot be denied, does not always move us to ecstasy by the mere sound of his orchestra; but the fact that he knows, quite as well as some of the mere colourists, how to give value to a special instrument for a special purpose, and that he thrills his hearers at particular moments with the quality of certain tones, has not prevented the critics just referred to from calling him a bad scorer, or placing him among the writers whom they choose to dub cold and classical.

These critics are fond, too, of labelling composers as Romantic or Non-romantic according to whether they have obviously taken suggestions or inspirations from literature and external objects, or not. That such suggestions may have been taken without the composer feeling called upon to take the world into his confidence does not seem to have dawned on the critics' minds. One man may have felt the sweet influences of nature, the fellowship of books, or the charm of friendship, quite as vividly as another; but unless he is careful, in bringing out his work, to tell the programme-writer that on a certain day last August he was lying on a cliff so many feet above the sea-level, that bells from the neighbouring village, the wash of the waves below his cliff, the scent of the grass on which he lay, or of the cigar he was smoking, the scream of a sea-bird, or of a railway-whistle in the distance, all wound themselves into a musical picture in his brain, he cannot be accepted by the public as a Romantic. He will do well, too, in the sad event of his not owning a surname that begins with a letter identified with one of the musical notes, to choose a wife whose Christian name can be expressed in a musical phrase. There are indeed not many names that can be pressed into the service as easily as 'Ada'; but, if the composer succeeds in introducing something of this kind into his

work, he is sure of attention from those who are always on the look-out for 'imaginative' (!) work. It is not perceived that the merits of the music, as such, are entirely distinct from such exhibitions of childish ingenuity as this. Schumann's 'Carneval' would have lost no jot of romance if the theme had not been built on the musical letters of the composer's name or those which indicate the town where a friend lived; but, because Schumann took this suggestion, he is held as a typical Romanticist, although his claims to that title rest on far different grounds. There is a string quartet composed in collaboration by several of the young Russian school, built on the theme 'b-la-f' in honour of a generous publisher. If that quartet is good music, it may very possibly be Romantic; but such an arbitrary choice of theme as this cannot add to its romance.

It is probably from the desire to enrol Brahms' name among those of the recognised Romantics that Herr Max Kalbeck, in the first instalment of his life of the master, has gone out of his way to prove that an important subject in the G major sextet was deliberately constructed so as to allude to the name of a young lady with whom the biographer supposes Brahms to have been in love. He may have been in love with one young lady or another, and even have intended to express the words 'Agathe, ade!' in musical notes; but as, unlike Schumann, he has given us no clue to the meaning of the succession of notes except as a succession of notes—and a very beautiful one it is—it would have been better had the writer refrained from guessing.

Again, in dealing with the long friendship between Brahms and Frau Clara Schumann, Herr Kalbeck allows the reader to suppose that the young man was attracted to the widowed pianist by a feeling warmer than that quasi-filial tenderness which has seemed to some people one of the most beautiful things in modern musical history. Happily the truth is stated as plainly as possible in Miss Florence May's admirable and complete life of Brahms, and in the second volume of Herr Litzmann's life of Frau Schumann. The former is indeed an achievement of which English people may well be proud, for, as a portrait of one of the most individual men who have ever lived, as a faithful account of his

outwardly uneventful career, and as a record (from personal experience) of his methods of teaching, the book leaves nothing to be desired. Herr Litzmann's life of Frau Schumann has many more of the obvious elements of romance in it; the love-story told in the first volume is as interesting as a study by Henry James, so complex were the two natures, and so minutely are they analysed. The second volume (a third is to complete the record) stops short at Frau Schumann's first visit to England, so that English readers will with all the more eagerness look forward to the third; it contains the history of her devotion to her husband up to the tragedy which darkened both their lives.

Until the coming of the crisis in Schumann's mental state made it imperative to place him under restraint, husband and wife kept a joint diary in which they recorded their inmost thoughts, their impressions of music and performances, and everything else that happened to them. To this precious document Herr Litzmann has had access, so that the public is admitted to the closest secrets of two personalities that must have been strangely fascinating, in spite of many peculiarities of manner and even of disposition. The story is ineffably sad, but intensely interesting; and, whatever we may think as to the propriety of allowing all and sundry to pry into such an intimate document as the diary, it must be admitted that the author has done his task well; and it is to be guessed that certain things are, after all, still kept back. Even such sordid details as the difficulty of finding a place where the pianist could practise unheard by the composer are not without their pathos when we remember who the pianist and the composer were; and surely never was there a clearer case of the truth of Goethe's words, 'Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass, . . . Der kennt Sie nicht, Ihr himmlische Mächte.'

Even without this documentary evidence as to the years of anxiety that Clara Schumann underwent, the public already knew that her playing was in part the fruit of deep sorrow; but this volume shows us how continuous were the sorrow and the anxiety, though the story is often brightened by rapturous exaltation over some unusually fine performance or some friend gained for Robert's music. In the present day, when his music

seems to appeal directly to the average person, it is curious to recall how long it was in obtaining its due recognition; for, even in Germany, the vogue of Mendelssohn was so enormous that no other ideals than his could be recognised. That both Brahms and Joachim helped largely in the propaganda is well known; and the devoted friendship of all three is made fully manifest in this biography of the lady who was the centre of their circle.

It is a peculiar excellence of Herr Litzmann that he is not afraid to show the little peculiarities of the illustrious couple, and that he does not attempt to idealise them out of all semblance to human beings. They cannot have been altogether or always very agreeable acquaintances. Towards those whom they took to their hearts nothing could have been more genial; and both husband and wife had the gift of endearing others to themselves; but, outside this inner circle, their straightforwardness of conviction, and the absence of any outward polish, such as most people get unconsciously by intercourse with the world, must have brought strange things about. Two striking instances are given. One is an account from the diary itself, of a singularly unpleasant evening spent in the company of Liszt and the Princess von Sayn-Wittgenstein, who were the guests of the Schumanns. As long as the music played by this quartet of distinguished people was Schumann's, all went well; but, when Liszt 'obliged' with some of his new compositions, Frau Schumann confesses that she was unable to get out any words, as even the most superficial expression of thanks for his trouble seemed to her a breach of artistic conscientiousness. On another occasion Félicien David, whom Frau Schumann had asked for an autograph, sent her not merely a signature, but a graceful little tribute to the simple nobility of her art. To this she rejoined in a very curt note, beginning 'Madame Schumann n'ayant pas demandé une attestation pour son album,' etc.

Nevertheless, if there are such traces of something which sounds like discourtesy, there are plenty of passages in which the real tender heart of the woman is laid bare; and the characteristic bluntness only makes the picture more life-like. It may encourage those who have not the gift of immediately discerning greatness to know that Frau Schumann's first impression of Joachim's

playing was far from favourable. While acknowledging his perfect mastery of the instrument and wonderful technique, she goes on to say, 'He lacks the quality that makes one get cold and hot, there is neither sentiment (*Gemüth*) nor fire in him, and he has no chance of a great artistic future.' It is only fair to add that she expressed, a few days afterwards, her sense of her entire mistake; and her biographer gives the entry in the diary, not from any desire to belittle her critical faculty, but just to show how often great musicians' judgments are mistaken. To set against this there is a very curious and interesting verdict of Frau Schumann's on Brahms' trio in B minor, which may possibly have had some influence on the composer, who, as is well known, rewrote the work in later life. 'I wished nothing altered, except a new first movement, for I cannot enter into this one, although the opening is splendid.'

Whether it be or be not fair to perpetuate them, there is no doubt that the wrong impressions of musicians about each other would make an amusing collection for the cynical student of the artistic temperament. Nowhere could a richer crop of such mistakes be collected than in M. Modeste Tchaikovsky's life of his distinguished brother, who seems to have been constitutionally incapable of judging any other man's music. Excepting that his admiration of Mozart knew no bounds, and that he liked Bizet's 'Carmen,' there is scarcely a figure in ancient or modern music his verdict about whom has not been reversed by the generality of those who have the best right to an opinion. Here was a typical Romantic in the narrowest sense. Shy, introspective, sensitive to the degree of absurdity, he embarked on marriage without any very strong impulse, and, to make up for the failure of the experiment, started an ardent friendship with a rich lady with whom he never interchanged a word of actual speech. She gave over for his use a house and grounds, and made him an annual allowance; but, out of respect for his wish that his ideal should not be broken, she consented never to meet him. When an accident brought them face to face they uttered no word, and ignored one another. The circumstances which attended the withdrawal of the allowance give a really tragic picture of hypersensitiveness; though purely business



reasons compelled his benefactress to discontinue her gift, the incident was morbidly interpreted by Tchaikovsky as indicating a wish on her part that their intimate friendship should come to an end.

The poor lady's state of mind receives little sympathy from the composer's biographer. Had the thing happened to any but a professed Romantic, it would have hardly been accepted as the tragedy of his life; for any ordinary person would have seen the possibility of the reason alleged being actually the true one, and the matter would have been easily cleared up. However, if this had happened, we might have lost the 'Pathetic' symphony; so the incident is not entirely to be deplored. The book, apart from these unfortunate events, is a very sad record of a life spoilt by a disposition of the most uncomfortable kind; the troubles which occupy so large a space in it were partly due to health; and indeed it might easily be maintained that the gloomy atmosphere which surrounds Russian art of all kinds is simply due to the unwholesome nature of the food that Russians enjoy, and to their abhorrence of open air.!

We seem to be passing through a stage of musical art in which form and beauty of design are at a discount, and a claim is set up for every composer, past or present, that he is, or was, a Romantic. 'Classicism' is sneered at and labelled 'academic.' Every departure from rule, whether made of set purpose or from mere incapacity to comply with it, is hailed with delight as a sign of vitality and of the fashionable romantic disposition. It is amusing to see how far the lovers of romance have gone in order to support their contention in the case of the older composers. M. Albert Schweitzer, the author of 'J. S. Bach, le Musicien-Poète,' claims that Bach's romanticism was displayed in certain puerilities which the truer admirers of the master will find great difficulty in accepting as intentional. That he often put some quaint touch of realism into even solemn passages of his music has been long recognised; the cock-crowing in both settings of the 'Passion' is an instance that will occur to every one. But that the same sort of thing was carried out on a scale as large as M. Schweitzer supposes is almost incredible. In the cantata, 'Sehet, wir geh'n hinauf gen Jerusalem,' the introduction is built on a rising scale

followed by the descent of a seventh ; this, we are gravely informed, portrays Christ and His disciples going slowly up the hill ; and the downward interval is intended to suggest 'Jésus qui s'arrête et qui se retourne vers ses disciples pour leur annoncer qu'il marche vers la mort.'

There are many similar instances of puerile analysis all evidently intended to produce the impression that Bach was a kind of Richard Strauss born before the time. What the writer does not see is that Bach was indeed a Romantic, but in the truest, widest sense ; not a manipulator of childish trivialities, but a great creator moved by the passion for emotional beauty which lies at the root of Classical art just as truly as at that of Romantic. In the art of taking suggestions from outside Bach was of course a supreme master. One of his favourite themes, treated in several of the cantatas, and especially in one of peculiar beauty devoted to that theme alone—'Schlage doch, gewünschte Stunde'—is that of the faithful soul longing to hear the knell of death ; in 'Schlage doch' two bells are actually employed ; and the whole cantata ends with a soft dying-away of the bell's vibrations without other accompaniment of any kind. In 'Liebster Gott, wann werd' ich sterben' the same idea is carried out almost as poetically ; and in many another way Bach shows himself a true Romantic, even taking the narrow view of the term.

But is this narrow view of the word the right one ? Does it not lead to a habit of classifying things in arbitrary divisions which, it is manifest, do not fulfil their purpose, since the best things are both classical and romantic, and the worst neither one nor the other ? Surely the impulse to artistic creation is the secret of romance ; it is the passionate longing to get away from sordid matters of earth into a world of the imagination that constitutes romance ; and this passionate desire is surely quite as strongly developed in those who prefer to express themselves in established forms as it is in those who are always eager to strike out new forms for themselves. It is a striking consideration, but one of which the detailed exposition would take us too far from the main point, that none of the very greatest of composers has been a pioneer in regard to forms ; one and all of the

few whom all mankind agrees to regard as supreme have accepted the forms they found ready to their hands, and have given them new vitality by casting their original thoughts into them. It has been always the men of secondary rank who have struck out new paths, possibly finding themselves cramped by the old forms, or unable to comply successfully with the rules of the established patterns. Putting Wagner for the moment on one side, since his art was not purely musical, Palestrina, Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Brahms did nothing in the way of making new forms. With all these composers the old were enough for their purpose; for their wealth of expression was too genuine, too fresh, to be hampered by the forms that were ready, and it was not their business to frame new receptacles for the ideas that poured in upon them.

The form-makers are the men of secondary attainments. Monteverde and his fellows made the form for Alessandro Scarlatti to fill; Emanuel Bach lit, as though by accident, upon the greatest form of all, which was to be supreme in music from Haydn's time to that of Brahms; in a smaller way Field invented the nocturne form, in which his own creations are forgotten besides those of his follower, Chopin; and Liszt's experiments in form, whether successful or not, are the latest alterations of the established patterns. But in every age all the great men have been moved by a kindred desire to create something that shall make permanent the inner vision of beauty that has been granted to them; and all are of the Romantic race in the truest sense. It is of course undeniable that, side by side with these great men, who are at once Romantic in their own dispositions and Classical in their ultimate destination, there grow and flourish men who think of nothing but how to turn to account the artistic innovations of the better men; how to make a fortune out of whatever kind of music may be in fashion at the moment. These, the purveyors in a past generation of trumpery and conventional operas, of dull sonatas, of pianoforte fantasias and *pot-pourris*, of flimsy anthems, and, in short, of all that Wagner called 'Kapellmeistermusik,' are always with us. At the present moment it would seem that they are engaged in turning out the most hideous and meaningless succes-

sions of cacophonous notes, hoping to delude the modern critics into accepting them as satisfactory followers of the school that eschews melody as a thing of the past. These men would fain be called Romantics; but, although the men they copy may have the Romantic impulse, and may, as a consequence, become Classics hereafter, there is no place for the deliberate imitator in either of the classes we have been investigating.

Surely it would be hard to devise a rougher or less accurate definition of 'romanticism' than that which is now practically accepted, and which classes as Romantics the men who label their music, taking suggestions as to titles from anywhere in nature, art, or literature. Such suggestions, as we have already pointed out, may have been taken quite as deliberately and consciously by writers who prefer not to call their pieces by fancy names, or who take it to be the highest function of the creative artist to create, rather than to reflect impressions imperfectly assimilated. The greatest creators of music have not often chosen to divulge the source of their inspiration; and, in some of the most conspicuous of all we are left quite in the dark as to their processes of invention. If we look a little closely into the matter we shall see that the creative act seems at first to be confined to the invention of a musical subject or phrase which will yield the finest results when submitted to the process known as development. To take an analogy from literature, the initial phrase is like the dramatist's first conception of a character. His thoughts may have taken some suggestion from outside; but he has consciously or unconsciously transmuted that suggestion into something much more his own than a mere reflection of some one else's idea expressed in terms of a different art. The four notes which are the main subject of the first movement of the 'C minor' symphony of Beethoven do not of themselves strike us as being particularly pregnant with meaning until we know the whole movement; so, when we see the wife of the Thane of Fife reading a letter from her husband, there is nothing at first to tell us that here is an absolute creation, something infinitely beyond the chronicles in which the first suggestion may have been found. It is the magic of Shakespeare's art that makes Lady Macbeth what she is; and the four notes of the

'C minor' become what they are through the process of development to which Beethoven has submitted them.

This analogy may be carried farther and more generally applied. The chief reason why many of the truest lovers of music do not like 'programme music' is that they are in the habit of accepting musical phrases or themes as having so strong an individuality of their own that they become exactly like characters in a book or play—not reflections of this or that character, but so instinct with life that they stand on their own feet. Now, to be told, 'this subject or theme means a witch,' 'this is a fairy,' or the like, must, in the nature of things, take away from any independence, any individuality, which the music may possess; and those who have been following the course of what we may call the musical drama (meaning thereby solely the adventures of the musical themes, their alternation, final union, and action and reaction upon one another) are suddenly recalled to the scheme of tangible things by being required to identify such and such a theme with such and such a personage in a story. The sensations aroused by such music are not unlike the deadening feeling that used to come over some of us when we were told that the story of Persephone was an allegory of the return of spring. So it may have been, but why spoil the story by telling us so? Many listeners to the 'C minor' symphony, or even to the 'Pathetic' symphony of Tchaikovsky, are truly thankful as they listen that the composers did not tack on some narrative to each work to spoil its truly romantic effect. Perhaps some day a more scientific definition of art will be accepted; and we shall refuse the epithet 'romantic' to anything which appears under the cover of a definite story. A system of classification such as that we have been examining takes a very long time to destroy, for, however fallacious it may be, it is convenient; but destroyed it will be, and the scientific definition will take its place.

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## Art. IV.—HENRIK IBSEN.

1. *The Works of Henrik Ibsen*. Eleven vols. Revised and edited by William Archer. London: Heinemann, 1906. (In course of publication.)
2. *Ibsen's Prose Dramas*. Edited by William Archer. Five vols. London: Walter Scott, *n.d.*
3. *Peer Gynt*. Authorised translation by William and Charles Archer. London: Walter Scott, *n.d.*
4. *The Master-builder*. Translated by Edmund Gosse and William Archer. London: Heinemann, 1893.
5. *Little Eyolf* (1895); *John Gabriel Borkman* (1897); *When we Dead Awaken* (1900). Translated by William Archer. Same publisher.
6. *Brand*. Translated by C. H. Herford. Same publisher, 1894.
7. *Love's Comedy*. Translated by C. H. Herford. London: Duckworth, 1900.
8. *The Correspondence of Henrik Ibsen*. Edited by Mary Morison. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1905.
9. *Henrik Ibsen. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. Critical Studies*. By George Brandes. London: Heinemann, 1899.

'EVERYTHING which I have created as a poet,' Ibsen said in a letter, 'has had its origin in a frame of mind and a situation in life; I never wrote because I had, as they say, found a good subject.' Yet his chief aim as a dramatist has been to set character in independent action, and to stand aside, reserving his judgment. 'The method, the technique of the construction,' he says, speaking of what is probably his masterpiece, 'Ghosts,' 'in itself entirely precludes the author's appearing in the speeches. My intention was to produce the impression in the mind of the reader that he was witnessing something real.' That, at his moment of most perfect balance, was his intention; that was what he achieved in an astonishing way. But his whole life was a development; and we see him moving from point to point, deliberately, and yet inevitably; reaching the goal which it was his triumph to reach, and then going beyond the goal, because movement in any direction, was a necessity of his nature.

In Ibsen's letters we shall find invaluable help in the study of this character and this development. The man

shows himself in them with none the less disguise because he shows himself unwillingly. In these hard, crabbed, formal, painfully truthful letters we see the whole narrow, precise, and fanatical soul of this Puritan of art, who sacrificed himself, his family, his friends, and his country to an artistic sense of duty only to be paralleled among those religious people whom he hated and resembled.

His creed, as man and as artist, was the cultivation, the realisation of self. In quite another sense that, too, was the creed of Nietzsche; but what in Nietzsche was pride, the pride of individual energy, in Ibsen was a kind of humility, or a practical deduction from the fact that only by giving complete expression to oneself can one produce the finest work. Duty to oneself: that was how he looked upon it; and though, in a letter to Björnson, he affirmed, as the highest praise, 'his life was his best work,' to himself it was the building-up of the artist in him that he chiefly cared for. And to this he set himself with a moral fervour and a scientific tenacity. There was in Ibsen none of the abundance of great natures, none of the ease of strength. He nursed his force, as a miser hoards his gold; and does he not give you at times an uneasy feeling that he is making the most of himself, as the miser makes the most of his gold by scraping up every farthing?

'The great thing,' he says in a letter of advice, 'is to hedge about what is one's own, to keep it free and clear from everything outside that has no connexion with it.' He bids Brandes cultivate 'a genuine, full-blooded egoism, which shall force you for a time to regard what concerns you as the only thing of any consequence, and everything else as non-existent.' Yet he goes on to talk about 'benefiting society,' is conscious of the weight which such a conviction or compromise lays upon him, and yet cannot get rid of the burden, as Nietzsche does. He has less courage than Nietzsche, though no less logic, and is held back from a complete realisation of his own doctrine because he has so much worldly wisdom and is so anxious to make the best of all worlds.

'In every new poem or play,' he writes, 'I have aimed at my own personal spiritual emancipation and purification, for a man shares the responsibility and the guilt of the society to which he belongs.' This queer entangle-

ment in social bonds on the part of one whose main endeavour had always been to free the individual from the conventions and restrictions of society is one of those signs of parochialism which peep out in Ibsen again and again. 'The strongest man,' he says in a letter, anticipating the epilogue of one of his plays, 'is he who stands alone.' But Ibsen did not find it easy to stand alone, though he found pleasure in standing aloof. The influence of his environment upon him is marked from the first. He breaks with his father and mother, never writes to them or goes back to see them; partly because he feels it necessary to avoid contact with 'certain tendencies prevailing there.' 'Friends are an expensive luxury,' he finds, because they keep him from doing what he wishes to do, out of consideration for them. Is not this intellectual sensitiveness the corollary of a practical cold-heartedness? He cannot live in Norway because, he says, 'I could never lead a consistent spiritual life there.' In Norway he finds that 'the accumulation of small details makes the soul small.' How curious an admission for an individualist, for an artist! He goes to Rome, and feels that he has discovered a new mental world. 'After I had been in Italy I could not understand how I had been able to exist before I had been there.' Yet before long he must go on to Munich, because 'here one is too entirely out of touch with the movements of the day.'

He insists, again and again: 'Environment has a great influence upon the forms in which the imagination creates'; and, in a tone of half-burlesque, but with something serious in his meaning, he declares that wine had something to do with the exaltation of 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt,' and sausages and beer with the satirical analysis of 'The League of Youth.' And he adds: 'I do not intend by this to place the last-mentioned play on a lower level. I only mean that my point of view has changed, because here I am in a community well ordered even to weariness.' He says elsewhere that he could only have written 'Peer Gynt' where he wrote it, at Ischia and Sorrento, because it is 'written without regard to consequences—as I only dare to write far away from home.' If we trace him through his work we shall see him, with a strange docility, allowing not only 'frame of mind and situation in life,' but his actual surroundings, to mould his work,



alike in form and in substance. If he had never left Norway he might have written verse to the end of his life; if he had not lived in Germany, where there is 'up-to-date civilisation to study,' he would certainly never have written the social dramas; if he had not returned to Norway at the end of his life, the last plays would not have been what they were. I am taking him at his word: but Ibsen is a man who must be taken at his word.

What is perhaps most individual in the point of view of Ibsen in his dramas is his sense of the vast importance of trifles, of the natural human tendency to invent or magnify misunderstandings. A misunderstanding is his main lever of the tragic mischief; and he has studied and diagnosed this unconscious agent of destiny more minutely and persistently than any other dramatist. He found it in himself. We see just this brooding over trifles, this sensitiveness to wrongs, imaginary or insignificant, in the revealing pages of his letters. It made the satirist of his earlier years; it made him a satirist of non-essentials. A criticism of one of his books sets him talking of wide vengeance; and he admitted in later life that he said to himself, 'I am ruined,' because a newspaper had attacked him overnight.

With all his desire to 'undermine the idea of the State,' he besieges king and government with petitions for money; and he will confess in a letter, 'I should very much like to write publicly about the mean behaviour of the Government,' which, however, he refrains from doing. He gets sore and angry over party and parochial rights and wrongs, even when he is far away from them, and has congratulated himself on the calming and enlightening effect of distance. A Norwegian bookseller threatens to pirate one of his books, and he makes a national matter of it. 'If,' he says, 'this dishonest speculation really obtains sympathy and support at home, it is my intention, come what may, to sever all ties with Norway and never set foot on her soil again.' How petty, how like a hysterical woman that is. How, in its way of taking a possible trifling personal injustice as if it were a thing of vital and even national moment, he betrays what was always to remain narrow, as well as bitter, in the centre of his being! He has recorded it

against himself (for he spared himself, as he proudly and truthfully said, no more than others) in an anecdote which is a profound symbol.

‘During the time I was writing “Brand,” I had on my desk a glass with a scorpion in it. From time to time the little animal was ill. Then I used to give it a piece of soft fruit, upon which it fell furiously and emptied its poison into it—after which it was well again. Does not something of the kind happen with us poets?’ he adds.

Poets, no ; but in Ibsen there is always some likeness of the sick scorpion in the glass.

In one of his early letters to Björnson, he had written : ‘When I read the news from home, when I gaze upon all that respectable, estimable narrow-mindedness and worldliness, it is with the feeling of an insane man staring at one single, hopelessly dark spot.’ All his life Ibsen gazed until he found the black spot somewhere ; but it was with less and less of this angry, reforming feeling of the insane man. He saw the black spot at the core of the earth’s fruit, of the whole apple of the earth ; and as he became more hopeless, he became less angry ; he learned something of the supreme indifference of art. He had learned much when he came to realise that, in the struggle for liberty, it was chiefly the energy of the struggle that mattered. ‘He who possesses liberty,’ he said, ‘otherwise than as a thing to be striven for, possesses it dead and soulless. . . . So that a man who stops in the midst of the struggle and says, “Now I have it,” thereby shows that he has lost it.’ He had learned still more when he could add to his saying, ‘The minority is always right,’ this subtle corollary, that a fighter in the intellectual vanguard can never collect a majority around him. ‘At the point where I stood when I wrote each of my books, there now stands a tolerably compact crowd ; but I myself am no longer there ; I am elsewhere ; farther ahead, I hope.’ ‘That man is right,’ he thought, ‘who has allied himself most closely with the future.’ The future, to Ibsen, was a palpable thing, not concerned merely with himself as an individual, but a constantly removing, continually occupied promised land, into which he was not content to go alone. Yet he would always have asked of a follower, with Zarathustra : ‘This is my road ;

which is yours?' His future was to be peopled by great individuals.

It was in seeking to find himself that Ibsen sought to find truth; and truth he knew was to be found only within him. The truth which he sought for himself was not at all truth in the abstract, but a truth literally 'efficacious,' and able to work out the purpose of his existence. That purpose he never doubted. The work he had to do was the work of an artist, and to this everything must be subservient. 'The great thing is to become honest and truthful in dealing with oneself—not to determine to do this or determine to do that, but to do what one *must* do because one is oneself. All the rest simply leads to falsehood.' He conceives of truth as being above all clear-sighted, and the approach to truth as a matter largely of will. No preacher of God and of righteousness and the kingdom to come was ever more centred, more convinced, more impregably minded every time that he has absorbed a new idea or is constructing a new work of art. His conception of art often changes; but he never deviates at any one time from any one conception. There is something narrow as well as something intense in this certainty, this calmness, this moral attitude towards art. Nowhere has he expressed more of himself than in a letter to a woman who had written some kind of religious sequel to 'Brand.' He tells her:

"'Brand' is an æsthetic work, pure and simple. What it may have demolished or built up is a matter of absolute indifference to me. It came into being as the result of something which I had, not observed, but experienced; it was a necessity for me to free myself from something which my inner man had done with, by giving poetic form to it; and, when by this means I had got rid of it, my book had no longer any interest for me.'

It is in the same positive, dogmatic way that he assures us that 'Peer Gynt' is a poem, not a satire; 'The League of Youth' a 'simple comedy and nothing more'; 'Emperor and Galilean' an 'entirely realistic work'; that in 'Ghosts' 'there is not a single opinion, a single utterance, which can be laid to the account of the author. . . . My intention was to produce the impression in the mind of the reader that he was witnessing something real. . . .

It preaches nothing at all.' Of 'Hedda Gabler' he says: 'It was not really my desire to deal in this play with so-called problems. What I principally wanted to do was to depict human beings, human emotions, and human destinies, upon a groundwork of the social conditions and principles of the present day,' 'My chief life-task,' he defines: 'to depict human characters and human destinies.'

Ibsen's development has always lain chiefly in the perfecting of his tools. From the beginning he has had certain ideas, certain tendencies, a certain consciousness of things to express; he has been haunted, as only creative artists are haunted, by a world waiting to be born; and, from the beginning, he has built on a basis of criticism, a criticism of life. Part of his strength has gone out in fighting: he has had the sense of a mission. Part of his strength has gone out in the attempt to fly: he has had the impulse, without the wings, of the poet. And, when he has been content to leave fighting and flying alone, and to build solidly on a solid foundation, it is then that he has achieved his great work. But he has never been satisfied, or never been able, to go on doing just that work, his own work; and the poet in him, the impotent poet who is full of a sense of what poetry is, but is never able, for more than a moment, to create poetry, has come whispering in the ear of the man of science, who is the new, unerring artist, the maker of a wonderful new art of prose, and has made him uneasy, and given uncertainty to his hand. The master-builder has altered his design, he has set up a tower here, 'too high for a dwelling-house,' and added a window there, with the stained glass of a church window, and fastened on ornaments in stucco, breaking the severe line of the original design.

In Ibsen science has made its great stand against poetry; and the Germans have come worshipping, saying, 'Here, in our era of marvellously realistic politics, we have come upon correspondingly realistic poetry. . . . We received from it the first idea of a possible new poetic world. . . . We were adherents of this new school of realistic art: we had found our æsthetic creed.' But the maker of this creed, the creator of this school of realistic

art, was not able to be content with what he had done, though this was the greatest thing he was able to do. It is with true insight that he boasts, in one of his letters, of what he can do 'if I am only careful to do what I am quite capable of, namely, combine this relentlessness of mind with deliberateness in the choice of means.' There lay his success: deliberateness in the choice of means for the doing of a given thing, the thing for which his best energies best fitted him. Yet it took him forty years to discover exactly what those means to that end were; and then the experimenting impulse, the sense of what poetry is, was soon to begin its disintegrating work. Science, which seemed to have conquered poetry, was to pay homage to poetry.

Ibsen comes before us as a man of science who would have liked to be a poet; or who, half-equipped as a poet, is halved or hampered by the scientific spirit until he realises that he is essentially a man of science. From the first his aim was to express himself; and it was a long time before he realised that verse was not his native language. His first three plays were in verse, the fourth in verse alternating with prose; then came two plays, historic and legendary, written in more or less archaic prose; then a satire in verse, 'Love's Comedy,' in which there is the first hint of the social dramas; then another prose play, the nearest approach that he ever made to poetry, but written in prose, 'The Pretenders'; and then the two latest and most famous of the poems, 'Brand' and 'Peer Gynt.' After this, verse is laid aside, and at last we find him condemning it, and declaring 'it is improbable that verse will be employed to any extent worth mentioning in the drama of the immediate future. . . . It is therefore doomed.' But the doom was Ibsen's: to be a great prose dramatist, and only the segment of a poet.

Nothing is more interesting than to study Ibsen's verse in the making. His sincerity to his innermost aim, the aim at the expression of himself, is seen in his refusal from the beginning to accept any poetic convention, to limit himself in poetic subject, to sift his material or clarify his metre. He has always insisted on producing something personal, thoughtful, fantastic, and essentially prosaic; and it is in a vain protest against the nature of things that he writes of 'Peer Gynt,' 'My book is poetry;

and if it is not, then it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to the book.' His verse was the assertion of his individuality at all costs; it was a costly tool, which he cast aside only when he found that it would not carve every material.

Ibsen's earliest work in verse has not been translated. Dr Brandes tells us that it followed Danish models, the sagas, and the national ballads. In the prose play, 'Lady Inger of Østraat,' we see the dramatist, the clever playwright, still holding on to the skirts of romance, and ready with rhetoric enough on occasion, but more concerned with plot and stage effect than with even what is interesting in the psychology of the characters. 'The Vikings,' also in prose, is a piece of strong grappling with a heroic subject, with better rhetoric, and some good poetry taken straight out of the sagas, with fervour in it, and gravity; yet an experiment only, a thing not made wholly personal, nor wholly achieved. It shows how well Ibsen could do work which was not his work. In 'Love's Comedy,' a modern play in verse, he is already himself. Point of view is there; materials are there; the man of science has already laid his hand upon the poet. We are told that Ibsen tried to write it in prose, failed, and fell back upon verse. It is quite likely; he has already an accomplished technique, and can put his thoughts into verse with admirable skill. But the thoughts are not born in verse, and, brilliantly rhymed as they are, they do not make poetry.

Dr Brandes admits everything that can be said against Ibsen as a poet when he says, speaking of this play and of 'Brand':

'Even if the ideas they express have not previously found utterance in poetry, they have done so in prose literature. In other words, these poems do not set forth new thoughts, but translate into metre and rhyme thoughts already expressed.

'Love's Comedy' is a criticism of life; it is full of hard, scientific, prose thought about conduct, which has its own quality as long as it sticks to fact and remains satire; but when the prose curvets and tries to lift, when criticism turns constructive, we find no more than bubbles and children's balloons, empty and coloured, that soar and

evaporate. There is, in this farce of the intellect, a beginning of social drama; realism peeps through the artificial point and polish of a verse which has some of the qualities of Pope and some of the qualities of Swift; but the dramatist is still content that his puppets shall have the air of puppets; he stands in the arena of his circus and cracks his whip; they gallop round grimacing, and with labels on their backs. The verse comes between him and nature, as the satire comes between him and poetry. Cynicism has gone to the making of poetry more than once, but only under certain conditions: that the poet should be a lyric poet, like Heine, or a great personality in action, like Byron, to whom cynicism should be but one of the tones of his speech, the gestures of his attitude. With Ibsen it is a petty anger, an anger against nature, and it leads to a transcendentalism which is empty and outside nature.

The criticism of love, so far as it goes beyond what is amusing and Gilbertian, is the statement of a kind of arid soul-culture more sterile than that of any cloister, the soul-culture of the scientist who thinks he has found out, and can master, the soul. It is a new asceticism, a denial of nature, a suicide of the senses which may lead to some literal suicide such as that in 'Rosmersholm,' or may feed the brain on some air unbreathable by the body, as in 'When we Dead Awaken.' It is the old idea of self-sacrifice creeping back under cover of a new idea of self-intensification; and it comes, like asceticism, from a contempt of nature, a distrust of nature, an abstract intellectual criticism of nature.

Out of such material no poetry will ever come; and none has come in 'Love's Comedy.' In the prose play which followed, 'The Pretenders,' which is the dramatisation of an inner problem in the form of an historical drama, there is a much nearer approach to poetry. The stage-craft is still too obvious; effect follows effect like thunder-claps; there is melodrama in the tragedy; but the play is, above all, the working-out of a few deep ideas, and in these ideas there is both beauty and wisdom.

It was with the publication of 'Brand' that Ibsen became famous, not only in his own country, but throughout Europe. The poem has been seriously compared,

even in England, with 'Hamlet'; even in Germany, with 'Faust.' A better comparison is that which Mr Gosse has made with Sidney Dobell's 'Balder.' It is full of satire and common-sense, of which there is little enough in 'Balder'; but not 'Balder' is more abstract, or more inhuman in its action. Types, not people, move in it; their speech is doctrine, not utterance; it is rather a tract than a poem. The technique of the verse, if we can judge it from the brilliant translation of Prof. Herford, which reads almost everywhere like an original, is more than sufficient for its purpose; all this argumentative and abstract and realistic material finds adequate expression in a verse which has aptly been compared with the verse of Browning's 'Christmas-eve and Easter-day.' The comparison may be carried farther, and it is disastrous to Ibsen. Browning deals with hard matter, and can be boisterous; but he is never, as Ibsen is always, pedestrian. The poet, though, like St Michael, he carry a sword, must, like St Michael, have wings. Ibsen has no wings.

But there is another comparison by which I think we can determine more precisely the station and quality of 'Brand' as poetry. Take any one of the vigorous and vivid statements of dogma, which are the very kernel of the poem, and compare them with a few lines from Blake's 'Everlasting Gospel.' There every line, with all its fighting force, is pure poetry; it was conceived as poetry, born as poetry, and can be changed into no other substance. Here we find a vigorous technique fitting striking thought into good swinging verse, with abundance of apt metaphor; but where is the vision, the essence, which distinguishes it from what, written in prose, would have lost nothing? Ibsen writes out of the intellect, adding fancy and emotion as he goes; but in Blake every line leaps forth like lightning from a cloud.

The motto of Brand was 'all or nothing'; that of 'Peer Gynt' 'to be master of the situation.' Both are studies of egoism, in the finding and losing of self; both are personal studies and national lessons. Of 'Peer Gynt' Ibsen said, 'I meant it to be a caprice.' It is Ibsen in high spirits; and it is like a mute dancing at a funeral. It is a harlequin of a poem, a thing of threads and patches; and there are gold threads in it and tattered clouts. It is an experiment which has hardly succeeded,



because it is not one but a score of experiments. It is made up of two elements, an element of folklore and an element of satire. The first comes and goes for the most part with Peer and his mother; and all this brings Norwegian soil with it, and is alive. The satire is fierce, local, and fantastic. Out of the two comes a clashing thing which may itself suggest, as has been said, the immense contrast between Norwegian summer, which is day, and winter, which is night. Grieg's music, childish, mumbling, singing, leaping, and sombre, has aptly illustrated it. It was a thing done on a holiday, for a holiday. It was of this that Ibsen said he could not have written it any nearer home than Ischia and Sorrento. But is it, for all its splendid scraps and patches, a single masterpiece? is it, above all, a poem? The idea, certainly, is one and coherent; every scene is an illustration of that idea; but is it born of that idea? Is it, more than once or twice, inevitable? What touches at times upon poetry is the folk element; the irony at times has poetic substance in it; but this glimmer of poetic substance, which comes and goes, is lost for the most part among mists and vapours, and under artificial light. That poet which exists somewhere in Ibsen, rarely quite out of sight, never wholly at liberty, comes into this queer dance of ideas and humours, and gives it, certainly, the main value it has. But the 'state satirist' is always on the heels of the poet; and imagination, whenever it appears for a moment, is led away into bondage by the spirit of the fantastic, which is its prose equivalent or makeshift. It is the fantastic that Ibsen generally gives us in the place of imagination; and the fantastic is a kind of rhetoric, manufactured by the will, and has no place in poetry.

In 'The League of Youth' Ibsen takes finally the step which he had half taken in 'Love's Comedy.' 'In my new comedy,' he writes to Dr Brandes, 'you will find the common order of things—no strong emotions, no deep feelings, and, more particularly, no isolated thoughts.' He adds: 'It is written in prose, which gives it a strong realistic colouring. I have paid particular attention to form, and, among other things, I have accomplished the feat of doing without a single monologue, in fact without

a single "aside." The play is hardly more than a good farce; the form is no more than the slightest of advances towards probability on the strict lines of the Scribe tradition; the 'common order of things' is there, in subject, language, and in everything but the satirical intention which underlies the whole trivial, stupid, and no doubt life-like talk and action. Two elements are still in conflict, the photographic and the satirical; and the satirical is the only relief from the photographic. The stage mechanism is still obvious; but the intention, one sees clearly, is towards realism; and the play helps to get the mechanism in order.

After 'The League of Youth' Ibsen tells us that he tried to 'seek salvation in remoteness of subject'; so he returned to his old scheme for a play on Julian the Apostate, and wrote the two five-act plays which make up 'Emperor and Galilean.' He tells us that it is the first work which he wrote under German intellectual influences, and that it contains 'that positive theory of life which the critics have demanded of me so long.' In one letter he affirms that it is 'an entirely realistic work,' and in another, 'It is a part of my own spiritual life which I am putting into this book . . . and the historical subject chosen has a much more intimate connexion with the movements of our own time than one might at first imagine.' How great a relief it must have been, after the beer and sausages of 'The League of Youth,' to go back to an old cool wine, no one can read 'Emperor and Galilean' and doubt. It is a relief and an escape; and the sense of the stage has been put wholly on one side in both of these plays, of which the second reads almost like a parody of the first: the first so heated, so needlessly colloquial, the second so full of argumentative rhetoric. Ibsen has turned against his hero in the space between writing the one and the other; and the Julian of the second is more harshly satirised from within than ever 'Peer Gynt' was. In a letter to Dr Brandes, Ibsen says: 'What the book is or is not, I have no desire to enquire. I only know that I saw a fragment of humanity plainly before my eyes, and that I tried to reproduce what I saw.' But in the play itself this intention comes and goes; and, while some of it reminds one of 'Salammbô' in its attempt to treat

remote ages realistically, other parts are given up wholly to the exposition of theories, and yet others to a kind of spectacular romance, after the cheap method of George Ebers and the German writers of historical fiction. The satire is more serious, the criticism of ideas more fundamental than anything in 'The League of Youth'; but, as in almost the whole of Ibsen's more characteristic work up to this point, satire strives with realism; it is still satire, not irony, and is not yet, as the later irony is to be, a deepening, and thus a justification, of the realism.

Eight years passed between 'The League of Youth' and 'The Pillars of Society'; but they are both woven of the same texture. Realism has made for itself a firmer footing; the satire has more significance; the mechanism of the stage goes much more smoothly, though indeed to a more conventionally happy ending; melodrama has taken some of the place of satire. Yet the 'state-satirist' is still at his work, still concerned with society and bringing only a new detail of the old accusation against society. Like every play of this period, it is the unveiling of a lie. See yourselves as you are, the man of science seems to be saying to us. Here are your 'pillars of society'; they are the tools of society. Here is your happy marriage, and it is a doll's house. Here is your respected family, here is the precept of 'honour your father and your mother' in practice; and here is the little voice of heredity whispering, 'ghosts'! There is the lie of respectability, the lie hidden behind marriage, the lie which saps the very roots of the world.

Ibsen is no preacher, and he has told us expressly that 'Ghosts' 'preaches nothing at all.' This pursuit of truth to its most secret hiding-place is not a sermon against sin; it sets a scientific dogma visibly to work, and watches the effect of the hypothesis. As the dogma is terrible and plausible, and the logic of its working-out faultless, we get one of the deeper thrills that modern art has to give us. I would take 'A Doll's House,' 'Ghosts,' and 'The Wild Duck' as Ibsen's three central plays, the plays in which his method completely attained its end, in which his whole capacities are seen at their finest balance; and this work, this reality in which every word, meaningless in itself, is alive with suggestion, is the finest scientific work which has been done in literature. Into this

period comes his one buoyant play, 'An Enemy of the People,' his rebound against the traditional hypocrisy which had attacked 'Ghosts' for its telling of unseasonable truths; it is an allegory, in the form of journalism, or journalism in the form of allegory, and is the 'apology' of the man of science for his mission. Every play is a dissection, or a vivisection rather; for these people who suffer so helplessly, and are shown us so calmly in their agonies, are terribly alive. 'A Doll's House' is the first of Ibsen's plays in which the puppets have no visible wires. The playwright has perfected his art of illusion; beyond 'A Doll's House' and 'Ghosts' dramatic illusion has never gone. And the irony of the ideas that work these living puppets has now become their life-blood. It is the tragic irony of a playwright who is the greatest master of technique since Sophocles, but who is only the playwright in Sophocles, not the poet.

For this moment, the moment of his finest achievement, that fantastic element which was Ibsen's resource against the prose of fact is so sternly repressed that it seems to have left no trace behind. With 'The Wild Duck' fantasy comes back, but with a more precise and explicit symbolism, not yet disturbing the reality of things. Here the irony is more disinterested than even in 'Ghosts,' for it turns back on the reformer and shows us how tragic a muddle we may bring about in the pursuit of truth and in the name of our ideals. In each of the plays which follows we see the return and encroachment of symbolism, the poetic impulse crying for satisfaction and offering us ever new forms of the fantastic in place of any simple and sufficing gift of the imagination. The man of science has had his way, has fulfilled his aim, and is discontented with the limits within which he has fulfilled it. He would extend those limits; and at first it seems as if those limits are to be extended. But the exquisite pathos which humanises what is fantastic in 'The Wild Duck' passes, in 'Rosmersholm,' in which the problems of 'Love's Comedy' are worked out to their logical conclusion, into a form, not of genuine tragedy, but of mental melodrama. In 'The Lady from the Sea,' how far is the symbol which has eaten up reality really symbol? Is it not rather the work of the intelligence than of the imagination? Is it not allegory intruding

into reality, disturbing that reality and giving us no spiritual reality in its place?

'Hedda Gabler' is closer to life; and Ibsen said about it in a letter:

'It was not really my desire to deal in this play with so-called problems. What I principally wanted to do was to depict human beings, human emotions, and human destinies upon a groundwork of certain of the social conditions and principles of the present day.'

The play might be taken for a study in that particular kind of 'decadence' which has come to its perfection in uncivilised and overcivilised Russia; and the woman whom Ibsen studied as his model was actually half-Russian. Eleonora Duse has created Hedda over again, as a poet would have created her, and has made a wonderful creature whom Ibsen never conceived, or at least never rendered. Ibsen has tried to add his poetry by way of ornament, and gives us a trivial and inarticulate poet about whom float certain catchwords. Here the chief catchword is 'vine-leaves in the hair'; in 'The Master-builder' it is 'harps in the air'; in 'Little Eyolf' it takes human form and becomes the Rat-wife; in 'John Gabriel Borkman' it drops to the tag of 'a dead man and two shadows'; in 'When we Dead Awaken' there is nothing but icy allegory. All that queer excitement of 'The Master-builder,' that 'ideal' awake again, is it not really a desire to open one's door to the younger generation? But is it the younger generation that finds itself at home there? is it not rather 'Peer Gynt' back again, and the ride through the air on the back of the reindeer?

In his earlier plays Ibsen had studied the diseases of society, and he had considered the individual only in his relation to society. Now he turns to study the diseases of the individual conscience. Only life interests him now, and only life feverishly alive; and the judicial irony has gone out of his scheme of things. The fantastic, experimental artist returns, now no longer external, but become morbidly curious. The man of science, groping after something outside science, reaches back, though with a certain uneasiness, to the nursery legend of the Rat-wife in 'Little Eyolf'; and the Rat-wife is neither reality nor imagination, neither Mother Bombie nor Macbeth's

witches, but the offspring of a supernaturalism that does not believe in itself. In 'John Gabriel Borkman,' which is the culmination of Ibsen's skill in construction, a play in four acts with only the pause of a minute between each, he is no longer content to concern himself with the old material, lies or misunderstandings, the irony of things happening as they do; but will have fierce hatreds, and a kind of incipient madness in things. In 'When we Dead Awaken,' all the people are quite consciously insane, and act a kind of charade with perfectly solemn faces, and a visible effort to look their parts.

In these last plays, with their many splendid qualities, not bound together and concentrated as in 'Ghosts,' we see the revenge of the imagination upon the realist, who has come to be no longer interested in the action of society upon the individual, but in the individual as a soul to be lost or saved. The man of science has discovered the soul, and does not altogether know what to do with it. He has settled its limits, set it to work in space and time, laid bare some of its secrets, shown its 'physical basis.' And now certain eccentricities in it begin to beckon to him; he would follow the soul into the darkness, but it is dark to him; he can but strain after it as it flutters. In the preface to the collected edition of his plays, published in 1901, Maeterlinck has pointed out, as one still standing at the cross-roads might point out to those who have followed him so far on his way, the great uncertainty in which the poet, the dramatist of to-day, finds himself, as what seems to be known or conjectured of 'the laws of Nature' is forced upon him, making the old, magnificently dramatic opportunities of the ideas of fate, of eternal justice, no longer possible for him to use.

'Le poète dramatique est obligé de faire descendre dans la vie réelle, dans la vie de tous les jours, l'idée qu'il se fait de l'inconnu. Il faut qu'il nous montre de quelle façon, sous quelle forme, dans quelles conditions, d'après quelles lois, à quelle fin, agissent sur nos destinées les puissances supérieures, les influences inintelligibles, les principes infinis, dont, en tant que poète, il est persuadé que l'univers est plein. Et comme il est arrivé à une heure où loyalement il lui est à peu près impossible d'admettre les anciennes, et où celles qui les doivent remplacer ne sont pas encore déterminées, n'ont pas encore de nom, il hésite, tâtonne, et s'il veut rester absolument sincère,

il n'ose plus se risquer hors de la réalité immédiate. Il se borne à étudier les sentiments humains dans leurs effets matériels et psychologiques.'

So long as Ibsen does this, he achieves great and solid things; and in 'Ghosts' a scientific dogma, the law or theory of heredity, has for once taken the place of Fate, and almost persuaded us that science, if it takes poetry from us, can restore to us a kind of poetry. But, as Maeterlinck has seen, as it is impossible not to see,

'quand Ibsen, dans d'autres drames, essaie de relier à d'autres mystères les gestes de ses hommes en mal de conscience exceptionnelle ou de ses femmes hallucinées, il faut convenir que, si l'atmosphère qu'il parvient à créer est étrange et troublante, elle est rarement saine et respirable, parce qu'elle est rarement raisonnable et réelle.'

From the time when, in 'A Doll's House,' Ibsen's puppets came to life, they have refused ever since to be put back into their boxes. The manager may play what tricks with them he pleases, but he cannot get them back into their boxes. They are alive, and they live with a weird, spectacular, but irrevocable life. But, after the last play of all, the dramatic epilogue, 'When we Dead Awaken,' the puppets have gone back into their boxes. Now they have come to obey the manager, and to make mysterious gestures which they do not understand, and to speak in images and take them for literal truths. Even their spectral life has gone out of them; they are rigid now, and only the strings set them dancing. The puppets had come to life, they had lived the actual life of the earth; and then a desire of the impossible, the desire of a life rarefied beyond human limits, took their human life from them, and they were puppets again. The epilogue to the plays is the apostasy of the man of science, and, as with all apostates, his new faith is not a vital thing; the poet was not really there to reawaken.

Before Ibsen the drama was a part of poetry; Ibsen has made it prose. All drama up to Ibsen had been romantic; Ibsen made it science. Until Ibsen no playwright had ever tried to imitate life on the stage, or even, as Ibsen does, to interpret it critically. The desire of every dramatist had been to create over again a more

abundant life, and to create it through poetry or through humour; through some form, that is, of the imagination. There was a time when Ibsen too would have made poetry of the drama; there was a time when verse seemed to him the only adequate form in which drama could be written. But his power to work in poetry was not equal to his desire to be a poet; and, when he revolted against verse and deliberately adopted as his material 'the common order of things,' when he set himself, for the first time in the history of the drama, to produce an illusion of reality rather than a translation or transfiguration of reality, he discovered his own strength, the special gift which he had brought into the world; but at the same time he set, for himself and for his age, his own limits to drama.

It is quite possible to write poetic drama in prose, though to use prose rather than verse is to write with the left hand rather than with the right. Before Ibsen, prose had been but a serving-maid to verse; and no great dramatist had ever put forward the prose conception of the drama. Shakespeare and the Elizabethans had used prose as an escape or a side-issue, for variety, or for the heightening of verse. Molière had used prose as the best makeshift for verse, because he was not himself a good craftsman in the art. And, along with the verse, and necessarily dependent upon it, there was the poetic, the romantic quality in drama. Think of those dramatists who seem to have least kinship with poetry; think, I will not say of Molière, but of Congreve. What is more romantic than 'The Way of the World'? But Ibsen extracts the romantic quality from drama as if it were a poison; and, in deciding to write realistically in prose, he gives up every aim but that which he defines, so early as 1874, as the wish 'to produce the impression on the reader that what he was reading was something that had really happened.' He is not even speaking of the effect in a theatre; he is defining his aim inside the covers of a book, his whole conception of drama.

The art of imitation has never been carried farther than it has been carried by Ibsen in his central plays; and with him, at his best, it is no mere imitation but a critical interpretation of life. How greatly this can be done, how greatly Ibsen has done it, there is 'Ghosts' to show us. Yet at what point this supreme criticism may



stop, what remains beyond it in the treatment of the vilest contemporary material, we shall see if we turn to a play which seems at first sight more grossly realistic than the most realistic play of Ibsen—Tolstoi's 'Powers of Darkness.' Though, as one reads or sees it, the pity and fear seem to weigh almost intolerably upon one, the impression left upon the mind when the reading or the performance is over, is that left by the hearing of noble and tragic music. How, out of such human discords, such a divine harmony can be woven I do not know; that is the secret of Tolstoi's genius, as it is the secret of the musician's. Here, achieved in terms of naked horror, we find some of the things which Maeterlinck has aimed at and never quite rendered through an atmosphere and through forms of vague beauty. And we find also another kind of achievement, by the side of which Ibsen's cunning adjustments of reality seem a little trivial or a little unreal. Here, for once, human life is islanded on the stage, a pin-point of light in an immense darkness; and the sense of that surrounding darkness is conveyed to us, as in no other modern play, by an awful sincerity and an unparalleled simplicity. Whether Tolstoi has learnt by instinct some stagecraft which playwrights have been toiling after in vain, or by what conscious and deliberate art he has supplemented instinct, I do not know. But, out of horror and humour, out of some creative abundance which has taken the dregs of human life up into itself and transfigured them by that pity which is understanding, by that faith which is creation, Tolstoi has in this play done what Ibsen has never done—given us an interpretation of life which owes nothing to science, nothing to the prose conception of life, but which, in spite of its form, is essential poetry.

Ibsen's concern is with character; and no playwright has created a more probable gallery of characters with whom we can become so easily and so completely familiar. They live before us, and with apparently so unconscious a self-revelation that we speculate about them as we would about real people, and sometimes take sides with them against their creator. Nora would, would not, have left her children! We know all their tricks of mind, their little differences from other people, their habits, the things that a novelist spends so much of his time in bringing

laboriously before us. Ibsen, in a single stage direction, gives you more than you would find in a chapter of a novel. His characters, when they are most themselves, are modern, of the day or moment; they are average, and represent nothing which we have not met with, nothing which astonishes us because it is of a nobility, a heroism, a wildness beyond our acquaintance. It is for this that he has been most praised; and there is something marvellous in the precision of his measurements of just so much and no more of the soul.

Yet there are no great characters in Ibsen; and do not great characters still exist? Ibsen's exceptional people never authenticate themselves as being greatly exceptional; their genius is vouched for on a report which they are themselves unable to confirm, as in the inarticulate poet Lövborg, or on their own assertion, as with John Gabriel Borkman, of whom even Dr Brandes admits, 'His own words do not convince me, for one, that he has ever possessed true genius.' When he is most himself, when he has the firmest hold on his material, Ibsen limits himself to that part of the soul which he and science know. By taking the average man as his hero, by having no hero, no villain, only probable levels, by limiting human nature to the bounds within which he can clinically examine it, he shirks, for the most part, the greatest crisis of the soul. Can the greatest drama be concerned with less than the ultimate issues of nature, the ultimate types of energy? with Lear and with *Œdipus*? The world of Shakespeare and of the Greeks is the world; it is universal, whether Falstaff blubbers in the tavern or Philoctetes cries in the cave. But the world which Ibsen really knows is that little segment of the world which we call society; its laws are not those of nature, its requirements are not the requirements of God or of man; it is a business association for the capture and division of profits; it is, in short, a fit subject for scientific study, but no longer a part of the material of poetry. The characteristic plays of Ibsen are rightly known as 'social dramas.' Their problem, for the main part, is no longer man in the world, but man in society. That is why they have no atmosphere, no background, but are carefully localised.

The rhythm of prose is physiological; the rhythm of

poetry is musical. There is in every play of Ibsen a rhythm perfect of its kind, but it is the physiological rhythm of prose. The rhythm of a play of Shakespeare speaks to the blood like wine or music; it is with exultation, with intoxication, that we see or read 'Antony and Cleopatra,' or even 'Richard II.' But the rhythm of a play of Ibsen is like that of a diagram in Euclid; it is the rhythm of logic, and it produces in us the purely mental exaltation of a problem solved. These people who are seen so clearly, moving about in a well-realised world, using probable words and doing necessary things, may owe some of their manner at least to the modern French stage, and to the pamphleteer's prose world of Dumas *filis*; yet, though they may illustrate problems, they no longer recite them. They are seen, not as the poet sees his people, naked against a great darkness, but clothed and contemporary, from the level of an ironical observer who sits in a corner of the same room. It is the doctor who sits there, watching his patients, and smiling ambiguously as he infers from his knowledge of their bodies what pranks their souls are likely to play.

If Ibsen gets no other kind of beauty, does he not get beauty of emotion? Or can there be beauty in an intensity of emotion which can be at least approached, in the power of thrilling, by an Adelphi melodrama? Is the speech of his people, when it is most nearly a revelation of the obscure forces outside us or within us, more than a stammering of those to whom unconsciousness does not lend distinction but intensifies idiosyncrasy? Drama, in its essence, requires no speech; it can be played by marionettes, or in dumb show, and be enthralling. But, speech once admitted, must not that speech, if it is to collaborate in supreme drama, be filled with imagination, be itself a beautiful thing? To Ibsen beauty has always been of the nature of an ornament, not an end. He would concentrate it into a catchword, repeated until it has lost all emotional significance. For the rest, his speech is the language of the newspaper, recorded with the fidelity of the phonograph. Its whole aim is at economy, as if economy were an end rather than a means.

Has not Ibsen, in the social dramas, tried to make poems without words? There is to be beauty of motive

and beauty of emotion; but the words are to be the plainest of all the plain words which we use in talking with one another, and nothing in them is to speak greatly when great occasions arise. Men's speech in great drama is as much higher than the words they would use in real life as their thoughts are higher than those words. It says the unuttered part of our speech. Ibsen would suppress all this heightening as he has suppressed the soliloquy and the aside. But here what he suppresses is not a convention but a means of interpretation. It is suppressing the essence for the sake of the accident.

Ibsen's genius for the invention of a situation has never been surpassed. More living characters than the characters of Ibsen have never moved on the stage. His women are at work now in the world, interpreting women to themselves, helping to make the women of the future. He has peopled a new world. But the inhabitants of this new world, before they begin to transgress its laws and so lose their own citizenship there, are so faithfully copied from the people about us that they share their dumbness, that dumbness to which it is the power and privilege of poetry to give speech. Given the character and the situation, what Ibsen asks at the moment of crisis is: What would this man be most likely to say? not, what would be the finest, the most deeply revealing thing that he could say? In that difference lies all the difference between prose and poetry.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

Art. V.—THE ETHICS OF HENRY SIDGWICK.

1. *Henry Sidgwick. A Memoir.* By A. S. and E. M. S. London: Macmillan, 1906.
  2. *The Methods of Ethics.* By H. Sidgwick. First edition. London: Macmillan, 1874. Sixth edition, 1901.
  3. *Principles of Political Economy.* By the same. First edition. London: Macmillan, 1883. Third edition, 1901.
  4. *The Elements of Politics.* By the same. First edition. London: Macmillan, 1891. Second edition, 1897.
  5. *Philosophy; its Scope and Relations.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1902.
  6. *Lectures on the Ethics of T. H. Green, Mr Herbert Spencer, and J. Martineau.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1902.
  7. *The Development of European Polity.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1903.
  8. *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1904.
  9. *Lectures on the Philosophy of Kant, etc.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1905.
- And other works.

UNIVERSITIES change quickly, but the gap which Sidgwick's death left in Cambridge is not filled, nor will it ever be filled for those who knew him. The recent appearance of his 'Life'—written with great ability, and giving a most vivid representation of his thought and work—affords an opportunity for an attempt to explain what he did, and—though this can never be done adequately—what he was.

His life was quiet and uneventful. He was born in 1838. After three years at Rugby he went up to Trinity in 1855. His undergraduate career was highly distinguished. He was Craven Scholar and Senior Classic, and also thirty-third Wrangler. It is a Cambridge tradition that he was told by his private tutor in mathematics that he might have been Senior Wrangler if he had chosen—that is, if he had given his chief attention to mathematics rather than to classics. In 1859 he was elected a Fellow of Trinity, and appointed an assistant tutor in classics. For some time he gave much of his leisure to Oriental

languages, but before long he had discovered that his main interest was in philosophy and economics, and he devoted himself entirely to these studies, in which he became college lecturer in 1867.

At this period all Fellows of colleges were bound on admission to declare themselves members of the Church of England. Sidgwick had felt no difficulty in doing this in 1859; but his views gradually changed, and in 1869 he felt it his duty to resign his fellowship. He retained, however, his college lectureship, and in 1881 was made an honorary Fellow. (In 1885, when the old restrictions had been removed, he was re-elected to a fellowship on the foundation.) In 1872 he stood unsuccessfully for the professorship of moral philosophy, to which he was elected in 1883. In 1876 he was married to Miss E. M. Balfour, now Principal of Newnham College.

After his election to the professorship no outward change took place in his life for many years. The chief events in it were his unsuccessful advocacy in 1891 of the abolition of compulsory Greek, and in 1897 of the opening of Cambridge degrees to women. In 1900 he resigned his professorship on finding that he was suffering from a mortal disease. He died on August 28 of that year.

It is difficult to write of a character and an activity which were so many-sided. The central point of his life, I think, was that he was above all things a student. Not that he ever forgot for a moment the claims which teaching had on him, but that he realised that here, as so often in life, a result is best attained by not aiming at it directly, and that a university teacher will impart knowledge all the more effectively if his chief ideal is not to impart it but to acquire it.

Certainly the great impression left by his lectures was that he regarded his pupils, down to the youngest, as fellow-students. This attitude, surely the true one in all university teaching, is especially important in the teaching of philosophy, where every result, except in the mere history of the subject, is controversial. Sidgwick never tried to force his own views on the members of his class. It was impossible to come away from his lectures without feeling that there were at least two sides to every philosophical question, and that each man must choose on his own responsibility. Above all he never fell into the snare

which has been fatal to so many teachers of philosophy: he never preached in the lecture-room. He sought for truth, and not for edification.

He took a prominent part in university business, especially in the organisation of all the changes which the new statutes of 1882 rendered necessary. In particular, the education of women at Cambridge owes more to him than to any other person. He was regarded as the leader of the progressive party in university matters, and, in addition to all the heavy labour which this sometimes involved, he did much ordinary administrative work on the Council of the Senate and the General Board of Studies.

The younger men who knew him used to regard a chance of hearing him talk as the greatest of social pleasures. His conversation would be difficult to describe, because, like all good conversation, it had no very marked features. It often turned on literature. He was a most constant novel-reader, remembered the novels he read with wonderful accuracy, and was always glad to talk about them. But we were best pleased when he began to speak of poetry, for then he would often begin to quote; and to hear him repeat poetry—especially Mr Swinburne's poetry—was not easily to be forgotten.

His interest in politics was always great, and his letters show how closely he followed their changes. He was a Liberal, and after 1886 a Liberal Unionist. Without any *a priori* objection to socialism, he was not enthusiastic about socialistic proposals, and is said to have remarked that he was patriotic enough to wish that some other nation should try them first.

But his chief interest, as is evident from his 'Life,' was in religious questions—an interest which, as we shall see in the later part of this article, was rendered specially intense by his system of philosophy. He was educated as a member of the Church of England, and regarded himself as a member of that Church when he was admitted to his fellowship in 1859. In 1862 we find him writing: 'At present, however, I am only a Theist; but I have vowed that it shall not be for want of profound and devoted study if I do not become a Christian.' The profound and devoted study lasted throughout his life, but he never returned to Christianity. The following extracts

from his letters will indicate his religious position. In 1880 he writes :—

‘In fact, for many years I have not thought of Christianity except as the creed of my friends and fellow-countrymen, etc. But as regards Theism the case is different. . . . If I am asked whether I believe in a God, I should really have to say that I do not know—that is, I do not know whether I *believe* or merely *hope* that there is a moral order in this universe that we know, a supreme principle of Wisdom and Benevolence, guiding all things to good ends, and to the happiness of the good. I certainly *hope* that this is so, but I do not think it capable of being *proved*. All I can say is that no opposed explanation of the origin of the Cosmos—for instance, the atomistic explanation—seems to me even plausible, and that I cannot accept life on any other terms, or construct a rational system of my own conduct except on the basis of this faith.’

Again he writes, in 1886 :—

‘I find that I grow more and more, on the one hand, to regard Christianity as indispensable and irreplaceable—looking at it from a sociological point of view—and on the other hand to find it more and more incomprehensible how any one whom I feel to be really akin to myself in intellectual habits and culture, can possibly find his religion in it.’ (In the same year he says), ‘I tend to the view that the question of Personality, the point on which the theist as such differs from the atheist, is of no fundamental ethical importance. The question is *what* is the order of the cosmos, not whether it is a consciously planned order.’

We get an even clearer statement in 1891 :—

‘My attitude towards Christianity is briefly this. (1) I think Optimism in some form is an indispensable creed—not for every one, but for progressive humanity as a whole. (2) I think Optimism in a Theistic form—I mean the belief that there is a sympathetic soul of the Universe that intends the welfare of each particular human being and is guiding all the events of his life for his good—is, for the great majority of human beings, not only the most attractive form of Optimism, but the most easily acceptable, being not more unproven than any other form of Optimism, and certainly more completely satisfying to the deepest human needs. (3) I think that no form of Optimism has an adequate rational basis ; therefore, if Theism is to be maintained—and I am inclined to predict that



the needs of the human heart will maintain it—it must be, for Europeans, by virtue of the support that it still obtains from the traditional belief in historical Christianity.’

His great interest in psychical research, too, was closely connected with the special importance which his ethical system caused him to attach to the question of a life after death. He had, however, begun to be interested in it even in his undergraduate days. He was one of the founders of the Society for Psychical Research, and its first president. He was always ready to give up his time to investigating any of the phenomena brought before the society, even when, as in the case of Eusapia Paladino, it involved weeks of experiments. Indeed, he considered the work so important as to allow considerations connected with it to have great weight in determining him to become a candidate, for the second time, for the professorship of moral philosophy. ‘I find,’ he writes, ‘that the Psychical Researchers think it better for the cause—at least this is Myers’s view. Also it is not yet clear that Psychical Research can occupy a great deal of one’s time; it depends on our finding “subjects.”’

Sidgwick’s activity, both as a lecturer and a writer, was many-sided. His ‘Principles of Political Economy,’ his ‘Elements of Politics,’ and his ‘Development of European Polity’ are all works of very considerable importance. In the ‘Principles of Political Economy’ especially, the clearness of his thought and his great power of analysis produced results of great value. He put forward no new theory of the subject as a whole; he adopted no new position towards the science; and his work, therefore, cannot be summarised or briefly described. But in every part of economics he cleared up difficulties and exposed ambiguities.

‘The Elements of Politics’ is a book of great interest. If it is not so much a scientific treatise as its author intended it to be, the cause must, I think, be sought in the nature of the subject, which does not seem at present to be in a state for really scientific treatment, whatever it may be in the future. There is as yet no body of doctrine in the science of politics which is universally admitted to be true by all competent students; and thus a work on politics cannot be much more than an expression of the more fundamental articles of the political

creed of its writer. This is really very much what Sidgwick has given us ; and such an exposition, in the case of so wise and loyal a citizen was certainly worth having.

But his main interest was in philosophy ; and, in philosophy, his chief work was done in ethics. Great as was the importance which, as we shall see, he attached to metaphysics, the metaphysical conclusions at which he was able to arrive were few in number, and mostly negative. His influence on the thought of his age was almost exclusively ethical.

His teaching on this subject is to be found in his 'Methods of Ethics,' the first edition of which was published in 1874, and the sixth, containing alterations made just before his death, in 1901. Each edition contained many alterations, but the variations were unimportant compared with what remained unchanged, and it is not necessary to refer to them here.

Sidgwick's treatment of ethics is mainly ethical in the strictest sense, and deals but little with psychology. He is primarily interested in the question of the nature of the good and the right, and not in the question of the historical development of our knowledge of them. And the question of how we are able to do right and to do wrong is also of subordinate importance for him. We may note in passing, however, his luminous treatment of the question of the freedom of the will, as to which he takes a characteristically balanced position. He points out the strong support which determinism gains from the fact that it is universally admitted to be valid as to all events but human actions. It is also, he observes, universally admitted to be valid as to those of our actions which are instinctive and involuntary, while it is impossible to draw a sharp line between voluntary and involuntary action. Again, we have no hesitation in inferring the future actions of men from their past actions ; and, should our inferences prove erroneous, we do not attribute this to some act of free will, which is essentially unpredictable, but to some error in our knowledge of the determining facts. Against all this, however, Sidgwick sets 'the immediate affirmation of consciousness in the moment of deliberate action. Certainly when I have a distinct consciousness of choosing between alternatives of conduct,

one of which I conceive as right or reasonable, I find it impossible not to think that I can now choose to do what I so conceive, supposing that there is no obstacle to my doing it other than the condition of my desires and voluntary habits.'

This is regarded by him as so important that it balances the other arguments; and the result is that he finds himself unable to decide for either alternative. He points out, however, that no destructive effect on morality would logically result from the truth of determinism, and that, while it is true that a man may cover his immoral action by a sophistical use of determinist principles, he can just as easily cover it by a sophistical use of indeterminist principles. Nor does the truth or falsehood of determinism affect the question of the nature of the good or the right. Again, the determinist can affix a definite and reasonable meaning to such terms as 'merit' and 'responsibility'; and the punishment of crime is as reasonable for a determinist as for a libertarian. We have therefore, he holds, no practical evil to fear from the insolubility of the theoretical difficulty.

Let us return to Sidgwick's main problem, the determination of the nature of the right and the good. His position, summed up in technical language, is that he is an ethical hedonist, but not a psychological hedonist; that his ethical hedonism is universalistic and not egoistic; and that he is an intuitionist, but not of the ordinary type. Let us translate this condensed statement into a form which will be more generally intelligible.

In the first place, he was not a psychological hedonist. Psychological hedonism is the doctrine that the ultimate aim of every person in every action is to gain some pleasure for himself, or to avoid some pain for himself. (In some cases the further assertion is made that a man always acts in the way which he believes will procure him *more* pleasure than any other course which is open to him.) The chief advocates of this doctrine have been Bentham and J. S. Mill. Its truth or falsity will clearly have important consequences for ethics. But it is not itself an ethical proposition, since it does not tell us how we *ought* to act, but professes to point out to us how, in point of fact, we always *do* act. Hence it is called psychological.

Sidgwick rejects this view. Alike in the lowest and

the highest parts of our nature—in our animal desires and in patriotism and benevolence—we find desires which are not desires for pleasure. Take, for example, hunger. Men often, no doubt, eat, not because they are hungry, but because they desire the pleasure of eating. But when a man is hungry he has, to use Sidgwick's words, 'a direct impulse to the eating of food.' He does not desire the pleasure of eating, but he desires to eat for its own sake. Of course the satisfaction of this desire, as of any other desire, gives pleasure. But this secondary pleasure cannot be the object at which the desire is aimed, for it is only regarded as a pleasure when the desire has already arisen. In the same way a benevolent man does not desire to gain pleasure for himself by helping his neighbours. He desires to help his neighbours for their sake, not for his own. He will gain a secondary pleasure if his efforts are successful, but this success is only pleasant because it has been desired; and therefore what is desired is not the pleasure.

Every gratified desire produces a secondary pleasure—the pleasure of getting what you want—which is never the object of the desire. In those cases where the object of a desire is a pleasure—as when a *gourmand* eats for the pleasure of eating—he has also the secondary pleasure of getting what he wants. But it is not this secondary pleasure which makes his desire a desire for pleasure.

It has sometimes been said that the hungry man and the benevolent man, although not moved by the hope of future pleasure, are yet moved by the hope of getting rid of present pain—the pain of ungratified desire. But, as Sidgwick points out, all desire is not painful, and therefore it must move us otherwise than by urging us to free ourselves from it. Besides, if this theory were correct, all benevolent men would be just as well satisfied in whatever way their desire was removed—that is to say, they would as readily try to remove it by forgetting the distress of others as by relieving that distress. And this is notoriously not the case with a really benevolent man. Consequently there must be some men who desire to help others for the sake of the others, and not merely to spare themselves pain.

Sidgwick was not, of course, the first man who had pointed out that desires could be for other things than

pleasures. It was clearly recognised by Bishop Butler. And there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt (in spite of the contrary opinion of Green) that Sidgwick was right in his statement that Hume rejected psychological hedonism. The importance of Sidgwick's work on this subject lies in the fact that it came after a period in which psychological hedonism, as expounded by Bentham and Mill, had been dominant in English thought, and that it did more than any other influence to remove that dominance.

It is possible then for men to desire pleasures, and it is possible for them to desire other things. What ought they to desire? On this point Sidgwick is an intuitionist. That is to say, he holds that if we are to have any ethical knowledge at all, we must be able to start from some statement which we accept as self-evident *and which is itself an ethical statement*. No ethical statement—to put this last condition in another form—can be deduced from premises unless one at least of those premises is itself an ethical statement. It is impossible to deduce the nature of the good from any statements as to what does exist, or will exist, or cannot exist. Unless you start with the good, you will never be able to finish with it. In the same way with the conception of the right—that is, what we ought to do. No result can be obtained from statements which are confined to asserting what men must do, or generally do, or are developing the habit of doing, or must do if certain consequences are to be produced. Whatever follows from such premises as these, taken alone, will still leave the question whether we ought to do this or that unanswered. If we cannot find some ethical proposition which we can believe without proof, we can have no ethics at all.

Sidgwick is thus an intuitionist in ethics, since those ultimate propositions which are accepted without proof are usually called intuitions. His doctrine must, however, be carefully distinguished from the more ordinary forms of ethical intuitionism. Some people have maintained that our only moral intuitions are the declarations of our conscience on the rightness or wrongness of individual actions, and that we have no intuitions at all as to general rules of morality. In this case any science of ethics could only be inductive. Taking the declarations

of our own and our neighbours' consciences as our data, we could endeavour to discover by induction what general qualities were shared by actions which were approved by those consciences, and what general qualities were shared by actions that were condemned.

This view, however, is not very common. It is more usual to hold that we have intuitions as to the rightness or wrongness of certain classes of actions. Thus it is held that we know intuitively that it is wrong to commit murder, right to tell the truth, and the like. This is the most common form of intuitionism, and would probably be found to be the most popular of all ethical theories.

Sidgwick, however, does not accept this view, for reasons to which I shall return. He holds that our trustworthy ultimate judgments on ethics are fewer and simpler than is maintained by ordinary intuitionism. The intuitions which he accepts are five in number. The first two have more direct reference to the good, and the last three to the right and to our duty, though the first two also aid in the determination of right action.

The first of these principles is as follows: 'We can find nothing that, on reflection, appears to possess' the 'quality of goodness out of relation to human existence, or at least to some consciousness or feeling.' (From Sidgwick's express declaration in other passages as to the lower animals it is clear that he intends the words 'some consciousness or feeling' to include all sentient beings.) Nothing then is good as an end except some state of a conscious being; and nothing is good as a means except as tending to bring about some state of a conscious being.

Since this is put forward as an intuition, it is clear that it is useless to ask for a proof. For those who feel it to be an ultimate and self-evident proposition no proof is required. On the other hand, they will be unable to convince any other person who does not recognise the proposition as self-evident. In the case of this particular proposition, however, the assent of ethical thinkers, and indeed of mankind in general, would be almost universal. A different view has lately been defended with much force by Mr G. E. Moore in his '*Principia Ethica*,' but it has very few supporters.

But what—this will be the next question—is the characteristic of a state of consciousness which makes it good?

For although nothing but such states are good as ends, it is evident that all such states are not good. Some of them would be universally recognised as being very bad. On this subject Sidgwick accepts another judgment as intuitively true. This is the judgment that a state of consciousness is good as an end in so far as it is a state of happiness or pleasure (these two words are used as synonymous), and is bad in so far as it is a state of unhappiness or pain. We must not forget that a state of consciousness which is itself a state of happiness, and so good as an end, may produce or involve a state of unhappiness in the future, or for some other person, and so be bad as a means. And if it produces or involves unhappiness greater than its own happiness, then, on the whole, it is to be condemned. Thus the state of consciousness of a man who was enjoying a combat of gladiators might deserve condemnation if the pain which it involved for others was greater than the pleasure it contained for him.

We now pass to the intuitions which more directly concern the right. Sidgwick does not explicitly lay down—what might indeed be regarded as a tautology—that we ought to prefer the good to the bad. He proceeds at once to two principles, which he calls respectively the principles of prudence and of rational benevolence.

The principle of prudence is as follows: 'I ought not to prefer a present lesser good to a future greater good.' He compares the self-evidence of this proposition to that of the axiom, 'If equals be added to equals, the wholes are equal.' A future good, indeed, is almost always less certain than a present good, and in making our choice we shall do well to make allowance for the greater uncertainty of the bird in the bush. But when this allowance has been made—as Sidgwick supposes it to have been—it may be accepted as self-evident that it is wrong to prefer the smaller good because it is nearer.

The principle of rational benevolence is, 'I ought not to prefer my own lesser good to the greater good of another.' To this Sidgwick ascribes the same self-evidence as to the last. Here, again, it is assumed that the good of the other man remains greater, after due allowance has been made for the greater uncertainty which often—though not always—attends our efforts for the good of others as compared with our efforts for our own good.

This principle does not afford by itself a sufficient basis for rational benevolence. For that, it would be necessary to add to it the principle, 'I ought not to prefer the lesser good of one fellow-being to the greater good of another fellow-being.' Or the two principles could be combined in one by saying that I ought not to prefer the lesser good of any sentient being to the greater good of any other sentient being. Sidgwick realised the necessity of treating good as equally valuable to whichever of our fellow-beings it occurred, but he did not think it necessary to lay it down as one of his intuitions. His reason may have been that this principle is seldom denied in any ethical theory, while many such theories have maintained that a man should prefer his own good to that of any one else. It was therefore more important to emphasise other people's equality with myself than to emphasise other people's equality with one another.

Thus Sidgwick's position is one of ethical hedonism. He does not maintain that we *can* only aim at pleasure, but he maintains that we *ought* not to aim at anything, unless by doing so we shall produce more pleasure than we should produce by any other course open to us. It must be noticed that this does not involve that we ought to aim at nothing but pleasure. For experience shows that the best way to get the most pleasure is not always to aim at it. If we desire other things—the solution of a problem, success in work or success in play—for their own sake, we shall gain more pleasure from pursuing these ends and succeeding in them than we should have gained if we had always aimed at the pleasure. And therefore ethical hedonism teaches us that it is well to aim at other things besides pleasure. But it also teaches us that it is well from time to time, 'in a calm hour,' to consider whether our activities, which are not aimed at pleasure, do bring in more pleasure than any alternative activities would, and to continue them only if we are of opinion that they do so. Thus a student ought to ask himself occasionally whether he gains more pleasure for himself and others by devoting himself to the pursuit of learning than he would by any other possible course of action; and he ought only to persevere in the pursuit of learning if he can answer this question in the affirmative.



Sidgwick's ethical hedonism is, further, universalistic. The pleasure which it is my duty to increase as far as possible is not only or specially my own. (This will require qualification when we come to his fifth ethical intuition, which we have not yet reached.) This is not necessarily involved in ethical hedonism, nor in the rejection of psychological hedonism. It would be possible to hold that man did not always aim at pleasure, and to hold that each man's duty was to aim at whatever in the long run produced the most pleasure for him, regardless of others. In this case hedonism would not be universalistic, but egoistic. But the principle of rational benevolence involves the rejection of egoism. It tells each of us that his happiness should be of no more value to him than the happiness of any other sentient being, and that he ought to be prepared to choose intense misery for himself, if by that means he could avert even greater misery from other people.

It may be remarked in passing that this distinction of 'egoistic' and 'universalistic' does not exist in the case of psychological hedonism. Whenever it is asserted that a man can only aim at pleasure, it is always meant that he can only aim at his own pleasure. Everything which made psychological hedonism appear plausible at all pointed to this conclusion. If it were once seen that a man could aim at anything which was not his own pleasure, there could be no further ground for denying that he could aim at something which was not pleasure at all.

Thus a psychological hedonist must always deny the possibility of unselfish action, since all action was directed to the pleasure of the agent. Actions which are commonly regarded as unselfish he must regard as done because the agent's nature is such that he gets more pleasure out of it (or, according to Mill's form of the theory, a pleasure of more exquisite quality) than he could have got out of any other course open to him.

It is important to emphasise the distinction between egoistic and universalistic hedonism, and again between ethical and psychological hedonism, because they are often confounded. There is a strong tendency, especially among the disciples of the late Professor Green, to assume that every one who holds that pleasure is the only good is bound to believe that a man should only act for his

*own* greatest pleasure; and that any one who accepts the first of these positions and rejects the second is only illogically refusing to acknowledge the distasteful consequences of his original attitude. This mistake as to ethical hedonism seems to be based on two other errors. In the first place, ethical hedonism is confounded with psychological hedonism. In the second place, it is supposed that psychological hedonism says that a man *should* act for his own greatest good, when all that it does is to assert that a man *must* act for his own greatest good.

One of the most important features of Sidgwick's system is the defence which he makes of his hedonistic intuitionism as against the more common form of intuitionism, which holds that we have intuitions which command us to practise special virtues and avoid special sins. A definite proof of the one system, or a definite disproof of the other, would be impossible. As has been already said, an intuition claims to be self-evident. Its evidence, therefore, rests on nothing else; and, if any one rejects it, it is impossible to prove that he is wrong and that those who accept it are right. If any one does not find the proposition that pleasure, as such, is good to be self-evident, while other people do find it self-evident, each person must abide by his own opinion.

It is possible, however, in certain cases, to show that what appeared to be a difference of this sort—ultimate and incurable—is not really so. A man may believe that he accepts some proposition as intuitively certain, of which he has not fully understood the meaning and the implications. When he has seen what is involved in his acceptance of it, he may see that he does not really believe all this. Again, a man may believe that some proposition which he accepts is accepted by him as intuitively certain, and he may subsequently be convinced that he did not hold it as intuitive and self-evident, but as a consequence of some more fundamental proposition.

It is in such ways as these that Sidgwick deals with the more ordinary form of intuitionism. He takes successively the various virtues—benevolence, justice, fidelity, veracity, temperance, purity, courage, humility—and considers what the common opinion of good men holds about each of them. He shows that it is impossible to assert that any simple principle can be the intuitive basis of

our duty in respect to any of these virtues. For any simple principle would either include among what is allowed much that is universally admitted to be wrong, or include among what is forbidden much that is universally admitted to be right. If we try to lay down a principle which, for example, includes in its condemnation all the lies that would be recognised as wrong, while it excluded from its condemnation all lies that would be recognised as right, it cannot possibly be simple. If such a principle can be found at all, it would be so complicated that its self-evidence would be, at the least, very dubious. And in the case of many duties it would be impossible to lay down a rule at all.

Thus the hypothesis that we have intuitions which commend or forbid certain classes of acts without reference to their hedonistic results is discredited. For when we look into the matter, it is, Sidgwick says, impossible to state with any accuracy any propositions which would be accepted as intuitively evident. But, he goes on to show, our moral judgments and our moral practice can be accounted for simply and easily on the hypothesis that what men really regard as intuitively certain is ethical hedonism. When we look through the various cases in which morality permits or forbids the taking of life or the breaking of promises, when we consider the circumstances under which it praises or blames the disregard of danger or the practice of economy, we are led to the conclusion that that conduct is permitted and praised which is held to increase pleasure, while that is forbidden and blamed which is held to increase pain. (In certain cases, of course, our present morality is found to permit and forbid, not what would now be held to promote pleasure and pain respectively, but what has been held to promote them in the past. Morality is always largely affected by tradition.) His conclusion is that the great majority of mankind govern their actions by the principles of ethical hedonism, and would be prepared, if the issue were clearly set before them, to accept those principles as intuitively evident.

The chapters of 'The Methods of Ethics' in which this contention is worked out are perhaps the most characteristic of all Sidgwick's writings. His knowledge of life, his wide sympathies, his scrupulous fairness to opponents,

all combined to make him specially fitted for the analysis of the contents of the generally accepted moral code.

We now come to the most curious feature of Sidgwick's ethical system. This rests on the fifth \* of his intuitions, which is that 'a man's own happiness is an end which it is irrational for him to sacrifice to any other.'

Thus Sidgwick's final position is not simply universalistic hedonism. The maxim of that position is always to act so as to increase as much as possible the amount of pleasure of all sentient beings. And this Sidgwick accepts. But side by side with it he puts this other maxim: Never act so as to sacrifice your own happiness. And, since happiness is sacrificed whenever we miss a chance of increasing it, this maxim can be put in the form: Always act so as to increase as much as possible the amount of your own pleasure.

Here, therefore, we have two maxims, each claiming to control the whole of our action, each controlling it on a different principle. It is, at any rate, conceivable that they should, in some cases, lead us in different directions. In that case complete moral chaos would result, since, however we acted, we should violate an ultimate moral law, and therefore do wrong. Sidgwick therefore concludes that, if morality is to remain completely rational, a harmony between these two maxims must be somehow demonstrated—that is, it must be shown that conduct prescribed by the one maxim could never be condemned by the other, and that a man will never diminish his own happiness by promoting the happiness of the world at large.

Is he right in introducing this dualism into ethics? Since it is a question of intuitions it must be left for each person to decide for himself. Sidgwick did feel both of these maxims to have an intuitively certain validity.

But when he goes on to say that this view appears to him, on the whole, to be the view of common-sense, he passes into a field in which discussion is possible. And

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\* Sidgwick speaks of this as the maxim of prudence. But it is not identical with what he has previously called the maxim of prudence—'I ought not to prefer a present lesser good to a future greater good.' This is not confined to the good of the agent, but applies to *any* good. Sidgwick reached it through a consideration of egoism, but it is not confined to egoism.

here, I confess, it seems to me that he is wrong. By common-sense, he tells us, he means the opinion of 'the *consensus* of mankind—or at least of that portion of mankind which combines adequate intellectual enlightenment with a serious concern for morality.'

Now it does not seem to me that intelligent and virtuous men would, as a rule, regard it as sinful to sacrifice one's own happiness in order to promote greater happiness in others. According to Sidgwick they would regard it as sinful either to do this or not to do this. But I think that they would regard the sacrifice as virtuous, and not as sinful at all. They would, no doubt, say that it was wrong that the man should be compelled to sacrifice either his own happiness or the happiness of others—that is, that there was something unsatisfactory in a world where a man had to choose between happiness and benevolence. But if he chose benevolence, it seems to me that they would say that, whatever was unsatisfactory in the world, it was not his morality in that choice.

It must be noticed that the rejection of Sidgwick's fifth intuition would not lead us to asceticism, nor to the denial that it was the duty of each man to promote his own happiness when there was no reason to the contrary. For we should still be left with the principle that it was each man's duty to promote, as far as possible, the happiness of all sentient beings; and he is himself one of these. All that we should have to say was that a virtuous man, while promoting his own happiness so far as it did not prevent the greater happiness of others, must be prepared to sacrifice it when, by that sacrifice, the total amount of happiness would be increased.

Can we hope to demonstrate the harmony between the two maxims which will, on Sidgwick's theory, be necessary for the coherence of morality? Can we, in the first place, show empirically that the benevolence of a benevolent man will always make him happier than he would have been if he had not been benevolent? Sidgwick does not think this possible. It is true that benevolence is a source of great and exquisite pleasures, and that to care only for one's own happiness is generally a sure way of making oneself unhappy. But there are cases where benevolence and selfishness point different ways. The success of the

greatest reforms has often involved a life of suffering to the reformer, especially when he did not live to see the success of his work. And even a man who has no ambition to be a reformer may be placed in a situation where his duty to his country or to the world at large may compel him to sacrifice, not merely the lower pleasures of life, but the higher—to abandon art, learning, love, for some almost hopeless effort, to avert some great calamity from people for whom he feels only indifference or perhaps repugnance.

The only alternative that remains, Sidgwick holds, is to be able to show, not from empirical observation, but by deduction from the general nature of the universe, that I shall be adequately rewarded if I do my best to promote universal happiness and adequately punished if I do not do so. (By 'adequate' is here meant, he tells us, 'sufficient to make it the agent's interest to promote universal good.')

The simplest way of proving this would be to prove that there was a God who desired such a result, and whose power, whether infinite or not, was sufficient to carry out His will. But this is not the only way in which it could be established. Buddhism has developed the idea of such rewards and punishments to a greater extent than Christianity. But enlightened Buddhists reject all belief in a God and conceive these rewards and punishments as distributed by the operation of an impersonal law.

What is required, however, is that the universe should be shown to be ruled by some power which is not indifferent to moral considerations. And it must also be a power which distributes happiness more or less in proportion to morality. It is not sufficient that the benevolent man should be in the long run happy. He must be at least as happy as he would have been if he had not been benevolent. And since benevolence certainly makes a man on some occasions lose happiness which he would otherwise have gained, it will be necessary to hold that this is compensated by his receiving other happiness which he would otherwise have missed.

It may also be said, I think, though Sidgwick does not mention it in 'The Methods of Ethics,' that it is essential to believe in some life, whether endless or not, after death.

For, as has been said above, it is a matter of empirical observation that, so far as the present life is concerned, a man often diminishes his own happiness by his endeavours to increase the total amount of happiness.

Whether all this can be shown or not is a question which ethics cannot discuss. And here Sidgwick ends 'The Methods of Ethics' with this problem, on which the coherence of ethics depends, still fronting us unsolved. If we abandoned the attempt to solve it, he says, morality would not go altogether, for there would be many cases in which one of the two competing laws urged us to a certain course, while the other either urged us in the same direction or gave us no commands at all. In these cases our duty would still be clear. But when general happiness and the happiness of the agent were in opposition to each other, 'practical reason, being divided against itself, would cease to be a motive on either side; the conflict would have to be decided by the comparative preponderance of one or other of two groups of non-rational impulses.'

Thus for Sidgwick the problems of religion assumed a special importance. On a favourable solution of those problems depended for him not only the possibility of regarding the universe as a whole as good, but the possibility of acting rightly. For most thinkers there remains, at any rate, the comfort of holding that, however indifferent or opposed to good the universe may be, it is possible for each man who chooses to do so to fight on the side of the good. But for Sidgwick the dictates of our moral nature were such that a man cannot in circumstances which often occur act rightly unless the universe is a just universe.

The simplest way of arriving at the desired conclusions would be to accept the belief in a just and powerful God on the authority of one of the religions which claim to be revealed. But this, as I have said, Sidgwick found himself unable to do after a comparatively early age. There remained the possibility of proving these conclusions by metaphysical reasoning.

This has been attempted in two different ways. In the first place, it is sometimes maintained that the nature of all reality is essentially spiritual, a view commonly called idealism. From this the conclusion is drawn (of

course by a fresh and often elaborate chain of reasoning) that reality as a whole cannot be indifferent to the needs of our spiritual nature. From this again, if Sidgwick's conclusions as to what is required to make morality coherent are correct, it might be argued that the nature of reality must be such as to ensure that a man in acting for the general welfare would not sacrifice his own.

This course, however, was not open to Sidgwick, for he was not an idealist. Unfortunately, he wrote no systematic treatise on metaphysics; such a treatise would have been of the utmost value. But we have among his posthumous works a rather full criticism of the philosophy of Kant, and again of the philosophy of Green. He had studied both closely and found himself unable to agree with either.

Much of the idealism of Sidgwick's time depended on Kant and much on Green. But another influence was still more powerful—the influence of Hegel. Sidgwick was far too well read in the history of philosophy to fall into the common mistake of supposing Green to be an Hegelian, or to believe that Hegel had been disposed of when Green was refuted. But we have no account of the reasons why Sidgwick condemned Hegelianism. We see from his 'Life' that in 1870 he was studying Hegel with the thoroughness with which he did everything. He seems to have made up his mind then that the road to truth did not lie through Hegel's philosophy, and to have put it definitely on one side.

But in abandoning idealism we do not necessarily abandon the hope of attaining by metaphysical arguments to a satisfactory solution of the problems of religion. Dualists hold that spirit and matter are equally real. But if, as is generally the case, they hold that above finite spirit and matter there is a supreme being of a spiritual nature by whom finite spirit and matter are controlled, there is still a chance of the desired result. For if such a being can be shown to be good and to be sufficiently powerful, the same results might be expected from his nature as from the nature of a universe which was entirely spiritual.

Sidgwick, so far as he had arrived at definite metaphysical conclusions at all, would seem to have been a dualist. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that he was



## Art. VI.—MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

1. *Municipal Trade*. By Major Leonard Darwin. London: Murray, 1903.
  2. *Municipal Socialism*. A series of articles reprinted from the 'Times,' 1902.
  3. *The Common Sense of Municipal Trading*. By Bernard Shaw. London: Constable, 1904.
  4. *London Municipal Notes*. A Monthly Review of Municipal Work and Progress (1905-6). London Municipal Society, 11 Tothill Street, S.W.
- And other works.

THERE are times and there are subjects in which controversy seems to have reached a stage of exhaustion. The combatants have marshalled their arguments, but agreement is more distant than ever. Decision, if there is to be decision, must be dictated by superior force; and the force which to-day is in the hands of a political majority is more crushing than any that formerly was at the disposal of arbitrary power. It is, at such times, that the policy of the minority seems like to become one of the lost causes of history. The world goes forward with the cry 'whatever is right.' The inevitable present with which each generation has to deal seems to be dominated by an irresistible momentum which carries all before it, till the friction which accompanies all movement sets up a reaction, and we are puzzled to know whether it will prove temporary or permanent.

The detached philosopher, viewing man and society as part of the cosmos, may see, or think he sees, some intelligible principle in the evolution of human destiny; and this principle, if such there be, must have governed the general trend of man's development in society. At the same time there are obviously long periods of action and reaction and of transfusion of energy, during which it is difficult for the passengers, if the phrase may be allowed, to forecast the duration of a prevailing sentiment, or to feel sure what the ultimate result of a current controversy will be. The only thing about which we can be certain is that there will be change.

We are living now under the influence of a great reaction from an earlier political philosophy which is

variously named the Manchester school or, as we think, more adequately the Liberal school of economics, as understood in the earlier writings of Mill, when, in his essay on Liberty, he emphatically proclaimed that the basis of social well-being and progress was the competence of the individual character acquired, disciplined, and perfected in an atmosphere of personal responsibility or liberty. Mill was, in some respects, a microcosm of his age; and the later phases of his philosophy were, consciously or unconsciously, affected by the socialist aspirations which were then only beginning to exercise an influence on modern politics, and which now, unless we are entirely mistaken, lie at the back of the present enthusiasm for municipal trading.

Since the days of Mill, speculation as to the possibilities of human society has been profoundly modified by the general acceptance of the doctrine of evolution. The precise relation of this doctrine to practical politics is still matter of dispute; but every controversialist admits that he must reckon with it, and seeks to make his view square with what he supposes to be the revelation of the evolutionary theory. On the one hand, the earlier view of Mill has been developed and emphasised; and it has been urged that the paramount interest of social evolution still lies in the continuous development of the individual or social unit. His social and economic competence is the base on which the social superstructure most safely rests. His habits and character are plastic; they can be strengthened; directed, or even reduced by disuse to atrophy, as free social experience dictates. The rest of his environment, though by no means constant, is, relatively to him and to his power of control, more rigid and more inevitable. Attempts made by the community in its corporate capacity to alter external circumstances in a way that, incidentally, is detrimental to the competent, for the sake of the less competent, are in this view a reversal of the principle of progress, and apt to become a deliberate domestication of a parasitic and degenerate growth. Such is the conception of those who put their trust in the economic development of society.

To others the same wave of sentiment which carried Mill away from his earlier moorings has suggested the argument that society, having itself become an entity, has

a law of growth not subordinate to that of the units of which it is composed. The economic order is plainly imperfect; and society declines at times to wait on the slowly grinding processes of economic development. Society's power of domesticating uneconomic varieties of life within its own vital system has been asserted and used, as in the poor-law, education and factory Acts, and with results that are hailed as more or less satisfactory. The question is then pressed: cannot we go much further in this direction?

Hitherto the complaint has been made, and with undeniable justice, that there is a divorce between popular government and scientific reasoning with regard to politics. The difficulty, nay, the impossibility, of getting the average man to shape his action with a view to results that can only come indirectly and after much delay is obvious; and it becomes greater with the widening of the bases of democratic power. Neither of the theoretical views above set out has been adopted absolutely by those who are responsible for practical legislation. At a given moment superficial circumstances seem to support the truth of one or other of these rival theories. Empirical legislation has been devised to meet temporary evils; and opportunism has been more powerful than speculative theory. This, in a subject matter where change cannot be made *per saltum*, or without initial friction, is inevitable. There are, however, signs of the rise of a new spirit. Ideas, based, some of them, on most fantastic reasoning, are playing a larger part in our politics; and theoretical considerations are now determining policy on minor points of detail in a way contrary to what might have been expected from a purely practical and opportunist consideration of the facts. To what other cause can we attribute the determination of the majority of the London County Council to persist in running a service of steamboats on the Thames at a loss of some 53,000*l.* per annum? Clearly the minds of those responsible are possessed by some consideration, higher than ordinarily obtains in such matters.

'Municipal trading' (says Mr Bernard Shaw) 'seems a very simple matter of business. Yet it is conceivable by a sensible man that the political struggle over it may come nearer to a civil war than any issue raised in England since the Reform Bill of 1832.'

Till the other day, he goes on to say, municipal trading attracted little notice, but 'the heading has lately changed in the "Times" to "Municipal Socialism"; and this, in fact, is what is really on foot among us under the name of Progressivism.' It is in avowals like this that we discover the true inwardness of the motives which are hurrying us along unexplored paths. The appeal to balance-sheets and trading-accounts is quite irrelevant and does not touch the motives which decide for and against the new proposals. At present, it is true, municipal socialism works under forms of commercial trading and publishes more or less untrustworthy balance-sheets showing the result of what still purports to be buying and selling. This archaic pretence is kept up for the sake of the weaker brethren who are habituated to debtor and creditor accounts and all the other categories of commercial accountancy. Fundamentally, however, the moving and regulating force is not expectation of profit. It arises out of quite other considerations. It seems to its supporters to fulfil certain conditions which they have much at heart. Private trading postulates the convenience and equity of allowing profit to the successful organisers of industry. The municipal socialist, on the contrary, regards profit as a fraud on the community, and, except when he is arguing *ad hominem*, to the stupid *bourgeois* whose fears he wishes to allay, he glories in the fact that profit is not made. Advantage, benefit, and other characteristics of the millennium are distributed broadcast; but profit is a feature which has to disappear from his Utopia. Clearly the aspirations of those whose minds are possessed by the new Evangel have led them to disregard the ordinary tests of commercial success. They invite us, in short, to learn a new industrial language and a new industrial logic.

Let us follow the working of the socialist mind under the competent guidance of Mr Shaw. 'We must conclude,' he says (p. 19), 'not merely that the commercial test is a misleading one, but that the desirability of municipal trading is actually in inverse ratio to its commercial profitableness.' To meet this novel conception of things Mr Shaw suggests a novel method of account-keeping. Shortly, the plan is this. We debit private enterprise with the cost of the poor-law, workhouse, and

infirmary, police, prisons, and all the other ills to which flesh is heir; and the available dividend is of course largely reduced. Then, for purposes of comparison, we assume that these evils largely cease with the introduction of municipal socialism, and credit the municipal trading-account accordingly. Wonderful results can be attained by this kind of political arithmetic. Mr Shaw gives some concrete examples, e.g.

'the case of a great dock company. Near the docks three institutions are sure to be found—a workhouse, an infirmary, and a police-court. . . . Into that workhouse every dock labourer can walk at any moment, and, by announcing himself as a destitute person, compel the guardians to house and feed and clothe him at the expense of the ratepayers. When he begins to tire of the monotony of "the able-bodied ward" and its futile labour, he can wait till a ship comes in; demand his discharge; do a day's work at the docks; spend the proceeds in a carouse and a debauch; and return to the workhouse next morning, again a destitute person. This is systematically done at present by numbers of men who are by no means the least intelligent or capable of their class.'

Then the other picture:—

'A municipality cannot pick the ratepayers' pocket in this fashion. . . . Consequently the municipality, on taking over the docks, would be forced to aim in the first instance at organising its work so as to provide steady permanent employment for its labourers at a living wage, even at the cost of being overstaffed on slack days, until the difficulty has been solved by new organisation and machinery, as such difficulties always are when they can no longer be shirked. Under these conditions it is quite possible that the profits made formerly by the dock company might disappear, but if a considerable part of the pauperism and crime of the neighbourhood disappeared simultaneously, the bargain would be a very profitable one indeed for the ratepayers . . .' (p. 28).

Surely never was reformation of the carouser and the debauchee so miraculously effected!

A difficulty, however, is apprehended by Mr Shaw, namely, that the official auditors whose appointment is recommended by the recent Commission on Municipal Trading are not likely to pass 'these invisible credits'; and 'Parliament is still disposed to apply the commercial

test to communal enterprise.' 'There is, in fact, for the moment, a serious menace to municipal enterprise in the cry for commercial auditing. Fortunately the demand is not a permanently practical one.' Municipal auditing, as distinct from commercial auditing, 'will finally develop as a practically separate profession' (p. 85). If such invisible credits as the reformed carouser and debauchee are to figure largely in the assets passed by our new accountancy, no doubt a new profession is required.

The British Philistine is, we have admitted, a little bitten with the socialist frenzy; but this new political arithmetic will occasionally appear to him somewhat topsy-turvy. He will ask, still stupidly obsessed, as Mr Shaw would say, by irrelevant commercial ideals, what is now to replace the motive of the private undertaker, and how is the capital for industry to be provided? To this Mr Shaw has his airy reply. Ability is a commodity which can be hired in the market; but, in a system which contemplates the abolition of the market, surely this is a hard saying. Economic production at a cost which will be well covered by the available purchasing power of the community is no longer an object. We are trading largely for the sake of invisible profits; and in matters of invisible profit the mere able man of industry is as a child. The municipality, for instance, is owner of gas-works. Its object is not to sell gas to those who are willing to purchase it at a price which will give a profit either to shareholders or ratepayers. Its object is to give permanent employment to a happy and contented staff of gas-workers, to light the dark places of the town, to see that the poor man's house is lighted as brilliantly as that of the rich, and to take care somehow that no one, even remotely connected with the gas-works, is either a carouser or a debauchee. This is a task not for ability but for collectivist faith-healing. Its organiser, we suggest, should rather be the civic enthusiast who has some skill in the management of public meetings, and who, when his fellow-citizens want to have electric light, can urge them with glowing eloquence to rest content with the inferior light for the sake of the common property of the town, now sunk in a gas-plant, and for the sake of the staff, who otherwise would find their occupation gone if they would not consent to be cruelly over-

worked in learning a new trade. This is a task for an inspired political wire-puller, not for the mere able man of industry.

It is not want of sympathy with socialist ideals, but absolute scepticism as to the practicability of the proposed methods of achieving them, that deters the liberal economist. He has a tempered faith in the ameliorative processes of liberty. On the whole, the free organisation of industry does give advantage to diligence and trustworthiness, does discourage and ultimately procure the correction or supersession of inefficient methods and character, while it allows us to avail ourselves of the improvements which the progress of science puts within our reach. This view promises no immediate millennium, but it explains our progress in the past, and seems to guarantee a similar advance in the future. This very phenomenon of socialism—what is it, he asks, but a sign of a righteous but over-sensitive social morality which has grown up under the very system which it seeks to demolish? With this charter of progress, such as it is, the liberal economist must be content. To him Mr Shaw's idea that industry can be carried on without being subjected to the test of finance, and without the motive power arising from the expectation of profit, seems wildly fantastic, if not altogether unimaginable. The only socialist system which has been worked out in detail is that of Marx; and this, we understand, is now generally disavowed by the socialists themselves. Be that as it may, Mr Shaw's sense of humour, we apprehend, has prevented him from adopting Marx's scheme of a social-labour note-currency which is at once so essential and so chimerical a feature of his creed.

To an optimism like Mr Shaw's, which settles so easily the question of management, the matter of capital offers no difficulty. The credit of the municipality is such, he argues, that it can borrow more cheaply than the private trader. In passing, we might remark that only the larger municipal bodies can now borrow at a cheap rate; and some of them would find it difficult to borrow at all. But, accepting Mr Shaw's statement, we may ask why it is that capital can be borrowed cheaply by municipalities. The answer, we presume, is, because the security is good, because society acknowledges its indebtedness

for all time, and guarantees the principal and interest of the debt. The indefinite extension of this system is an immense boon to the idle capitalist class, or, at all events, to the richer section of it. But the question surely remains: Is the system really cheap to the community? Let us consider a concrete instance.

The estimated capital expenditure for the London County Council's steamboat service is about 300,000*l*. Something presumably must be added for working capital, if, as is inevitable, we still talk in the discredited language of commercial accountancy. The traffic is carried on at a loss of over 53,000*l*. per annum. The 53,000*l*. loss, in Mr Shaw's audit, is compensated by invisible assets, e.g. the contentment, etc., of 300 polite and skilled officials who, being in municipal employment, are, we hope, as well satisfied with their wages and as free from sickness and the other inconveniences of life as Mr Shaw's picture leads us to expect. The steamers, it is generally admitted, go too slowly and unpunctually to suit passengers on business bent; but the account must be credited with pleasant excursions enjoyed by many persons of leisure at a nominal cost. It is difficult to reduce these advantages to figures; and, pending the arrival of the new profession of municipal accountancy, we must be content with the Council's assurance that they more than balance the loss of 53,000*l*. per annum.

To continue, however, the question of the capital involved. A steamboat service on the Thames is a very proper field for enterprise. It has been attempted by more than one set of private capitalists; for hope springs eternal in the commercial breast. They ventured at their own risk; the public had for a while its service of boats; but, as the ultimate result, most of the capital is now resting quietly, a burden to no one, figuratively speaking, at the bottom of the Thames; and no one except the capitalists concerned is a whit the worse. The capital involved in the County Council experiment, on the other hand, remains a debt owed to the well-to-do people who have taken up County Council stock. It will have to be paid, interest and principal, by the ratepayers and taxpayers of the county, and so becomes a permanent burden on the community.

Even in enterprises which are successful the perman-



ence of the value of capital is very limited. The subject is too large to be treated exhaustively here ; but a few words are necessary to the logical development of the argument. There are a few but, relatively to the whole, comparatively unimportant items in the category of wealth, which, by reason of the concentrated demand of many, seem to have a permanent and enhanced value. The case of building-land near large cities, and of one or two other things of a similar nature, has attracted great attention and seems to have obscured in men's mind the more general law to which such items are a not very important exception. The security of an investment in land is less than the absolute security of state and municipal loans, while the rapidity, unexpectedness and extent of the growth in value of even city land is much less than what may be seen in many lucky ventures in mines, inventions, and even in such prosaic possessions as bank and insurance shares and works of art. Prospective increases of value in land have been carefully discounted ; and we question very much if large profits have been of recent years, or ever will be again, gathered from the purchase of such property. This, however, is a digression, introduced only for the purpose of indicating the source of a prejudice which seems to be running high against one particular class of property—an attitude of mind which exhibits the intelligence of a certain class of politicians at its lowest and most irrational level.

Permanence and progressive increase are not general characteristics of property ; and, even in those exceptional cases where it is found, no ground is thereby given for questioning the title of the owner, or (and this is our only point at present) for creating prejudice against the ownership of other forms of capital the value of which is distinctly the reverse of permanent and progressive.

With regard to agricultural land, the evanescent nature of values will be more readily admitted ; and few instructed persons will be disposed to dissent from that very competent authority, Mr Albert Pell, when he says 'that value is due to outlay, and that some of the most splendid exhibitions of fertility and agricultural wealth are traceable not to natural circumstances, but rather to the continuous systematic applications of skill and extraneous capital on the soil.' ('The Making of the Land in England,' p. 18.)

In illustration of this opinion, instances are quoted, where, if the sums invested in the improvement of certain estates had been placed in Government securities, the owners would now have been deriving a larger income than they draw from the improved rents of their land, while they would, of course, have still possessed the prairie value of the soil.

In considering the duration of the life of capital in other walks of trade, we have first to remember that a very large amount of capital never makes any return at all to the investor, and that most of the investment which is productive only remains so because it is constantly renewed and refreshed by fresh doses of capital. The disadvantage of this seems to lie entirely with those who adventure the capital, viz. that class of the public which presumably is most able to bear the loss. The advantages belong to the community at large, for whose sake invention is stimulated and the improvement and supersession of antiquated services encouraged. It is not to be supposed that the same spirit of enterprise could or should characterise the work of a municipality which is risking public funds which it cannot write off as bad debts. The same principle is illustrated by the comparative impotence, uselessness, and occasionally absolute harmfulness of endowments. The permanent withdrawal of capital from the control of the living, and its committal to the sterilising grasp of the dead hand, are often not far removed from a public misfortune. The same unavoidable danger seems to attend the proposal to make capitalisation a municipal or national function.

The first step of the municipalising enthusiast, as we understand it, is to warn the private adventurer off those fields of enterprise which for their inception require legislatively conferred way-leaves and franchises; and it need hardly be pointed out that these constitute a very large and increasing proportion of the great industries of the civilised world. Investors who otherwise might have ventured their money in such undertakings are invited instead to take up municipal stock. The whole burden of preserving intact the evanescent value of such investment will be thrown on the rates and taxes. The old channel of relief which lay through the writing-off of the bad debts of industry will no longer be available;

and public enterprise will sooner or later have to face the alternative—of seeing progress brought to a standstill by reason of the burden of indebtedness in respect of improvements of which the value has expired, and of having to decline new fields of enterprise in which the yearly increment of the population might expect to find its profitable employment; or, on the other hand, of repudiating the debt, a course logically demanded by those who regard with abhorrence the existing capitalistic order. Their attitude is quite frank: we are prepared to borrow while it suits us, they say, but we look forward with impatience to the opportunity which must inevitably come of despoiling the public creditor of property which *ex hypothesi* was ill-gotten by him or his forebears.

Our imagination, we confess, is not equal to the task of picturing industry as carried on under the plenitude of socialist principles. At present the services which feed, clothe, house, and convey us from place to place are animated and regulated as a vast series of exchanges. The reward of the organisers in this system, which, be it observed, they do not touch unless their calculation proves successful, is called profit; and, in the main, by their instrumentality supply is adjusted to demand. In the municipalised, nationalised, socialised industry of the future the expectation of profit is no longer to be a guide to production. The demand of the public will be gauged in some other way. Industry presumably will be governed by the principles which govern the supply of the steamboat service provided by the London County Council. Some one in the London County Council has decided that London ought to have 53,000*l.* worth of steamboat service in excess of what Londoners are willing to buy. Some one, in the larger markets, will say how much bread and cheese, how many shirts and hats the community ought to purchase. The only indication which we gather from Mr Shaw as to the limitation of each industry is that each shall be pursued with sufficient activity to give full employment to the workers therein employed. The process seems to be this. First, we make an estimate as to the probable quantities required; then we guarantee employment for the rest of their lives to the labourers engaged. If we complain that too much

industrial energy is being directed to, say, hat-making, we are breeding, *teste* Mr Shaw, a class of auditors who will allay our anxiety by pointing to a more than proportionate profit earned in the high contentment of the hatter caste. The intentions of the London County Council with regard to its steamboat service are not fully declared; but obviously it must either go on losing the ratepayers' money at the average of 53,000% per annum, or, if it reverts to the ordinary rules of commerce, it will have to violate one of the first principles of municipal trading, as presented to us by Mr Shaw, and get rid of a staff which is rendering a service that the public does not want.\*

We have no wish to trifle with the subject, but in the absence of authoritative exposition of the working of the socialist state we can only succeed in conjuring up conditions which to the plain man seem unthinkable. It is satisfactory to reflect that the advances which socialism is supposed to be making at the polls must oblige its leaders to formulate the constructive side of its designs. M. Jaurès, the leader of the French socialists, has recently attempted an exposition of his creed in the French Chamber, with the result that the French Liberals, as represented by M. Clemenceau, seem to have broken definitely with the socialist party. It is, as we have already pointed out, the liberal school of economics which forms the logical opposition to socialism. We do not use the word in its party-political sense, but as a proper adjective to be applied to a school of thought that accepts liberty in the fullest sense of the term as the keynote of its social and domestic policy.

To whatever party we belong, the problem before us is the same. In view of the natural increase of the population and of the legitimate expectation of an amelioration of their lot among the poorer class, it is absolutely necessary that our trade should be expansive; and for this reason we ought to favour an adventurous use of capital for the creation of new and the extension of old industries. Can municipal trading promise this? Our appeal is to the plain man who perhaps has been

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\* Since this article was in type, we learn that the steamboat service has been suspended.

sympathetically inclined towards the aspirations of socialism, but who, unless we entirely mistake his attitude, is not prepared to carry out the policy of 'thorough' which Mr Shaw quite candidly puts before us. The halting policy, which is all that public opinion is prepared to sanction, discourages the bold adventuring of capital, and is, we venture to suggest, one cause of the want of employment which is threatening to become chronic. The liberal economist will argue that the expansion of industry required to meet the needs of an increasing and socially progressive population has come in the past, and must come in the future, from the energy of private enterprise. It is therefore for him matter of grave concern to note the discouragement under which private enterprise now labours.

We do not wish to press our logic to an extreme, or to reopen the compact which sanctioned the 'gas and water' policy with which our older municipalities were content; but we are now asked to set this tacit agreement on one side and to drive the private trader out of all industries for which parliamentary powers are necessary; and these, under modern conditions, include almost every enterprise of first-class importance. This last phase of municipal arrogance, inasmuch as it prevents the country from availing itself of the latest discoveries of mechanical science, is of the most far-reaching importance, inasmuch as our half-hearted acceptance of municipal responsibility does not allow the lavish and speculative experiments in capitalisation which the situation requires.

Apart from the theoretical assumption made by the convinced socialist, and by him foisted to some extent on to an uncritical public, namely, that industry can be regulated by a set of fancy balance-sheets such as those above described, we shall find in addition that the public sentiment is much influenced by what we can only call an insane jealousy of profit.

In the *open* markets of commerce, more especially in a free-trade country, profit does not swell largely the cost of commodities. Profit is a deferred payment, only realised when the use of capital and labour and raw material has been paid for in the market. If the organiser can bring his finished commodity or service to a market where it is wanted, he will make his profit, but not

otherwise. Profit is absolutely conditional on public service; and it takes by far the largest risk in industrial operations. It is kept at the lowest possible level by what is variously described as the wholesome rivalry of other tradesmen, or, as some will have it, the internecine struggle of untrammelled competition. Descriptive adjectives vary, but the fact does not seem to be disputed. The reader's satisfaction with this economic machinery will be enhanced if, with the liberal economist, he can accept as a tenet of faith the equity and beneficence of the free market for labour. We have argued in earlier \* numbers of this Review, and in explanation of a fact abundantly established by statistical proof, that in the free market the price of commodities tends ever to fall, for the reason that discovery and invention enable production to keep ahead of the demand of an increasing and, on the whole, a richer population; but that, on the other hand, the price of labour has tended to rise, because labour is a mobile force, ever passing, unless hindered by human perversity, from the less to the more remunerative employments. This tendency of the wages of labour to rise can be stimulated by an intelligent acceptance of the elevating influence of the open market, and by a reasonable co-operation with its beneficent purpose.

But the stronghold of the advocate of municipal trading and the denouncer of profit is the alleged injury to the public when a service is carried on by private enterprise under a complete or partial monopoly. Monopoly of old was a usurpation granted by the Crown to an individual or a corporation, or for some plausible reason assumed by the public authority itself; and the profit which is made under such conditions is in reality a tax. It is only in comparatively modern times that monopoly has been granted for the protection and advantage of the public. Monopoly is an evil arising out of a natural limitation of supply, and is only to be mitigated by a choice of evils. To give compulsory powers, under conditions, to railways and telegraph companies seemed preferable either to allowing them to tear up the streets at their will, or to making the public wait for the advantage of railways and telegraphy till the companies could

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\* No. 407, p. 485; also 378, p. 404.

agree with private owners. No great principle seemed at stake. Gas, water, and sewage were managed by companies or public authorities, as accident decided. Of old time the Government claimed a monopoly in letter-carrying, and later insisted on adding to it the telegraph and the telephone, which seemed formidable competitors. It allows messenger companies, but exacts from them a heavy royalty; and as yet it has made no claim to a monopoly of carrying parcels. The Government makes roads, but not railroads; it is partially responsible for harbours, but not for railway stations. No one invariable principle has been followed.

The difficulty of protecting the public in monopolised services as adequately as it is protected in other services by competition is probably not wholly superable. If, as with the Post-office, the Government constitutes itself sole contractor, it is impossible to say what we may have lost in efficiency. Letters are carried at a profit, but all other branches of post-office work are conducted at a loss; and by common consent we have the worst telephone service in the civilised world. We have not even the consolation that the postal staff is made thoroughly happy.

If next we consider the important service of railways, we shall find that the protection of the public is more effectively carried out by competition, which was supposed to be excluded, than by the regulations of the Board of Trade, though these have been carefully and wisely contrived. To begin with, there has always been competition between one railway and another; roads and canals and sea-carriage are still available; but probably the greatest incentive to diligence in the public service has been the recognised disposition on the part of goods and people to stay where they are unless their movements are encouraged by cheap and attractive conditions of travel. If we consider the fact that there are, as a rule, alternative ways of doing what we want to do, and that much that we want to do may very well be left undone, it will appear that the evil of railway and, indeed, of all monopoly is much exaggerated. Purveyors of service for our luxuries, amusements and necessities compete more or less unconsciously one against another. If fine cognac is dear, we pretend to prefer Scotch whisky; if a holiday

by railway is uncomfortable owing to overcrowding and expense, we take a steamer to Cromer or to Norway. Even if a business journey to Birmingham might seem desirable, the excessive cost of it may decide us to make shift to manage by means of letter or telegram.

Again, it may be questioned whether we have exhausted all the expedients for the protection of the consumer. It was ingeniously argued by the late Sir Edwin Chadwick, notably in an article read before the Statistical Society for January, 1859, that there are many fields of enterprise wherein free competition 'within the field' gives rise to waste and inconvenience (he particularly mentioned the case of our London cab-service); and he suggested that a monopoly of such public services might be handed over to a contractor who had competed 'for the field' (i.e. for the monopoly of rendering some particular service within a given area) under an agreement, subject to periodical revision, and containing proper safeguards in the interest of the public. In his view a careful development, and even extension, of this competition 'for the field' would enable us to secure for the public the advantages of monopoly and private enterprise; and it appears to us that this is a line of experiment which has not yet been fully explored.

Competition 'for the field' is presumably the underlying principle of the right of purchase vested in the public authority in respect of tramways, electric light, and other monopolised undertakings. As a rule, however, the right has been exercised by the municipality itself, only in its own favour—a course which deprives the public of the benefit of competition, and which has many other disadvantages. If the municipality makes a profit, it is a tax on consumers. Why, it is asked, should we be charged too much for our gas or water in order that the authority may give us steamboats or other things, good for our minds and bodies perhaps, but which we do not want at the place and in the quantities that seem fit to our rulers? Or, if the municipalised service results in a loss, as is more usually the case (e.g. houses and steamboats), the loss falls on the ratepayers and taxpayers, most of whom in the poorest class derive no benefit from these municipalised ventures. It is not the very poor who travel on the steamboats; and admittedly it is not the tenants



evicted from slums who inhabit, at an unremunerative rent, the model dwellings which replace them.

Summing up this portion of our argument we may say that the evil of monopoly is very much exaggerated: that regulation for the protection of the consumer is possible; that a closer consideration of the different methods of introducing regulations might even warrant us in increasing the sphere of monopolised industries served by private enterprise; and lastly, that, even if regulation is evaded and a considerable profit is made, the earning of profit is a legitimate incident in industry, and that the existence of a guaranteed investment has a public and general convenience. It is frequently argued, and with some plausibility, that the existence of state and municipal debt has a great advantage as providing financial convenience to banks, insurance offices, provident societies, trustees, and persons responsible for the custody of charitable and similar funds. Stocks representing partially monopolised undertakings offer a field for the investment of such funds which is not open to the objection urged against the municipal capitalisation of industry pure and simple, namely, that municipal debts exist for the advantage of the *rentier* class only, and that they withdraw capital from the risks of competition to which, in the interest of the general consumer, ordinary investment is properly liable.

We have noted the arbitrary manner in which the public authority and private enterprise under regulation have divided the services which it has seemed necessary to regard as monopoly. Clearly, until recently, there has been very little heat in the controversy as to which method was best. It is only with the spread of the socialist propaganda that the point becomes important; and, if the debate were confined to the old narrow area, the matter might still leave us coldly indifferent. Much larger problems, however, are now being raised; and, as illustrative of the difficulties that may arise, the question of the transmission of electrical power may be mentioned as probably the most important. There seems to be very little doubt that, during the century on which we are just entering, electricity is going to supersede steam in many important industries. To claim a monopoly in this new discovery of force is to touch a vital spot in the life

of an industrial nation. The position is comparatively simple.

The economical creation and distribution of electrical power can only be carried out on a grand scale; and for the inception of such enterprise parliamentary powers are needed. The areas of municipalities are admittedly too small to satisfy this condition. Local Government divisions generally have arbitrary boundaries, and do not lend themselves to the advantageous grouping of power-areas. The supply of electrical energy to the mechanical industries of this country is an undertaking of unprecedented magnitude. Not only, it is suggested, can the present uses of steam and gas be largely superseded by the new force, but industries and uses altogether new and unimagined are waiting to be called into existence. Large fortunes will be made, and large fortunes will be lost, in experiments. If we are to feed and find employment for the increasing millions of this country, and to hold our place in the van of nations, we have need here of a lavish and reckless expenditure of money by the captains of the industry.

It is painful, therefore, to be forced to the conclusion that this movement is being strangled in its infancy by the miserable jealousy and self-sufficiency of the municipal monopolist. Municipalities, unabashed by the revelations of municipal incompetence at Poplar and West Ham, are asking that they shall be made the monopolists of a force on which the whole future of British industry probably depends. The impotence of the larger authority, the County Council, for such a task is hardly less marked. The leading spendthrifts of Poplar are influential members of the London County Council. They have overborne the opinion of competent financiers like Lord Welby, the chairman of their own finance committee, and are determined to obtain a monopoly for the supply of electrical energy. Hitherto this dire calamity, which would probably condemn London to gradual but certain industrial decay, has been averted; but, with one or two exceptions, notably at Newcastle, the agitation has succeeded in its dog-in-the-manger policy of defeating all applications from private companies for leave to speculate in this vast field of industry. Meantime we are being overtaken and relegated to an inferior rank among in-

dustrial nations by countries which have found means to evade the rapacity and stupidity of these obstructive tactics. It is not now a question of protecting the helpless consumer; that disguise will no longer serve; the managers of the industrial enterprise of this country do not ask to be protected from the monopoly of private adventurers, but from the incompetence and inadequacy of municipal management.

We have followed the example of Mr Shaw and have discussed the question in its larger aspects. We agree that reference to figures is probably irrelevant when addressed to those who are forcing on this movement. The strength of the party of municipal monopoly is pure fanaticism. Its adherents repudiate accountancy and rely on arguments which hardly seem to touch the ground of common-sense. In Major Darwin's work the reader who desires a more detailed consideration will find a most dispassionate discussion of the merits and demerits of each argument. Like Mr Shaw, he recognises that the appeal to balance-sheets is futile. He suppresses, however, any inclination he may feel to decide the question by reference to a general principle, and considers each allegation on its merits. This procedure will be found most useful for those who are disposed to regard the subject as an open question; but, as we have argued, the whole controversy is overshadowed by the larger issue of whether we are prepared to make a great experiment in collectivism. If we are not prepared for this, municipal trading stands condemned; it can only be logically acceptable to those who regard it as a starting-point for a far-reaching economic revolution which they earnestly desire.

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## ART. VII.—THE ART-WORK OF LADY DILKE.

1. *The Renaissance of Art in France*. By Mrs Mark Pattison. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, 1879.
2. *Claude Lorrain: sa vie et ses œuvres*. Par Madame Mark Pattison. Paris: Rouam, 1884.
3. *Art in the Modern State*. By Lady Dilke. London: Chapman and Hall, 1888.
4. *French Painters of the Eighteenth Century*. By Lady Dilke. London: Bell, 1899.
5. *French Architects and Sculptors of the Eighteenth Century*. By Lady Dilke. London: Bell, 1900.
6. *French Furniture and Decoration of the Eighteenth Century*. By Lady Dilke. London: Bell, 1901.
7. *French Engravers and Draughtsmen of the Eighteenth Century*. By Lady Dilke. London: Bell, 1902.
8. *The Book of the Spiritual Life*. By the late Lady Dilke. With a Memoir of the author by the Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P. London: Murray, 1905.

THE small band of Englishwomen who, by their writings, have proved that feminine intellect, in its highest development, is on a par with that of man, have had one feature in common. By the bounds which they have imposed on their talent, or by the wider scope which they have given to it, they have shown that, the less extended the area in which they have worked, the greater the excellence of their achievement.

The work of Jane Austen is the produce of a very limited horizon. Most of it was only from thirty to forty years old when Macaulay gave it the high testimonial which, when he wrote it, seemed exaggerated. Now that it is centenarian, it seems as likely to endure as the work of the immortal with whom Macaulay had the audacity to compare her. The small production of Charlotte Brontë, to which death put a premature term, was likewise drawn from a circumscribed area. George Eliot, who stands on a lower level, might have attained the height of her great sisters had she not strayed from her midland villages into the dark conflicts of the Italian Renaissance, and into the gloomier mazes of Anglo-German metaphysic.

These reflections have been prompted by the perusal of the life-work and of the biography of an English-woman who was probably the equal in intellect of any of these three, the last-named of whom was also her friend. The Memoir of Lady Dilke has been written by her husband with admirable tact, dignity, and restraint. Its brevity is likewise to be commended in these days when every departed politician, ecclesiastic, or painter, whatever his mediocrity, is immortalised (for about a month) in two stout and rarely purchased volumes. Indeed Sir Charles Dilke has erred on the side of conciseness. A hundred and twenty-eight short pages are scarcely sufficient for the annals of a life which, for fifty years, from early girlhood, was full of constantly varied and interesting associations. But, brief as the narrative is, it does not fail to convey the impression of the fullness of the life recorded. It is to be regretted that Sir Charles Dilke did not see his way to overcoming the difficulty of giving a bibliography of his wife's writings. No doubt it would have been far from easy to produce a complete one, as, outside the well-known volumes with which Lady Dilke's name is associated, a vast amount of her work is hidden away in reviews, magazines, and other periodical publications. As her biographer remarks, 'It was found impossible to overcome the difficulties caused by Lady Dilke having failed to keep a full list of her contributions to the "Annual Register" and the reviews.'

Had that bibliography been produced, it would have displayed the wide extent of subjects on which Lady Dilke wrote with knowledge and power. In addition to her art-work, historical and critical, with which we are about to deal, and which we consider to have been her true vocation, she was an authoritative and voluminous writer on contemporary European politics. In the later period of her life she developed a delicate faculty for composing mystical parables or romances. In these essays in imaginative philosophy, 'The Shrine of Death,' published in 1886, 'The Shrine of Love' in 1891, and 'The Book of the Spiritual Life,' which was printed posthumously in the same volume as the Memoir, she displayed a wondrous gift of musical prose, which, as one of her admirers wrote after her lamented death, 'seems to partake of the best qualities of the style

of two of her closest friends—it is Pater without his preciosity and Ruskin without his exaggeration.' Some of the most eloquent pages of these occasional writings could have been written only by a profound student of the fine arts and by one who possessed the innate artistic instinct. This is exemplified in a fine passage, too long for us to quote, in the essay entitled 'Of Labour and Learning,' in which Lady Dilke illustrates a theory by a vivid sketch of Eugène Fromentin's life and work in the East; and the same life-like colouring which she finds in Fromentin's writings displays her equally as an artist in the pages she wrote 'Of the Hills and Plains' and 'Of the Woods and Fields.'

Even had a bibliography of Lady Dilke's published writings been made, it would not have supplied a nearly complete account of all her production. Always deeply interested in contemporary politics, during the latter years of her life she devoted much of her time and energy to the organisation of women's labour, which, in no small measure owing to her efforts, has taken a prominent place among the social questions of our time. Even in her earlier days, when she was the wife of the learned Rector of Lincoln College, her sympathy for the toiling members of her own sex had made her come forth from her academic surroundings to urge the necessity for women workers to organise themselves in trade-unions for the purpose of shortening the hours of labour. It was probably with this in view that she was the chief mover in the Oxford branch of the Women's Suffrage Society. From first to last she must have delivered a large number of speeches in furtherance of the causes she advocated.

In the twentieth century it is useless to regret the appearance of women as orators on public platforms. It is a practice which is approved and utilised by all political parties in England. We know not if things have advanced so far that a collection of the flowers of female oratory has ever been published, but if such an eccentric anthology were to appear it would contain few specimens on a par with Lady Dilke's discourses. Their form and delivery were so excellent as almost to banish from the view of an old-fashioned listener the incongruity of the spectacle presented by a refined and personally attractive woman addressing a mixed crowd. But, however

unstudied and facile her eloquence, the matter which it expressed must have represented a vast amount of preparatory exertion. The Memoir by her husband indicates how much time and trouble she devoted to the question of women's trade-unions, in private as well as in her public utterances.

'Lady Dilke has left a women's trade-union notebook in her handwriting . . . In these notes there were laid down those principles of dealing with the labour of women working with their hands which have been universally endorsed by all who received them from her. . . . In her labour notebooks Lady Dilke first took up the case of women in unskilled trades. Avoiding a sensationalism which was repulsive to her trained mind, she pointed out that from the dangerous trades, such as those of the white-lead workers and the match-makers, arose the call to all who valued womanhood to take their share in the improvement of conditions. It was impossible to "sit idly by . . . whilst the anguish of our working sisters and their little ones lifts its voice to Heaven. . . . They are crying to us for their redemption. The seal of death is on their lips."'

'Defuncta adhuc loquitur.' The last words are the posthumous apology, though they were not so intended, of a noble-hearted woman for having sacrificed precious hours and months of a too brief life to a benevolent mission which might have been fulfilled by others, while she left uncompleted the work which was her unique vocation. One of Lady Dilke's familiar friends, whose genial figure appears in the Memoir, was Robert Browning. His name is inseparably associated with that of a woman who did a great work for the suffering poor of her native land. But, if Elizabeth Browning had left her muse in Italy to come home and plead on the public platform or in the committee-room the cause of the friendless little ones, the world would have been the poorer, and she would have accomplished less for humanity than she did in 'The Cry of the Children' and 'A Song for the Ragged Schools of London,' 'written in Rome.' So, if Lady Dilke had been content to devote one day or one week of each busy, beneficent year of her life to composing, in the compassionate prose of which she had the gift, an appeal for the rights of toiling womanhood, she might, without neglecting that cause, have consecrated all her rare power

to a task which she alone of her generation was capable of accomplishing.

This takes us back to the proposition with which we started. Great as is the work of Lady Dilke in the domain of French art, it might have been greater and completer had she never devoted her talent and her strength to other occupations. Even as it stands, her art-work is a remarkable monument. The other women whom we have quoted as displaying mental powers equal to those of men won their fame in the realm of imagination. That of Lady Dilke will rest on her mastery of the positive facts and tendencies of history. For her work was not that of the mere art-critic, whose performance, however attractive or instructive, has no durable value. Her historical instinct, developed by a life-long study of politics, enabled her so to utilise her profound technical knowledge of the fine arts that she made herself a unique authority upon the influence and position of 'Art in the Modern State'—to quote the title which she gave to the most philosophical of her monographs. It was 'the philosophy of æsthetics, the history of art and its connexion with the history of organised and civilised states' that she made the object of her studies. Very rare are the names either of women or of men who could have accomplished her work. Among the former we do not think that England has produced any one capable of doing it. Madame de Staël might have essayed it with success had her training and associations been different. Madame de Sévigné, the greatest of all women writers, whose literary fame is imperishable though she never wrote a book, seems to be the only woman whose learning, breadth of view, and powers of critical observation might have fitted her for a task such as Lady Dilke imposed upon herself.

Before considering the works which have given Lady Dilke her reputation in France as well as in England, it will be interesting to glance at the record of her artistic life as narrated in the Memoir by her husband. Her childhood's home was at Oxford; and it was there, when she was a young girl, that 'her drawings from the Oxford casts were shown to Ruskin, when he was visiting Dr Acland; and it was he who determined her to go to South Kensington to study anatomy.' So to London she went; and old Mulready, who was born before the



French Revolution, was one of the first of her masters. She was a very youthful member of the coterie which used to meet at Little Holland House, where G. F. Watts became her principal adviser; and here she renewed acquaintance with Millais, who had drawn for her a sketch (still extant) of a battle in the year of the establishment of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, when she was a little child. But it was Ruskin who, in her student-days, chiefly influenced her. As years went on she came to differ from him on every point of theory, though their warm friendship endured to the end of his life. In one of his affectionate letters to her after her second marriage, he wrote in 1887: 'To obey me is to love Turner and hate Raphael, to love Gothic and hate Renaissance.' At that time Lady Dilke had for some years been known as the historian of the French Renaissance; and she was then engaged in her more important series of works on what was equally abhorrent to him, the Academic school of the reign of Louis XIV and of the eighteenth century—which showed how far she had departed from her master's dogmatisms. At the same time, there is one principle permeating Ruskin's teaching which undoubtedly sank deep into his pupil's heart and formed the basis of her own view of art. He always preached the relation of art to life; and the development of this idea pervades Lady Dilke's writing.

The first portion of her life, during which the influence of Ruskin had been predominant, came to an end in 1861, when, at the age of twenty-one, she married Mark Pattison. Thenceforward for some years the main influence in her intellectual development was the scholarship of the Rector of Lincoln.

'She widened her conception of art by the teaching of the philosopher and by the study of the literatures to which the schooling of Mark Pattison admitted her. She saw, too, men and things, travelled largely with him, became mistress of many tongues, and gained, above all, a breath of desire for all human knowledge, destined only to grow with the advance of years. The continuity of work which throughout life, for nearly half a century, knew no intermission, and the studies of a powerful mind which never took a day's whole holiday, made possible a survey of the field of knowledge such as has been given to few people in our time.'

We will pass over all speculation as to the extent to which the marriage of the brilliant and beautiful young art-student with a scholar nearly thirty years her senior suggested to George Eliot the Dorothea and the Casaubon of 'Middlemarch.' Nor can we dwell upon the spiritual and intellectual crisis through which the young wife passed by reason of her strangely assorted union. We will refer only to those experiences in her life which concerned her art-work. Travelling in the long vacations with Mark Pattison, she paid two visits to Vienna which had an abiding influence on her work. The mass of notes which she took in the rich museums of the Austrian capital showed that she already had the desire to gain, by hard study, a complete view of the whole field of art and art-history. It is possible that her subsequent specialisation in French art may have been the result of a counsel given to her by the Rector of Lincoln. In later years she thus quoted it: 'It was put before me that, if I wished to command respect, I must make myself the authority on some one subject which interested me.'

'But she never intended to give up her hold upon classical art, and, except when actually absorbed in writing for publication upon the arts in France, she never did so. When ultimately she became known to the French art-world as one of the most serious of students, the praise which she most valued was that of the best-trained intellects of France for the completeness or "universality" of her art-knowledge.'

Though in point of years she had only just quitted her girlhood, she made herself a position among thinkers which is rarely attained by the most venerable of blue-stockings. When she was barely twenty-five she was a regular contributor to the 'Westminster Review,' at that time an important organ of philosophic thought. But her literary labours were not confined to its solemn Benthamite pages. Those were the days when the 'Saturday Review,' still in its sprightly youth, was a power in the land; and from the Rector's Lodge at Lincoln she sent to it a stream of articles, displaying the eclecticism of her mind. A little later her dominant interest in art came to the front; and she became a regular art-critic of the 'Saturday Review,' the 'Portfolio,' and the 'Academy.'

Her divergence from Ruskin was likewise the result of her historical studies. She made fun of some of her master's curious economical doctrines. Steeped in the annals of the Renaissance and of the age of Louis XIV, she told him that his theory that the poor must be well off and sanitary laws be enforced before the arts could flourish was not susceptible of historical proof; she expressed her fear that his 'Social Science Association Arcadia' would be less favourable than he fancied to the production of fine art. Her biographer adds, 'It was a good many years before Ruskin forgave the emancipated disciple; but he ended by completely forgiving her.'

Of this period, when she was attaining her thirtieth year, the Memoir says:

'A review of Herman Grimm' (of Berlin, with whom she carried on a long correspondence in German) 'has a pathetic interest, inasmuch as it opened with a statement of the two great difficulties with which, throughout the art-studies of her life, Lady Dilke found herself confronted. "The student of classic art finds himself in a deserted ruin"; the student of modern art . . . is embarrassed by the abundance of materials: letters, state documents, and biographies. . . . In the one case the student is on the "shifting sands of hypothesis"; in the other he has before him "a mass of materials which no one has yet attempted to bring into shape and order." She was grateful to Grimm for contributing . . . "something towards the commencement of the herculean task." It was this herculean task which she herself attempted, as regards French art, and in which perhaps, more than in any other effort, she wore out her strength.'

No doubt Lady Dilke's study of French art was the severest task which she imposed upon herself. But it was the vocation of her life, needing all her powers; and it was her extraneous work which placed an excessive burden on her physical forces. What wore out her strength was her joining to her life-work an effort to bring about what she might have called a 'Social Science Association Arcadia,' not with any of Ruskin's fantastic illusions, but simply for the purpose of doing good. The aim was laudable; but, life being short and art being long, the result is ever to be lamented.

Among the many men of European fame who recognised her rising authority on French art was one who at

this time had already taken his place in the first rank of critics and of philosophers. In May 1871 Taine came to Oxford to deliver a course of lectures on Corneille and Racine and their times. He had witnessed the first weeks of the Commune in Paris, and it was amid the calm of the classic groves and ancient quadrangles of Oxford that he spent the 'Semaine Sanglante' and heard of the supreme horrors of the insurrection. Tortured with the contrast between these peaceful scenes of immemorial tradition and the condition of his native land, ravaged by war and torn by revolution, he seems to have found his chief consolation in the society of 'une toute jeune femme, charmante, gracieuse, à visage frais et presque mutin, dans le plus joli nid de vieille architecture, avec lierre et grands arbres.'\* It was the Rector's Lodge at Lincoln College and its young mistress that the French philosopher so described; and in his letters to his wife he relates how he returned again and again to this quiet corner of old Oxford to solace his patriotic anguish in conversation with this brilliant young Englishwoman upon the imperishable glories of France. For he found out, as he testifies, that she was an authority on painting, and especially conversant with French art; and in a later reference to her he declares his belief in her 'veritable erudition' on the fine arts of the French Renaissance—a compliment worth having from one of the first authorities on that period. In another passage he describes her as a young creature of twenty-six, who works from eight to ten hours a day. As a matter of fact she was then in her thirty-first year; and Taine's miscomputation of her age shows how lightly she bore her burden of learning and diligence—as indeed she did until her life's end.

Taine remarks that she was 'the leading mind'—he uses the English phrase—of the feminine society of Oxford in the domain of art and literature. This incidental testimonial to her position in the University city was a much greater compliment when it was written five-and-thirty years ago than it would be now. Oxford was then in a transitional state; and the recent revolu-

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\* Taine is not mentioned in Sir Charles Dilke's Memoir. It was after its appearance that Madame Taine, shortly before her lamented death, published the third volume of her husband's correspondence in which his visit to Oxford is related.

tionary scheme of the University Commission was scarcely beginning to effect its work. Fellows were permitted to marry, but the collegiate life of the common-room survived; and the resident graduates had not yet their domestic lives regulated on the lines which prevail in suburban villadom. As a rule the only married member of a college was its head. Hence the womankind of heads of houses and of certain professors constituted the entire feminine society of the University, which contained not a few persons of wide cultivation or social charm. At that time a visit to Oxford was not merely a Sunday on the river for the commonplace Londoner or the wandering American. The strangers who penetrated within the walls of the colleges were often men of European renown. The names which Taine records of the persons he met at Oxford in May 1871 shows how great a compliment he implied in according the pre-eminence to his gracious young hostess of Lincoln College. Oxford society had its limitations, a consciousness of which she did not conceal. The unique position which she made for herself in it, amid circumstances of peculiar difficulty, shows how commanding were her intellectual gifts as well as her ethical and social qualities.

In each period of her life Lady Dilke had the faculty of winning the friendship and the sympathy of the bearers of names which were foremost in Europe in art, literature, and politics. Among those who aided her in her art-work or who admired its achievement was Eugène Müntz, afterwards conservator of the *École des Beaux Arts* and member of the French Institute. He was at work upon his monumental history of the Renaissance; and Lady Dilke's letters to him have been considered of such value that a hundred and fifty of them are preserved in the manuscript department of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, the correspondence extending over a period of twenty-three years. No testimony is more convincing of Lady Dilke's unique position as an authority on the fine arts in France than the frequent instances of its recognition, in this case official, by the most competent French judges.

'It was George Eliot who first sent Mrs Pattison to Burne-Jones, for though she had long been intimate with the most whole-hearted of his admirers, Watts, and with many of his

friends, she had not, in her early days, visited his studio. The result of her first day among his drawings was a considerable correspondence. . . . George Eliot's letters of 1872 . . . contrast "your virtuous industry" with the writer's "idleness," and allude to the commencement of Mrs Pattison's book on the Renaissance in France.'

Another letter from the same friend throws a sidelight on an agreeable private trait of Lady Dilke's character. George Eliot wrote to her at Grasse—whither she had gone to recover from one of those attacks of acute and disabling pain which throughout life constantly interrupted her work—and ended a charming letter by describing her own troubles about settling in a house, and complimenting her correspondent on her 'genius' for domestic economy. Lady Dilke's biographer, in commenting upon George Eliot's compliment, says, with sincere feeling, 'The truth of this will appeal to all who know how, throughout her housekeeping life, the subject of this Memoir succeeded in creating perfect homes.'

We must hasten over the record of Oxford days, full of allusions to her artistic studies and her relations with the world of art. Here she is recognising the talent of Legros and obtaining for him a commission from Prince Leopold, then an undergraduate. A little later she is working at the British Museum with her constant correspondent, Sir Charles Newton, with a view to a handbook on classical art, which project was laid aside owing to the stress of work on the French Renaissance. In 1873 there are letters from Boehm consulting her on questions of sculptural costume; and in the autumn of that year she was appointed art-editor of the 'Academy.' Unfortunately, from our point of view, she had a strong tendency to stray into distracting occupations. In 1877 we are told that 'she came up from Lincoln College specially to attend, as the principal speaker, the annual meeting of the Women's Trade Union League'; and in 1878 she 'was elected a member of the Radical Club, which consisted of twenty members of Parliament, among whom were at that time Mr Chamberlain, Mr Courtney, and Professor Fawcett'—names which do not suggest the Renaissance, the 'Grand Siècle,' or any period in which politicians like Richelieu and Colbert encouraged the fine arts.

Her journey to Italy, which followed the publication of 'The Renaissance of Art in France,' was not open to the same criticism. During a long visit to Rome she was constantly in the society of Italian politicians, but they were persons who, by their instinct and education, were well qualified to aid her in her studies of the relations of the fine arts with the modern state. Sella, the financier, whom she found 'steeped in classical literature,' Bonghi, the eclectic, 'who took her to the Forum' and Minghetti, who had been associated with Cavour before he became a great party leader himself, were her principal companions. The increasing range of her foreign interests did not make her neglect native art: and a pleasant episode in the Memoir is the account of her relations with Caldecott, whose art was essentially English. Not only did she admire his draughtsmanship but, as she wrote to him about 'The Babes in the Wood' and 'The Mad Dog,' 'I like to be told stories, and there is no one who has a greater gift that way than you.'

Meanwhile her reputation was growing in France: and Renan, whom she did not yet know personally, 'presented' her 'Renaissance' to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. An article which she wrote about this time on Poussin caused Eugène Müntz to urge her to write the life of Claude. This remarkable monograph was written in French, and was published (1884) in Paris, where its success was so considerable that she was almost tempted to produce all her subsequent art-work in that language.

We have dwelt with some detail on the long period of training and study with which Lady Dilke disciplined her vigorous mental powers. The period of mature production had now arrived. Just as in her long years of education she had continually poured forth a copious stream of excellent work, so in her fruitful maturity she never ceased to acquire knowledge. If we have lingered over the earlier portion of her intellectual career, it is to signalise a noble example of self-denying labour for those who come after her. In these days of superficial smattering, when culture is diffused and every one can talk its jargon, it is good to observe the method of one whose Benedictine faculty of work was vigorous in its discipline and powerful in its result.

The year after the publication of 'Claude Lorrain' her marriage with Sir Charles Dilke took place. So prodigious was her activity in the years which followed that the wonder is that a physical frame, often tried with illness, survived for nineteen years. At the time of her second marriage she was engaged on the work on the age of Louis XIV, which was to be published in 1888 under the title of 'Art in the Modern State.' The ten or twelve years which followed the publication of this work were well filled with the preparation of the four magnificent volumes in which Lady Dilke reviewed the complete domain of French art in the eighteenth century. The whole forms a lasting monument of her diligence, learning, and talent. The years devoted to it were none too long, even had its fabrication been the sole occupation of the author. But when one turns from the perusal of these volumes to the Memoir and reads of her daily life crowded with activity in other fields, one is amazed at a woman being possessed of such powers, and regretful that so mortal a strain was laid upon them.

Most gratifying to her in this last period of incessant labour, was the ever-increasing recognition of her position as a great authority on French art by the most eminent men of France. Renan entered, with his wife, into the circle of her most intimate and appreciative friends, in the last years of his honoured career. A friendship not less interesting was that of another illustrious Academician, the Duc d'Aumale, the last of the *grands seigneurs* of France. This brilliant and noble-minded prince had few keener pleasures in the closing years of his life than to entertain Lady Dilke as his guest among the treasures of Chantilly. For, while she was familiar with every work of art which had illustrated the declining years of the ancient monarchy, the venerable son of Louis Philippe had actually known the originals of portraits painted at the Court of Louis XV\* nearly a century and a half before. Among Frenchmen of a younger generation who placed her talent very high may be cited M. de Nolhac, the curator of the Palace of Versailles. From the fullness of his knowledge he wrote to Lady Dilke,

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\* Eg. Charles X, who, as the little Comte d'Artois, was painted with his sister by Drouais in 1763, in the celebrated picture now at the Louvre.



after the appearance of the last volume on the eighteenth century, that she had endowed the literature of art in Europe with a work so considerable and so original that she might now write 'Exegi monumentum'; and, adds the eminent French critic, 'combien peu parmi nous en auront rêvé un comparable.'

We now turn to a brief review of Lady Dilke's principal works in the order of their publication. There is a pathetic interest in writing about the first of these, 'The Renaissance of Art in France,' as Lady Dilke had intended to give to the public in this very year, 1906, a new and revised edition of that learned work. It was first published in 1879, and is now out of print. It was her hope to bring it out again, made fuller, after a quarter of a century of additional study, and finished with illustrations such as make her volumes on the eighteenth century a joy to possess.

The soldiers of Charles VIII and Louis XII came back to France, after the Italian campaigns which closed the fifteenth and opened the sixteenth century, dazzled with the fertile life of the rejuvenated land. It is from this point that Lady Dilke commences her history of 'The Renaissance of Art in France.' She shows how the centralising policy of Louis XI had transformed the life of the whole nation.

'The teaching of the Middle Ages, both religious and civil, had inured the masses to passive obedience. To men writhing beneath the exactions of local tyranny, the formidable development of the monarchical power brought a sense of relief; it brought the conception of the king as of one to whom all should be answerable. The same system which was to end by becoming an unendurable burden appeared at first as a means of escape from the cruelty of more immediate oppression. . . . This political change, the shaping of the monarchy, and the centralisation of power, gave considerable impulse to the movement of the Renaissance in the province of Art. The royal court . . . gradually became a centre which gathered together the rich, the learned, and the skilled. Artists, who had previously been limited in training, isolated in life, and narrowed in activity . . . were thus brought into immediate contact with the best culture of their day. . . . The Court made a rallying-point for all, which gave a sense of countenance and protection even to those who might never hope to enter it.'

It was thus that the humanists were able to influence the community with the results of the new learning. Lady Dilke traces their efforts in the architectural revolt against Gothic art. Architecture in its highest forms had been consecrated to two chief purposes, utilitarian and idealistic—the construction of residential strongholds and of churches. The decay of the feudal system and the cessation of its internecine conflicts put an end to the need for powerful nobles to build their houses in the form of comfortless fortresses. As this change was coincident with the decadence of the domination of the Church, architects were called upon to combine their utilitarian with their æsthetic skill, to construct the palace and the château for an intellectually luxurious class which had been extinct in Europe since the removal of the seat of the Roman Empire from Italy to the frontier of Asia.

Lady Dilke says, in this connexion, that ‘great changes of style are always necessitated by some previous change in the conditions of human society and life.’ This is a generalisation which is perfectly true concerning the ages of which she wrote, and remained true until after the French Revolution. But with the greater revolution which began coincidentally with the opening of the Victorian era, when the application of steam, and later of electricity, to means of communication altered the whole current of modern civilisation, the prodigious changes which then took place, and are still progressing, ‘in the conditions of human society and life’ produced no corresponding changes of style. In architecture there is no style which future generations will be able to connote as ‘Victorian’ or ‘Third Republic’ in the sense in which we speak of ‘Renaissance,’ or ‘Louis Quatorze,’ or ‘Queen Anne,’ or even ‘Georgian.’ The interiors of houses have undergone modifications in their sanitary arrangements and lighting appliances; but their exterior aspect and their furniture within display the lamentable fact that the highest achievement of artistic intelligence, in an age unprecedented for diffusion of wealth and of education, is to borrow and to adapt the styles of past ages.

Far different were the results of the Renaissance. After Pavia, palaces and gardens sprang up in France under François I as though by magic. Then it was that

Fontainebleau and Écouen, Chambord, Azay-le-Rideau and Chenonceaux arose, superb monuments which still remain to show how in France the revival of learning and of the fine arts was reflected in the domestic life of an ardent race sprung from old Latin civilisation, which after an interval of a thousand years had suddenly been awakened to the refinements of luxury. Other palaces as sumptuous, such as Anet, and Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, did not survive the ancient monarchy. Of those which still testify to the splendour and noble taste of the Renaissance, most of the finest examples are found in Touraine or on its borderland. The reason why Touraine became the first centre of the new movement was that it was on the highroad from Italy. This may seem curious to those familiar with the railway system of France, or with the routes which were followed in the eighteenth century. But at the Renaissance many travellers from Rome landed at the port of Narbonne and thence made their way to Paris or to England by Touraine, which thus, by reason of the amenity of its climate and the beauty of its sites, became the favourite residence of the last kings of the house of Valois and their brilliant courts.

One of the most marked and permanent effects of the Renaissance throughout Europe was the disestablishment of the Church as the sole artistic and intellectual influence in the State, as Lady Dilke points out in her highly interesting account of Jean Goujon, whose work we can still admire in the court of the Louvre and at Rouen.

‘Up to this moment Goujon’s patron had been the Church. From this moment he ceases to work for her. The Church indeed, during the movement of the Renaissance, ceased to occupy the pre-eminent position as mistress of the arts. The development of secular magnificence eclipsed the brilliance of ecclesiastical splendour. Even the monuments which were necessarily erected in sacred buildings had an essentially human character, they were sustained by earthly motives, and spoke of the desires of the flesh rather than of the aspirations of the spirit. The chapel and the tomb were but a part of the fitting furniture of the palace, and as such shared in the general wealth of decoration. Even the princes of the Church, as, for example, Cardinal du Bellay, lavished their revenues, not in raising cathedrals, but in building for themselves “a

lordly pleasure-house." In the service of the great nobles and their chief the artist found the widest scope for his efforts and the richest reward for his labours.'

The emancipation of art from the exclusive service of the Church had one striking effect. Protestantism in the sixteenth century is often associated with hostility to artistic beauty, because the acts of vandalism committed by its agents, in the Wars of Religion in France and in the more peaceful Reformation in England, have impressed the imagination. But Jean Goujon, much of whose noblest work was done for ecclesiastical patrons, was a Huguenot; while Bernard Palissy, the father of the modern fictile art, died a martyr for Protestantism. The mention of the great Huguenot potter reminds us that the architecture of the Renaissance, its most conspicuous monument in France, is only one branch of the artistic movement of that period.

'Princes, prelates, nobles, all were building, fashioning anew their habitations, fitting them for every purpose of manifold life. Out of doors the damask roses and violets of the poets . . . clustered at the feet of marble statues; shady recesses stored the waters of refreshing fountains. . . . Of Meudon, Corrozet tells us "it was a house furnished forth with columns, with busts, with paintings . . . with devices of gold, of blue, of more colours than it is possible to mention." Every art which could minister to house-luxury was, indeed, suddenly stimulated. Tapestry does not appear anywhere in France as a branch of local industry until the middle of the sixteenth century, and then at Tours . . . its manufacture at once took such an impetus that it seemed as if it were going to replace the art of painting. . . . The goldsmiths of Paris eagerly emulated the chased and inlaid work of Milan. The demand for books, for prints, for casts, became more and more general.'

In one respect, however, the Renaissance of art in France lagged behind that of Italy. The painting of that age is so scanty that there are scarcely six French painters of the sixteenth century of whom more is known than the names, at the head of which stands that of François Clouet. It would be most interesting to trace the reasons why this branch of art, so fruitful beyond the Alps, was almost barren in France. This was a subject which Lady Dilke often discussed in conversation; and

had she lived to produce her revised edition of 'The Renaissance,' it is probable that an instructive chapter would have been devoted to it.

The next work of Lady Dilke deals with the period of the consolidation of the nation under the house of Navarre when it came forth from the Wars of Religion. The title of the book, 'Art in the Modern State,' is perhaps too general, as it has no sub-title to explain that this valuable and informing essay treats only of France under Richelieu and in the first period of the long reign of Louis XIV. But the reader is not kept long under any misapprehension. In her first sentence Lady Dilke points out that the France of Richelieu and of Colbert gave birth to the modern state; and that the administrative problems, the social difficulties, and the industrial needs of latter-day communities, were all formulated and instructively dealt with by the rulers of France in the 'Grand Siècle.' This proposition is a tempting subject for discussion. We must be content to give a brief exposition of the main lines of Lady Dilke's treatise.

The main moral principle of the Renaissance was an ideal which had for its end the improvement of the individual. The idea of Richelieu was that the individual counted for little in the development of a people. During the Renaissance the supreme rights of the individual had been carried to an excess; and Richelieu's policy was to guide and to mould the reaction which ensued. The task to which he applied his genius and his energy was to create a unity of purpose in the nation, and to realise the ideal he had formed of collective action which should lead to national greatness. The principle of absolutism, which for two centuries after Richelieu dominated the social and political world of continental Europe, took its rise from his ideal of the State. Although he was an ecclesiastic and the servant of the monarchy, his oppressive policy was not conceived and carried out from his devotion to the Church or his reverence for the throne. Protestantism had to be put down and the power of the great nobles to be broken solely for the purpose of welding all the forces of the nation into one irresistible machine. The glory of letters and the fine arts, as also the development of trade and industry, were pursued as factors of national grandeur. His policy in attaining

this end was neither that of a personally ambitious statesman, nor of a courtier, nor of a churchman. He cared little for Louis XIII, and would have been the last to place France under the domination of Rome. His ambition was not for himself but for his nation; and that ambition had only one end—it aimed at making the State strong by means of its united forces. ‘He ruthlessly destroyed all life and liberty the existence of which was incompatible with regular growth. No cruelty was too pitiless, no treachery too base, if required to maintain the pressure necessary to force into even channels all the springs of national energy. So in the accomplishment of this policy he forced learning and letters and the fine arts to put on a royal livery, that is, the uniform of the State, as the price of existence.’

We cannot stay to note the most conspicuous achievement of Richelieu in this direction, the constitution of the French Academy, which fostered a noble literature ‘characterised by the lustre of intelligence rather than by warmth of feeling,’ but which brought the French language to a supreme degree of purity, lucidity, and brilliancy, and established it as the first of all modern organs to express human thought. The action which Richelieu ‘had taken in respect of literature was destined to be extended to the sciences and the arts. All the forces of thought, all the energies of labour, were now ready to be held by similar ties to the administration, to accept popular tasks and to conform to an officially recognised standard of excellence. This part of his work the Cardinal was not destined to complete.’ It was Colbert in the succeeding reign who, in the domain of the fine arts, completed the policy initiated by Richelieu.

The discovery of Colbert by Mazarin, followed by his dying recommendation of him to Louis XIV, was the greatest service rendered to the State by the guardian of the minority of the young king. The finances of the kingdom had fallen into disorder under the rule of the Italian Cardinal and the administration of Fouquet, who, originally his creature, was plotting to overthrow him when he died. The arrest of Fouquet for malversation took place in 1661 at the Château de Vaux, near Melun, which remains the most superb monument of seventeenth century domestic architecture in France. It was the

period from that date until the death of Colbert in 1683 which gave the 'Grand Siècle' its right to its name. The organiser of the financial system, the creator of the French navy and of the export commerce of France, the projector of a French empire in the Far East, was also the founder of the Academy of Painting, of the Academy of Architecture, and of the School of France at Rome.

'To the pure pleasures of art Colbert was as indifferent as Richelieu himself: he saw, however, not only its value as a means of national glory; he was also the first to appreciate the immense services which it might be brought to render to national industry. . . . To Colbert, therefore, is due the honour of having foreseen, not only that the interests of the modern State were inseparably bound up with those of industry, but also that the interests of industry could not without prejudice be divorced from art.'

While rendering this tribute to Colbert and to the 'Grand Siècle,' Lady Dilke does not disguise her preference for the Renaissance. She finds the work of the 'Grand Siècle' monotonous. 'Since none but the king could give employment, all that was made was made to please him, and his tastes were those whose ideals were wholly external.' Walking in the deserted terraces of Versailles, 'what is the message,' she asks, 'that comes to us from this ruin of royal things? What is there left to-day of the great king and of that virtue excelling the virtue of all other kings in which Colbert would fain have believed? An empty pleasure-house haunted by memories of lust and insolence and greedy self.' If we had the space we should like to criticise this passage. But the existence of this book, 'Art in the Modern State,' inspired by this period, is Lady Dilke's own criticism of it. We will let her answer herself with another passage in the book.

'At Versailles Le Brun, for whom the title of First Painter had been revived, took command of all the works of decoration, whether sculpture or painting. Over the whole palace his rule was supreme, and all other artists had to accept the position of his assistants. Imagine the situation of Sir Frederick Leighton . . . having under his hand the Board of Works and several great national manufactories, as well as the biggest building in the world to decorate and furnish

royally. Sir John Millais would of course sulk off somewhere else, as Errard did to Rome; Mr Herkomer would go to New York, perhaps, and found the school of the future. . . . Imagine the President (if you can) producing several vast historical paintings a year, furnishing the designs which Hook and Horsley, Fildes, Calderon, Poynter, Frith and Goodall, Faed, Long, Orchardson, everything, in short, that writes itself R.A., would be sworn to carry out or starve; whilst Boehm, MacLean, and Gilbert competed for the chance of embodying his projects for the sculptured decorations of halls and gardens.'

Lady Dilke was no doubt making fun of the Royal Academy, as we have seen she did of her master, Ruskin. But, whether the passage be serious or sarcastic, it is a splendid tribute to the art of the 'Grand Siècle' compared with that of the last generation of English art. For, with the exception of three or four names in her list of our Academicians, it is a catalogue which indicates almost the low-water-mark of art in a land which in the past had produced at least two great schools of painters. England, whether from the stimulant of knowledge or of fashion, has awoke to this fact, as is shown by the depreciated commercial value of the wares of most of these Academicians when offered for public sale in the twentieth century. Lady Dilke knew very well that, if the Royal Academy in the reign of Victoria had been pressed into the service of the State to decorate a palace of that epoch, which itself would have been a monstrosity, the result could have only been painful to future generations. But the work of the craftsmen recruited by Le Brun is, even in its inferior examples, stately and sumptuous, and an education to those who study it at the present day. A lover of the Renaissance may dislike it, but only as a votary of Gothic may in turn be displeased with the Renaissance. We must however bear in mind that Lady Dilke criticised from a standpoint to which few of her most cultivated readers can hope to attain. She was as familiar with the history of the 'Grand Siècle' as she was with that of the French Renaissance; and, when she criticises the art of Louis XIV, it is not as an English-woman of the nineteenth century, but as one who had lived and moved in the society which, under the last kings of the house of Valois, filled the valley of the Loire



and the region of the capital with the noblest products of the new culture in its unspoiled youth.

It is from a different standpoint that Lady Dilke criticises the age of Louis XIV, when she contrasts the splendour of Versailles with the misery of the peasant. No one can have lived and worked in France under the Republic without being influenced by the attitude of modern historians and philosophers who spend their lives trying to prove that there was little that was meritorious in France before 1789. Lady Dilke's later volumes are a magnificent monument to the glories of pre-revolutionary France. But her democratic and philanthropic sentiments make her sensible to the fact that the inordinate extravagance of the Court was producing in the nation economic causes which a century later were to sweep away the monarchy and ameliorate the lot of the poor. Yet the 'Grand Siècle' was not the only age in which the misery of the toiling class was very harsh. The peasants under Louis XIV and his successor were not more unhappy than many of the labouring classes of Chicago or thousands of our own poor of London. For, while the Revolution did something to help the French peasant, the greater material revolution which has taken place since has engendered inequalities in all civilised lands as grave as any of those of the ancient regime. Whatever the abuses of the old monarchy, it produced works of art and of literature which still solace and educate humanity, while it trained a leading race in perfection of form and style for the lasting benefit of mankind. Our age has no such compensations to offer to the future for the continued and perhaps aggravated misery of the poorer classes in the present.

This slight criticism detracts nothing from the value of Lady Dilke's work, for it indicates a highly interesting feature of her writings. They are not only full of information and learning, but they make her readers think for themselves and reflect upon the causes of the movements which changed the face of Europe and the current of civilisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We part with reluctance from 'Art in the Modern State,' which is an essential introduction to her series of monographs. One of its chapters deals with the struggle for privilege between the new Academy of Painting and the

guild of master-painters, which upheld the pretensions of the corporations, more ancient than the Renaissance. This controversy is again dealt with in her life of 'Claude Lorrain,' one of the two or three French books which since the Revolution have been written by English people and widely read in France.

After the barrenness in painting of the French Renaissance, the early years of the seventeenth century saw the birth of a number of great masters in that art. Four of them stand in the very first rank. There was Poussin, the father of French landscape painters, of whose power of composition Lady Dilke wrote, in one of her many uncollected articles, 'it is purely academic in character, but stands in the highest class of its kind, and, like every great exercise of human intelligence, has its just claim on our accurate appreciation.' He died in 1665, so he saw only the opening of the 'Grand Siècle.' There was his pupil Lesueur, who died before his prime ten years earlier. His twenty-two pictures representing the life of Saint Bruno are unsurpassed for colouring and draughtmanship, though little justice is done to them at the Louvre, where, unlike the masterpieces of Poussin, they are badly hung. There was Le Brun, who likewise was a pupil of Poussin, and who, as we have seen, was the arbiter and the dictator of the fine arts under Colbert. Finally, there was Claude Gellée, commonly called Lorrain, being born in Lorraine, whose life filled nearly the whole of the century. He remains the first of French landscape painters, and is known in France as 'le peintre de lumière.' Lady Dilke attributes his excellence in this line, in an age in which the best talent of France was pressed into the service of the king for decorative work, to his long sojourn in Italy far from the circumscribing influences of his native land. When Colbert protected the painters against the domination of the *maîtrise*—the guilds which we have mentioned—it was not to give them liberty. The 'protection' of the king took the place of the tyranny of the guilds, and produced the Academic school. Lady Dilke thought that the greatest honour of Claude was, among the artificiality of mid-seventeenth century art, to have seen a corner of wild nature, to have 'plunged into the wood, and lost himself in the contemplation of distant horizons.'

Before leaving this attractive volume, sumptuous with its wealth of engravings, we will quote a **passage** which displays at the same time Lady Dilke's mastery of her subject and her remarkable facility in writing the French language in all its elegance and purity.

'On a reproché à Claude d'être le père du **paysage académique**; notre maître avait, il est vrai, la **passion des belles lignes librement écrites**, mais il évita les écueils du glacial **paysage linéaire**, grâce à son amour de la lumière et de la couleur, grâce au charme de l'indéfini, dont il fut, comme tous ceux que se plaisent à rêver, profondément pénétré. . . Sa passion pour la lumière et pour l'air aurait suffi pour donner à son œuvre un accent de poésie, même sans la **tendance** qui l'a toujours porté à chercher dans l'image de la nature les vibrations de l'âme humaine. En parcourant la campagne seul du matin au soir, Claude a surpris la vie intime de la nature et a partagé ses plus secrètes agitations; il les a vues se refléter au plus profond de son être. . . Jamais la solidarité de l'homme et de l'œuvre n'a été plus complète que chez Claude.'

We now come to the series of magnificent volumes which Lady Dilke completed in the last years of her life, and by which she will always be remembered so long as the triumphs of French art in its most gracious period are admired by English students and prized by English collectors. We have deliberately left ourselves little space to deal with them, for they are books to possess rather than to criticise. In the fullest sense of the old phrase, no gentleman's library ought to be without the large-paper edition of the 'Painters,' the 'Architects and Sculptors,' the 'Furniture and Decoration,' and the 'Engravers and Draughtsmen' of the eighteenth century. For the collector they are beyond value. But every lover of art ought to possess the series, so that when he has been to the galleries of the Louvre or of Hertford House, or has visited some English country-house containing French pictures, sculpture, or furniture of the eighteenth century, he may return home and learn the history of the treasures he has seen and of their creators, or understand in what their beauty and perfection consists. For there is more technique and less philosophy in this series than in the smaller English works of Lady Dilke.

Although it was not her favourite, the volume devoted

to the painters will always be the most popular. It not only tells us all that is to be known of the French masterpieces of the last generations before the Revolution, but it is lavishly illustrated with admirable reproductions of fourscore of some of the best and the most inaccessible. Only about a dozen of the pictures reproduced are at the Louvre and in other museums equally easy to visit. The great majority are in the distant galleries of Stockholm, Dresden, and Berlin, or in private collections in Paris not open to the public. In turning over these pages, which give some idea of the incomparable grace of Greuze and Nattier, of the dignity of Drouais, of the vigorous grouping of Lancret, de Troy, and van Loo, of the romantic composition of Boucher, Fragonard, and Watteau, the genius of the eighteenth century at the Court of France passes before our eyes, and we can thank Heaven that the ancient monarchy was allowed to remain until the end of the era of the picturesque in clothes.

Lady Dilke does not neglect the philosophical aspect of the history of art, though it is less prominent than in her small treatises. She continues to trace the influence of the State on art in a manner which makes us regret that her work comes to an end with the French Revolution. She shows how, and why, the work of the eighteenth century differed alike from that of the Renaissance and of the 'Grand Siècle.' Of the former she says :

'The marvels of the French Renaissance, the portraits of the Clouets, the enamels of Limoges, the stained windows of St Gervais and Vincennes, the sculptured tombs of St Denis, the châteaux of Touraine, the illustrated books of Paris, of Rouen, and of Lyons, say little to us of personal luxury and much of the love of beautiful things. The arts of France in the days of the Regency, and in the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI, speak to us of a personal luxury to which things beautiful were as servants.'

We are not quite sure about this. Agnes Sorel and Diane de Poitiers were not less fond of luxury than Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barri; and François I in that matter was a worthy ancestor of the Regent and of Louis the Well-beloved. There was less comfort during the Renaissance than in the eighteenth century; but that arose from want of experience, not

from lack of desire. There is no doubt that the last period of the ancient monarchy was, for the privileged delightful to live in. Lady Dilke, with all her theoretical admiration for the Revolution, comes under its spell. Her distaste for the 'Grand Siècle' is evidently sincere, and it seems to arise from a sort of resentment at the collapse of the Renaissance, which ought to have produced an æsthetic millennium had the movement not come to a premature end. But Lady Dilke falls completely under the charm of the eighteenth century.

'The glories of the reign of Louis XIV were the product of a system which, having assigned to each group of workers their proper function in the State, bid the artist make, not things beautiful, of which he should have joy in the making and others in the possessing, but that which should present an imposing show befitting the service of the King. . . . The men who succeeded them, and who revolted from their rule, like the men of the Renaissance, wrought those things that they and their fellows loved and desired, and, working with delight, they still delight us. Nay, more, they show us the very hearts of men. . . . That is why this art, which the dead of the eighteenth century have left us, is justly dear in our eyes. It is a genuine manifestation of human energy, and therefore it is to be held sacred.'

In the 'Architects and Sculptors,' which succeeded the 'Painters,' Lady Dilke followed the system she had adopted in the latter work. She chose out those men who seemed to have most forcibly influenced art, and from their work took examples illustrating the nature of that artistic development which corresponded to the renewal of human ideals whereby the eighteenth century was distinguished. Architecture occupies only a small portion of the volume. The majority of the examples given are taken from Paris—Sainte-Geneviève (the Panthéon), Bagatelle, the Palais de la Légion d'Honneur, the École Militaire, the north end of the Place de la Concorde, the Place Saint-Sulpice, and the Hôtel de Soubise (Archives Nationales). The centralising influence of the Court had brought the noble and the wealthy to the capital and to Versailles, leaving their estates neglected. Consequently the construction of fine châteaux in the provinces almost came to an end in the eighteenth century. But building went on in the provincial capitals, witness the theatre of

Bordeaux—still the most imposing monument in south-western France—and the noble Place Stanislas at Nancy.

In sculpture Lady Dilke seems to be of opinion that the eighteenth century was superior to the Renaissance—the greatest compliment which she could pay to it. She points out that, during the Renaissance and during the reign of Louis XIV, the conditions under which the sculptor worked were to some extent identical, as he was mainly occupied with work of a more or less monumental or architectural character; and she adds that the French are great sculptors because they are great architects. The sculpture of those days was thus regulated by its surroundings; but the spirit of independence, which marked the emancipation from the Academic school, gave birth to the wish, among artists, to express their own personality. Consequently the eighteenth century saw the triumph of the statue. To show how fruitful was this age in plastic art, we have only to mention the names of Coustou le Jeune, the author of the famous 'Chevaux de Marly,' of Pigalle, and of his pupils Houdon and Clodion. The work of the medallist is the sister craft of sculpture. It has never risen to any great height in our country, but in France it still flourishes. It, at all events, was an art which owed its perfection to royal patronage. One of the most magnificent books of the early eighteenth century is the great volume containing engravings of all the medals struck during the long reign of Louis XIV. So important was this branch of art that the Academy of Inscriptions, which still remains the classical section of the French Institute, was founded by Colbert in 1663 primarily for the purpose of superintending the striking of medals and of composing Latin inscriptions to signalise the events commemorated. The examples of the medals struck under Louis XV and Louis XVI, engraved in Lady Dilke's volume, show how well the Academy continued to fulfil its functions.

It is said that Lady Dilke considered her volume on 'Furniture and Decoration' in some respects the most important of the series. No other branch of art reflects more faithfully the life of the age; none is more difficult to treat systematically. The expressions 'Louis Quinze' and 'Louis Seize' have entered into the ignorant jargon of the upholsterer throughout the civilised world; but,

as Lady Dilke points out, even on the lips of experts such phrases are merely convenient terms to connote certain tendencies, so long as no strict chronological meaning is attached to their use. In these days of the diffusion of wealth and luxury, this volume should be in the hands of every one who possesses or wishes to acquire articles of furniture which date from the time when Madame de Pompadour's fine taste directed the artists employed by the Crown, and when the activity of the royal factory of the Gobelins was resumed in 1736.

We have no space left for the concluding volume on the 'Engravers and Draughtsman,' except to make one observation. In some respects it is the most satisfactory of the series as regards its illustrations, because it has been possible to reproduce the treasures of the *Cabinet des Estampes*, and of other collections of engravings, almost in the identical form in which they were created. This is especially true of the large-paper edition of the last-published volume.

Such is the art-work which Lady Dilke has left us. Incomplete as it is, for reasons which we have indicated and regretted, it is a splendid legacy and one absolutely unique as coming from the hand and the brain of a woman. Future generations of English students will be able to have recourse to some of the material of which she made such admirable use. Sir Charles Dilke and her executors, knowing her munificent desire, have presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington her art library, consisting of 630 works, including many rare and priceless editions. In studying her series of published volumes, traced out on one systematic plan, our regret has been very deep that our guide should quit us on the threshold of the French Revolution, which brought in its wake a revolution in the fine arts and likewise a complete change in the relations of art to the State. We would have given much to have had Lady Dilke to trace the influence of the neo-classicists, with David at their head, who sketched with ferocious pencil Marie Antoinette on her way to the scaffold, and painted with the gorgeous complacency of a revolutionary courtier Napoleon in his pomp. What would Lady Dilke have said about Horace Vernet, Isabey, and Gros? We know a little of what she thought of Ingres, whom

she studied at Montauban in the museum which, with every other provincial museum in France, was familiar to her. But what new lights might she not have thrown on Corot and the school of Barbizon, and the influence of Constable on the landscape painters of the monarchy of July? A little later she might have explained the architecture of the Second Empire, when Baron Haussmann was decreed by Louis Napoleon to be the Le Brun of the boulevards.

Yet, though this has not been done, we are thankful for what Lady Dilke has given us, and proud that her work was accomplished by an Englishwoman. Considering that it was conceived and executed by one who was never physically robust, who was never secure from prolonged attacks of acute bodily pain, who had known private sorrows enough to disable a less courageous soul, whose occupations in other lines were sufficient to fill the life of an ordinary man, the result is astounding. It is a noble example to those who come after her, whose praise will be rendered to her in the words of her old master, Ruskin, which stand on the first page of her Memoir: 'The path of a good woman is indeed strewn with flowers, but they rise behind her steps.'





# Art. VIII.—THE CHEAP COTTAGE.

1. *In Search of a 150l. Cottage.* London: Office of 'The County Gentleman,' 1905.
2. *The Book of the Cheap Cottages Exhibition.* London. Office of 'The County Gentleman,' 1905.
3. *Country Cottages.* London: Heinemann, 1905.
4. *Modern Housing in Town and Country.* By James Cornes. London: Batsford, 1905.
5. *The Model Village and its Cottages: Bournville.* By W. Alexander Harvey. London: Batsford, 1906.
6. *A Book of Cottages and Little Houses.* By C. R. Ashbee, M.A. London: Batsford, 1906.
7. *Journal of the Royal Sanitary Institute.* Margaret Street, London, W.
8. *Journal of Estate Clerks of the Works.* 88 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

A LADY visitor to the recent Cheap Cottages Exhibition, having had it explained to her, in response to a question, that the concrete house she had just been over was built of cinders and cement, eagerly enquired whether, if she had the cinders from the fires of her own house saved, she could have a country cottage built of them. Ignorance almost as remarkable has undoubtedly characterised not a little of what has been written in the public journals and spoken on public platforms during the past twelve months or so in regard to the problem of inexpensive cottage-building. We cannot feel, however, that such ill-informed deliverances are wholly unsatisfactory; they show at least that a technical subject of great importance has begun to interest the public. Until the holding of the much criticised Cheap Cottages Exhibition, most newspapers seemed a little afraid of boring their readers with the problems to which the Building Bylaws Reform Association, the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association, and many public-spirited landowners, land-agents, and architects would fain have attracted their attention.

Before colonising can begin there must be houses for the colonists. In the colonising of rural England, from more than one class of the community, which is surely not the least pleasant feature of our social history during the last few years, there was bound to come a time when

the demand for cottages would exceed the supply. The new-comers to the country were also quick to see, and the world at large soon got to know, that the housing of the aboriginal inhabitants of the shires was in many cases capable of improvement.\* And as neither the landlords of the original cottages nor the would-be cottagers from the towns were particularly well-off, a desire on the part of both to employ the simplest and least costly building methods was natural enough.

There is no insurmountable difficulty in getting money for cottage-building. The landowner can borrow from land investment companies, through the Board of Agriculture, at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for sums of 500*l.* upwards, and 4 per cent. for sums below that amount.† The *émigrés* from the towns have either savings, or the building societies, or organisations like the Small Holdings Association to fall back upon. But, whoever pays the builder's bill, the expenditure which has been incurred has to be met in the form of rent. And so long as the wages of the agricultural labourer and the budget of the 'Back-to-the-lander' are what they are, there must be rigid limits to the amount of the rent. The problem, as it affects Hodge, has never been more clearly stated than by Mr St Loe Strachey, editor of the 'Spectator,' and the originator in another of his papers, the 'County Gentleman and Land and Water,' of last year's exhibition of cheap cottages at Letchworth, to which the Duke of

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\* But there is the way in which the matter presents itself to farmers and landowners to be considered. A farmer said to the present writer: 'Take that cottage there. It's at least water-tight. There's a large garden. You could turn a horse and a cart in their living room. There's ample accommodation in the house for the man, his wife, and three sons on full wages. All the rent they pay is 1*s.* 6*d.* a week. Even if the place had faults it isn't paying a fair interest on capital, and Higgins's married son in London is paying six times as much rent as his father for a home not half as good.'

† In other words, a landowner can have 500*l.* of new cottage property, as soon as it can be built, for an annual 7*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* per cent. (sinking fund included) for twenty years. Unfortunately the Board of Agriculture will at present pass loans on 'brick, stone, or other incombustible material' only. It has not yet learnt that steel studding, expanded metal and plaster, for instance, make a much more incombustible house than the average brick house. Lord Carrington, as a skilled cottage-builder, will no doubt be disposed to reconsider this inconsistent attitude. There is also the question whether in some cases loans on wooden houses might not be justifiable.

Devonshire and other public men so deservedly gave their moral and financial support.

'Why are there so few cottages being built in the country, and why is no proper provision made for housing the rural labourers? The answer is simple. It costs more to build a cottage than the labourer can afford to pay in rent. Practically an agricultural labourer, even if he is in constant employment, cannot afford to give more than 3s. a week for a cottage, or 8*l.* a year; and this, under existing conditions, is not enough to pay interest on capital, rates, insurance, and repairs. At present a cottage in the country with a garden, which is essential, costs, not counting the land on which it is built, and making the smallest possible allowance for fencing and laying out the site and providing the water supply, at the very least, 250*l.* . . . But 4 per cent. on 250*l.* means 10*l.* per year; rates account for another pound; and insurance and annual repairs must be placed at at least a pound. Therefore, even if nothing is put for depreciation and management, it is impossible to make cottage-building pay even a very moderate return unless the cottage, when built, will let for at least 12*l.* per year. . . . The next question is—Is it possible to build a 150*l.* cottage which, not counting anything for the site or water supply—which on many estates the landowners would be willing not to take into consideration in the rent—can be let for 8*l.* a year? A 150*l.* cottage might just be let for that. Interest on capital would account for 6*l.*; and rates, annual repairs, sinking fund, and insurance for 2*l.* At present, however, it is the almost universal testimony of landowners that a cottage such as the labourer rightly now demands, with three bedrooms, a living-room, kitchen, and a scullery, cannot be built for 150*l.*' \*

The correctness of Mr Strachey's statement of the situation could not be more forcibly illustrated than in the

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\* The criticism made upon this plan that five rooms do not include a parlour is ridiculous if cottage-building is to be looked at from a business point of view. It would be more to the purpose to suggest that instead of five rooms, four or even three might be reckoned adequate for labourers without families. It is preposterous to expect a landowner who has to live on his rents to provide rooms for all his labourers to keep lodgers in.

We may quote in this connexion from the words of the author of 'A Book of Cottages,' who is, we believe, a socialist: 'You are building for a man who is filled with fresh air. The labourer has not the townsman's essential needs. Air, light, height, size, space, and sanitation are not such important matters as they are for his town brother; and they certainly do not demand such close and fussy regulation.'

following letter from a philanthropic landowner which is now before us :—

‘I appeal to you for any assistance under the following circumstances. I am an unfortunate landowner in this Lake district, where cottages are sorely needed for labourers on the land. The evil of famine for cottages for labourers here has become much intensified of late years by the fashion of town-dwellers grabbing every cottage that is to be had to use only as a holiday home for summer sunshine. Thus resident labourers cannot find homes, as they cannot compete with town fortunes, and landlords let to the highest bidder. Building here is expensive all round, and from 300*l.* to 400*l.* is the lowest we can build locally with our rubble, stone, and slate. For a cottage, when done, our labourers cannot afford to pay more than 8*s.* per week rent. Now to my point. I wish to try the experiment of an iron and wood cottage, four-roomed to cost 150*l.* and no more. I have a gamekeeper who is a steady, good fellow. He is engaged to marry our cook early in New Year. Not a possibility of a cottage can he find. . . . His gladness at my suggestion that I might put up a cottage was good to see.’

Cottage-building has become more expensive for several reasons. In the first place, there has been a rise, not only in the price of labour\* and some classes of materials, but in the labourer's standard of comfort. Secondly, there are building bylaws in many districts which insist on a dwelling of such a plan that a greater expenditure is necessary upon it than has been customary in the past. Lastly, the wisest decision has not always been made as to design and materials. Whatever the Cheap Cottages Exhibition did not do, it demonstrated that a considerable saving could be effected by economical planning and the utilisation of the materials nearest at hand ; it proved that certain building bylaws were indefensible in regard to isolated dwellings in a rural district ; and it enabled a considerable number of interested people to obtain an insight into the actual cost of the materials of which a cottage is composed. It was not for nothing that a builder at the Exhibition was heard to deplore the fact that the public was ‘getting to know too much.’

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\* Without a corresponding rise in efficiency or output. This is one of the chief causes of expensive building.

One of the objects of the Exhibition was to find, if possible a five-roomed cottage, not costing more than 150*l.*, apart from builder's profit, architect's fee, and—two items which necessarily vary in every district—cost of land and cartage of materials. This object would seem to have been attained. The Exhibition, as Mr Strachey has written,

'resulted in showing conclusively that a cottage, suitable to what I may term the highest needs of the agricultural labourer, can be produced for 150*l.* by those who do not wish to make a profit out of the building, and merely have to consider the out-of-pocket expenses of construction. The landlord, that is, who wants to increase the housing accommodation on his estate, and who is willing not to consider the price of land or the supervision given by himself or his agent, can, it has been proved by the Exhibition, erect an extremely comfortable house for 150*l.*' \*

Let us examine the evidence on which this statement, the accuracy of which has been called in question, really rests. In the first place, the various cottages were erected by their builders and architects, not only under the eyes of rivals, but under the close daily scrutiny of a skilled and responsible clerk of the works, employed by the committee. Secondly, each competitor had to submit to this clerk of the works and the committee, both acquainted with current prices, a schedule, with accounts attached, showing his expenditure in detail. Thirdly, the prizes were awarded, after a succession of visits to the cottages, before and after completion, by judges who included architects so eminent as Messrs W. R. Lethaby, R. W. Schultz, and Thackeray Turner, a sanitary expert like Professor G. Sims Woodhead, and no less an authority on working-class dwellings than Miss Octavia Hill.

That all the cottages erected at the Exhibition cost only 150*l.* no competent visitor would believe. But, if the builders of certain dwellings chose to disqualify themselves for prizes by exceeding the financial limit set them, and were content to advertise themselves by means of 'arty and crafty' or other devices, that was their own affair. There was, however, at Letchworth, without

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\* The cost of sinking wells, an expense which, however, has not always to be incurred, is the only item omitted by Mr Strachey.

question, a number of cottages the expenditure on which, within the limits set out in the official conditions, did not exceed 150*l*. Of these, three received prizes of 100*l*., 50*l*., and 30*l*. respectively. Among the pairs of five-roomed cottages, three, ascertained to have been erected at a cost not exceeding 300*l*., obtained awards of 50*l*., 30*l*., and 20*l*.

We give summaries of the details of cost of the first three of these half-dozen cottages, particulars which are now published for the first time.

**A Cottage: Brick, rough-cast.** The whole site is covered with concrete. Outside walls 9 inches, inside 4½ inches, with two coats of plaster. The roof is covered with sand-faced tiles. The cottage comprises a large living-room, scullery, larder, etc., and three good bedrooms, containing 2960 cubic feet.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	4	14	0
Bricklayer (including rough-cast and ranges) . . . . .	59	15	6
Tiler . . . . .	12	8	8
Mason . . . . .	0	14	0
Carpenter and joiner . . . . .	43	6	0
Ironmonger . . . . .	5	4	0
Plasterer. . . . .	9	17	0
Plumber and glazier . . . . .	6	12	3
Painter and decorator . . . . .	6	0	0
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	£148	11	5

**B Cottage: Part brick and part timber** Nine-inch brick walls to first floor on two sides; remainder 4 inches by 2 inches, timber framing, covered outside with weather boards, inside with lath and plaster. The roof is covered with sand-faced tiles. The cottage comprises a large living-room, scullery, good porch, larder, etc., and three bedrooms, containing 2396 cubic feet.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	5	5	2
Bricklayer (including ranges) . . . . .	37	8	0
Tiler . . . . .	13	8	0
Carpenter and joiner (including ironmongery) . . . . .	57	17	2
Smith . . . . .	2	15	8
Plasterer. . . . .	11	0	0
Plumber and glazier . . . . .	7	14	0
Painter and decorator . . . . .	10	1	0
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	£145	9	0

**C Cottage: Concrete,** having the whole site covered with concrete. Outside walls 7 inches of solid concrete, rough-

cast outside. Inside walls 8 inches solid, plastered with cement and sand. All walls reinforced with steel rods. Roof covered with Bridgwater tiles. The cottage comprises living-room, scullery, washhouse, larder, etc., and three bedrooms, containing 2315 cubic feet. Single-storey cottage.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	36	4	4
Bricklayer . . . . .	9	7	0
Tiler . . . . .	13	17	9
Carpenter and joiner (including troughs for concrete)	42	19	8
Plasterer (including rough-cast) . . . . .	25	5	8
Ironmonger (including ranges) . . . . .	10	12	3
Plumber and glazier . . . . .	5	12	0
Painter and decorator . . . . .	4	12	0
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	£148	10	8

In the second class it is unnecessary perhaps to occupy space with the details of cost of the first prize-winner, because this concrete cottage, though somewhat different in construction, was simply double the size of the cottage by the same builder which gained the third prize in class 1. The details of cost of the winners of the first and second prizes in class 2 are as follows:—

D Cottage: Pair. Whole site covered with concrete. Eleven-inch outside brick cavity walls, with mansard roof. Inside walls 4½-inch brick, with two coats of plaster. Roof, sides plain tiles; top, Symons' patent interlocking tiles. The cottages comprise each a living-room, scullery, larder, etc., and three bedrooms (one on ground floor), containing 2448 cubic feet.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	7	1	0
Bricklayer . . . . .	65	7	0
Tiler . . . . .	19	3	0
Carpenter and joiner (including glazing). . . . .	85	16	0
Plasterer. . . . .	16	16	0
Ranges and copper . . . . .	5	16	3
Ironmonger . . . . .	13	0	0
Plumber . . . . .	5	10	0
Painter and decorator . . . . .	15	11	6
	<hr/>		
	£234	0	9

E Cottage: Pair. Whole site covered with concrete. Nine-inch brick walls outside, 4½-inch inside. Two coats of plaster. Roof covered with plain tiles. The cottages comprise a large living-room, good scullery, larder, etc., and three bedrooms, containing 2981 cubic feet.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	15	14	0
Bricklayer . . . . .	94	15	0
Tiler . . . . .	27	9	4
Carpenter and joiner . . . . .	91	15	0
Plasterer . . . . .	18	3	9
Ironmonger and smith (including ranges) . . . . .	16	9	9
Plumber (including bath) . . . . .	16	0	7
Painter and glazier . . . . .	15	3	0

£295 10 5

Since in many parts of the country all-wood cottages are common, the particulars of the cost of two of the dwellings which gained the first and second prizes in the wooden-cottages class are of value. The first prize-winning cottage was of the following dimensions :—

Living-room, with range, 16 ft. 3 in. by 11 ft. 9 in. Scullery, with copper, 11 ft. by 10 ft. Bedroom, ground floor, 9 ft. by 10 ft. 6 in.; bedrooms, attics, 12 ft. by 11 ft. 9 in., 12 ft. by 9 ft. Larder, etc. Bath which can be shut off the scullery. Walls framed of 4-in. by 2-in. timbers, braced and covered with insulating-paper and weather-boarding outside; lathed and plastered inside. Roof, pantiles. Foundations, 6 in. of cement concrete over whole area.

In regard to the cost of construction, we are able to give the figures—from the builder's contract—of a replica built in Hampshire and finished about the same time as the Exhibition cottage. It should be noted, however, that in this instance the prices include builder's profit. It is therefore a case of a 150% cottage, inclusive of builder's profit. The Hampshire cottage is also better in one way than the Letchworth one, for it is covered with steel lathing and rough-cast in place of weather-boarding, as at the Garden City.

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter, 12s. 9d. per yard cube . . . . .	4	19	3
4000 bricks and mortar . . . . .	9	0	0
Bricklayers and labourers and tiling, wages 8½d. and 6d. . . . .	7	15	0
Roofing-tiles (Major's interlocking), ridge tiles, and chimney-pots . . . . .	13	0	0
Timber and carpenter's materials complete . . . . .	32	0	0
Labour in ditto, ditto, wages 8d. . . . .	18	4	0
Plasterer, outside work (materials and labour), 2s. 7d. per yard super . . . . .	12	18	0
Plaster inside, 1s. 3d. per yard super . . . . .	15	13	0



	£	s	d
Smith (including bath, etc.) and plumber's materials	20	4	3
Plumber (labour only), wages 8½d. . . . .	2	1	0
Painter (materials) . . . . .	3	18	0
„ (labour), wages 7½d. . . . .	4	10	0
52 feet drains and catchpit (materials and labour) . . . . .	4	10	6
	<hr/> £148 13 0		

The particulars in regard to the second prize-winner are as follows:—

**Timber Cottage:** Whole site covered with concrete. Brick foundations. Framing 4 inches by 4 inches, covered outside with weather-board, lined with felt; inside with lath and plaster. Roof covered with pantiles. The cottage comprises a large living-room, scullery, bath-room, larder, etc., and three bedrooms, containing 2101 cubic feet.

	£	s	d
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	4	10	0
Bricklayer . . . . .	27	10	0
Tiler . . . . .	12	15	0
Carpenter . . . . .	53	10	0
Joiner . . . . .	15	10	0
Plasterer . . . . .	11	15	0
Smith and ironmonger (including range and bath) . . . . .	15	0	0
Plumber and glazier . . . . .	3	12	6
Painter and decorator . . . . .	3	10	0
	<hr/> £147 12 6		

There were, of course, other classes of cottages than the 150*l.* class, the 300*l.*-a-pair class, and the 150*l.* of wood. A prize of 100*l.* was won by Mr A. Randall Wells for the best cottage at not more than 35*l.* a room. But a surprise of the Exhibition was undoubtedly the cottage erected by a well-known Hampshire and Sussex landowner, Mr A. H. Clough, a son of the poet, who has long shown a practical interest in inexpensive cottage-building, and desired to demonstrate what was practicable at a low expenditure. His cottage, which a speaker at the Royal Sanitary Institute might well say deserved its prize of 100*l.* as the 'cheapest cottage in the Exhibition,' may be described as follows:—

Brick cottage with semi-mansard roof. The site is covered with concrete. The walls are 11-inch brick-cavity to first floor; the remainder 4-inch by 2-inch framing and rafters, covered with plain tiles and patent interlocking tile. Inside, two coats of plaster. The cottage comprises living-room,

scullery, larder, etc., and three bedrooms (one on the ground floor), containing 2561 cubic feet.\*

	£	s.	d.
Excavator and concreter . . . . .	4	2	6
Bricklayer . . . . .	33	12	0
Tiler . . . . .	10	6	0
Carpenter and joiner and glazier . . . . .	48	2	0
Plasterer . . . . .	8	3	0
Ranges and copper . . . . .	4	2	9
Ironmonger . . . . .	4	17	0
Plumber . . . . .	2	15	0
Painter and decorator . . . . .	4	15	6

£120 15 9

In order to make the foregoing prices as useful as possible to the reader, it is necessary to add this statement of the cost of materials and labour on the site—

	£	s.	d.
Bricks (common) per 1000 . . . . .	1	1	0†
Sand, per yard . . . . .	0	2	9
Gravel (unsifted), per yard . . . . .	0	2	9
Cement, per ton . . . . .	1	9	0
Lime, per quarter . . . . .	0	4	6
Tiles, per 1000 . . . . .	1	10	0
Inch floor boards, per square . . . . .	0	12	0
Fir floor joists and roof, per foot cube . . . . .	0	1	4

*Labour.*—Bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and plasterers, 8d. to 9d.; painters and glaziers, 7d.; labourers, 5d. to 6d. per hour. Horse, cart, and man, about 8s. per day.

If all these figures may be trusted—and they come before us with every appearance of authority—it is absurd to suggest that the problem of the cheap cottage has not been practically solved for large rural areas in this country so far as the cost of building goes. We say for large rural areas, because the conditions at Letchworth are admittedly not applicable everywhere. The price of bricks, for instance, was low; and gravel and grit for concrete lay close at hand. But all the advantages were not on the side of the Exhibition builders. They were in many instances working outside their own districts and employing strange hands. They were also working against time. It is the fact, we believe, that several

\* Full measurements of all the rooms in the cottages, a few particulars only of which could be set out in this article, are furnished in 'The Book of the Cheap Cottages Exhibition.'

† A certain proportion of better bricks, costing up to 1l. 5s. per 1000, was used.

builders found themselves involved in additional expenditure through these causes. Drawbacks of this particular sort should hardly have to be taken into account in estate work. In estate work it is also possible to standardise, to buy materials in large quantities, and to build more than one cottage at a time. We have been speaking, of course, of single cottages or cottages built in pairs. If we put the saving of building in pairs at a ten-pound note—and it should be quite that—the economy of building four cottages adjoining should be considerable. And in most agricultural districts there is every advantage in building in fours, if not in eights. No less an authority than the architect of Messrs Cadbury's model village at Bournville has published a plan of an attractively designed group of eight five-roomed cottages for which careful estimates, based on a large experience, have been made. The accommodation and the working out of the cost is as follows:—

Living-room, 12 ft. 4 in. by 13 ft. Kitchen, 8 ft. by 12 ft. 6 in. (with "Cabinet" bath, and boilers with patent steam exhaust). Larder under stairs. First bedroom, 9 ft. 2 in. by 13 ft., and recess. Second bedroom, 8 ft. 4 in. by 11 ft. 2 in. Third bedroom, 7 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. Total cost, 185*l.* per cottage. Laying-out of garden, 7*l.* 10*s.* extra. Cubical contents, 64,800 ft. at 4*d.* per foot cube = 1080*l.* per block, or 135*l.* per cottage.

In the 135*l.* is included 3½ per cent. as the builder's profit of the Village Trust. Four cottages on the same plan at Bournville cost 160*l.* a cottage, again including the 3½ per cent.; but these dwellings were erected on made ground and were provided with the more expensive sunk bath. It is obvious that, in regard to these items and the brick wall to shut off the scullery—matchboard would do—economies might be made. Labour may also be dearer at Bournville than in many rural districts.

Again, we read in the 'Journal of the Society of Estate Clerks of the Works,' that sixteen brick cottages, built by the Southwold Corporation and 'opened' by the chairman of the National Housing Reform Council,\* have been erected at a cost of 2395*l.*, or less than 150*l.* a cottage. The dwellings contain 'a living-room, kitchen,

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\* This organisation is arranging Cheap Cottage Exhibitions at Newcastle and Sheffield for next year.

three bedrooms, several useful cupboards, and excellent sanitary fittings and drainage, with four or five perches of garden behind.'

Mr Clough, whose Exhibition cottages have already been referred to, has undoubtedly erected many five-roomed cottages on his properties within the 150*l.*, and he is convinced that the same thing is being done by other people. Mr Pretyman, late Secretary of the Admiralty, who has built and rebuilt not far short of three hundred cottages in ten years in Suffolk, has lately erected a pair of three-storey cottages of timber and plaster on expanded metal estimated to come within 300*l.*, with this remarkable accommodation:—

Living-room, 13 ft. by 12½ ft. Scullery, larder, coal-store, and general shed or bakehouse and washhouse. Bedroom 13 ft. by 9½ ft. Bedroom 13 ft. by 8 ft. Attic bedroom 13 ft. by 11 ft. Large store closet.

The estimate was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Bricklayer . . . . .	70	0	0
Joiner . . . . .	88	0	0
Bricks . . . . .	15	0	0
Timber, per contract . . . . .	48	0	0
Tiles and ridge . . . . .	6	10	0
Metal lathing . . . . .	10	0	0
Stoves and ranges . . . . .	7	8	0
Steel joists and brackets . . . . .	9	0	0
To cover lime, floor-boards, nails, paint, glass, lead, materials for doors and windows, etc. . . . .	50	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£303	18	0

Sir Walter Gilbey is another landowner who offers proof that he can put up a pair of cottages for 300*l.* They are built in the old Essex manner of 'clay lumps,' weather-boarded, and look well, and seem extremely comfortable. They give the following accommodation:—

Living-room, 14½ ft. by 10½ ft. Kitchen 11½ ft. by 8 ft. Bedroom 11 ft. by 8½ ft. Bedroom 11½ ft. by 8 ft. Bedroom 8 ft. by 8 ft. A commodious washhouse and coal place are provided.

Mr J. Hayman-Joyce erected in Sussex last year a block of four cottages of six, not five, rooms at a total cost of 447*l.*, or say 112*l.* each, which, he says, 'includes architect's fees and builder's profit, but does not include

any charge for land nor for fencing the gardens.' The site, let it be noted, is seven miles from a station. The dimensions of the rooms are as follows:—

Living-room  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by 9 ft. Parlour 12 ft. by 9 ft. Wash-house  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by 6 ft. Bedroom  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Bedroom  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. Bedroom  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ft. by 6 ft.

Like Mr Clough, Mr Hayman-Joyce bought all the materials himself and paid prompt cash, thereby securing the best terms. He adds, in a letter to the 'Field':

'A builder contracted for the labour, and he has been allowed a recognised profit. All timber, joinery, fittings, and ironmongery came from London, and had to bear heavy cartage as well as railway freight. Lime and cement have had to bear a forty-mile railway charge and seven-mile cartage charge. Bricks have been delivered on the site at 28s. per thousand, and tiles at 35s. per thousand. Sand has been dug on the property (the only local product employed) and delivered, screened, on the site at 5s. 6d. per yard. It will be seen from the above that I have not been favoured by any exceptional advantages—rather the reverse.

'The external walls are of 9-in. brickwork, built hollow and faced with cement up to the first floor. The upper storey is covered with weather-boarding previously creosoted under pressure, and afterwards covered with two coats of specially prepared paint; underneath the weather-boarding mastic felt is fixed to prevent draught. The internal walls are half brick; the chimney stacks, being carried up in the centre of the cottages, add warmth and stability to the building. The pitch of the rooms is 8 ft.; each room is lined with match-boarding to a height of 3 ft. 9 in., and plastered above, the match-boarding being used to reduce the cost of maintenance. The roof is covered with tiles. Each cottage is provided with a copper, sink, range, and detached e.c.; and two bedrooms in each cottage have fireplaces. The rain-water is collected and stored in large covered tanks.'

Again, the author of 'A Book of Cottages' states that he is himself erecting at Ellesmere Port six-roomed—not five-roomed—cottages in pairs and fours at about 160l. each. Writing of the pair of five-roomed cottages he put up at Garden City,\* he says:

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\* 12,000 cubic feet in all at 5½d. Living-room, 14 ft. by 13 ft., and scullery. Upstairs three bedrooms, two with fireplaces. Materials: wood on 3 ft. of brick foundation, and 9 in. of concrete over site.

'I would undertake again to build such a pair under normal conditions for any landlord with 300*l.*; and, if the type were to be reduplicated, and several sets put up, further economies might be effected.'

Not far from Dublin, where, the 'Builders' Journal' states, 'building is dearer than in most provincial districts in England,' the public authority has completed eighty-six cottages at a cost varying from 145*l.* to 170*l.* according to distance from a railway-station.

'They are nearly all built of local granite rubble masonry walls, cement rendered, and then pebble-dashed in mortar outside. The inside walls and ceilings are plastered throughout. The roofs are covered with thick, heavy, rough Irish slates. The chimneys are of red-facing bricks. The accommodation consists of a kitchen 16 ft. by 12 ft., principal bedroom 12 ft. by 11 ft. 6 in., small scullery, pantry, and fuel store. Upstairs there are two attic bedrooms, 12 ft. by 16 ft. and 16 ft. by 11 ft. 6 in. respectively, the height to wall-plate being 4 ft. 9 in. In a few cases these houses have been built of concrete at a slightly less cost.'

Finally, the present Minister of Agriculture, who has had considerable experience as a cottage-builder, and takes pains to make his labourers' dwellings better and better, asserts roundly ('Times,' October 6, 1905) that 'the alleged impossibility of obtaining a good substantial labourer's cottage, with three bedrooms, living-room, kitchen, and scullery, for 150*l.* does not exist.'

Among the cottages to which reference has been made in the foregoing pages, there are dwellings of almost every material and combination of material except iron, patent slabs, and concrete blocks, the all-round economy of which in labourer's cottage-building needs to be more fully demonstrated before they can be expected to recommend themselves very widely. Some of the cheap cottages mentioned have been of brick or concrete, either monolithic or cement rough-cast, thrown on expanded metal supported on steel or wooden studding. Others have been constructed of wood, or of brick and wood, or of wood and tiles, or even of clay and straw and timber. It is not wholly, then, by the choice of one particular building material that the inexpensive cottage is obtained,

In point of fact, we find some of the builders of the cottages described using different materials in different districts. For instance, Mr Clough, who is building in two counties, recommends that his 120*l.* cottage should be built, not of brick up to the joists, but wholly of wood, covered with expanded metal and plaster, where the price of bricks is more than 25*s.* per 1000, as it almost always is in the south.

No doubt a brick cottage is on the whole preferable to a wooden one; but it is possible to overestimate the drawbacks to a wooden dwelling. As to the weather, wooden houses suffice in Holland, Scandinavia, and America, where the climatic conditions are certainly not less trying than with us. With regard to the risk of fire, the lowness of the insurance companies' premiums shows that the danger, if the dwellings are not built in too large groups, may be easily exaggerated.\* As to the frequent need for repairs which is alleged, the patching is usually work which any village carpenter is equal to. It is possible, however, that as steel studding and expanded metal, which form a vermin-proof and fireproof substitute for deal and laths, become sufficiently known for rural builders not to be afraid of accepting contracts in which they are specified, wood may largely give place to plaster on expanded metal and steel studs as material for cottage-building.

As to the question of durability, it must be confessed that there are some attractive-looking cottages which are hardly likely to meet with the approval of trustees of estates. Mr Troup, an architect, has argued, however, that 'the necessity for new low-rented cottages in some districts is too great for any method for obtaining them to be overlooked.' Mr Clough, for example, has done a public service by relieving the overcrowding in his dis-

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\* The views of the companies in regard to the different materials for cottage-building may be gathered from the following letter addressed to us in reply to an enquiry, by the secretary of the Norwich Union office:—

'To turn now to the question of insurances, we would be willing, in the event of the buildings being specially constructed, to accept cottages built of clay or clay-lump and roofed with tile, slate, or iron, and to issue policies under our first-class tables at a rate of from 1*s.* 6*d.* per cent. Buildings built of lath, plaster, or studwork, corrugated or galvanised iron (with or without wood-framing or match-boarding), or wood with stud, lath, and plaster, and roofed with tile, slate, or metal, we would include under our second-class table at a rate of from 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. For the buildings that are thatched, our rate would, under our third-class table, be 5*s.* per cent.'

tricts; and, whatever criticism with regard to permanence may be passed upon his cottages—which readers interested in the solution of the rural housing question would be well advised to see for themselves—one may believe, as Mr Troup has declared, that ‘the last word has not been said about these so-called temporary materials.’ Even in regard to such a familiar material as wood, application of the needed preservative is usually made in a haphazard way. As the ‘Field’ says,

‘One great disadvantage of sectional houses and bungalows erected of patent materials, galvanised sheets, slabs, and the like, is that, after they have been built, they are of very little value and cannot be sold for anything like their prime cost. The brick cottage with a tiled roof which has cost 200*l.* to erect, at the end of fifteen or twenty years is worth at least 150*l.*; and, if the garden has been well tended and fruit-trees have grown up, it might fetch even more money in open market. The iron bungalow, on the other hand, the sectional building, and others of that character, can hardly be expected to realise more than half their first cost; and, if there is occasion to mortgage a portion of an estate for the sake of raising a capital sum to improve the remainder, valuers look askance at buildings of the kind and put a low figure to the valuation.’

Some of the talk about the temporary character of cottages of steel studs and expanded metal and plaster is not according to knowledge. The truth seems to be that some critics of the use of these materials lack experience in handling them.

With monolithic concrete building it is, of course, less easy to associate the notion of impermanence. One of the drawbacks to its use is, indeed, that it is only too permanent for those who have to make alterations in the concrete structure. There must be areas, we should think, where the presence on the site of one of the many useful materials for concrete, combined with the low price of cement and the convenience of building a number of cottages in a row—and we have yet to learn that agricultural labourers are fond of isolated dwellings—must make the erection of monolithic structures worth consideration. Mr Aldwinckle, F.R.I.B.A., in a paper read before the Royal Sanitary Institute, said, however, that the advantage gained may not be very great.



'In those districts where good ballast can be obtained on the site, it is possible' (he said) 'that a 9-in. concrete wall would be slightly cheaper than a 9-in. brick wall, but it is very doubtful whether the small economy would outweigh the undeniable advantages of brickwork. We apparently come, then, to the conclusion that, all things considered, a brick wall is most suitable for cottages. The thickness must not be less than 9 inches; and an 11-in. hollow-brick wall is preferable. (The cheapest cottage at the Cottages Exhibition had this.) In any case the brickwork should be covered with rough-cast, as an additional protection against the weather. This external covering is even more necessary for a concrete wall.'

Even the author of the classic 'Potter on "Concrete"' is unwilling that too high expectations should be entertained in regard to concrete.

'There is nothing for rural cottages' (he wrote last autumn) 'better and cheaper than brickwork—at the present cost of bricks. Concrete walls are undoubtedly stronger, more durable, and dryer, if cemented externally, than brickwork; but unless made a special feature, with workmen adapted by practice and experience for the purpose, materials available at a low cost, and concrete construction is made a business—not confined to a cottage or two now and again—the result is not entirely what is expected.'

But, whatever savings may be made by the employment of materials which are the most economical in the particular district in which they are to be used, or by extreme simplicity of plan\*—a consideration which is seldom sufficiently borne in mind by architects with a limited experience of cottage designing—or by the adoption of the bungalow type of cottage,† it must be plain to any one who looks clearly into the problem of the cheap cottage

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\* The architects of the cheap cottages near Dublin, to which reference has been made, say, 'Our experience leads us to feel that the way in which economy may best be effected is by extreme simplicity of plan.'

† Mr Thomas Potter, than whom there is no higher authority on estate cottage-building and concrete in 'cottage work, writes, on page 27 of 'The Book of the Cheap Cottages Exhibition': 'On the three most important points of cost, healthfulness, and tenant's convenience, I am in hopes of having been able to show that a bungalow cottage possesses advantages that are impossible with a two-storey cottage. . . . Having built many cottages of both types, and having lived in a bungalow more than half an average lifetime, and in two-storey buildings, and higher still, the remainder, I may reasonably be allowed to speak with some authority.'

that there is another way in which the most important economies may be effected. Landowners like Mr Clough Mr Pretymann, Sir Walter Gilbey, and Lord Carrington have obtained and are obtaining cheap cottages because they have thought the question of their economical construction important enough to claim their close personal attention. Cheap cottages cannot be expected by a building-owner who is not prepared himself to take trouble, and a great deal of trouble. It will be chiefly due to the exertions of landowners that the best types of cottages will be evolved. Though not a few architects and builders have taken a philanthropic interest in cottage-building, neither the architectural profession nor the building trade has the personal interest of the landowner in reducing the price of cottages to the lowest figure. Mr Clough, for example, to whom cottage-building is a hobby, buys his own materials in large quantities, has his cottage built by small builders trained by himself, and works on steadily from one improvement to another, so that his very latest cottages are usually the best and cheapest he has erected. On page 250 of the 'Builders' Journal' for Nov. 1, 1905, there is a list of the materials used in his 120l.—or to be accurate 120l. 16s. 8½d.—cottage,\* in the minutest detail. He knows that nails cost 19s. 4½d. and glue 1½d., and that the four chimney-pots were a shilling each.

'One of the greatest economies' (wrote Mr Clough in 'In Search of a 150l. Cottage') 'will be found in capable bargaining. Before entering the builder's shop, the buyer should be equipped with all possible statistics. He should be able to say: "Sir, I want 12,500 bricks, 800 Bridgwater tiles, a kitchen range at 35s., 3 grates at 12s. 6d. each, 20 window-frames at 7s., 40 window-lights at 3s. 6d., 30s. worth of lead, 40s. worth of cement, so many doors, so many joists, etc. I have reason to know that, when a house of the plan I show you was built at town A, or village B, the whole of the carpentering was undertaken for 15l., the whole of the bricklaying for 18l., the whole of the painting for 3l."

'What will the builder say in reply? Well, in every district I have to do with, builders, bricklayers, and car-

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\* 'In this perhaps, more than in any other cottage in the Exhibition,' wrote the 'Field,' 'do we approach the ideal cottage for the agricultural labourer.'

penters are much in want of work. The customer whom I describe is not the customer a builder would choose. But in my district I can produce half a dozen builders at least who would gladly accept. It is to be remembered that the small men, who work themselves, and work hard, will generally be relieved to know exactly what the quantities will be. It must necessarily be convenient to know accurately what you are selling.'

Referring to a group of three cottages of his in course of construction, the outside ones having six rooms each and the middle one four, Mr Clough says that 'the cost should be about 430l.' He adds:

'As it is unquestionable that, if any plan is handed to the average local builder, he will in many cases ask an exorbitant price, I may as well mention that a local builder in Sussex, when shown this plan, offered to carry it out for 650l. This fact may help to show that many builders have a very easy time.'

'An easy time' because those who employ them are content to go on paying prices framed on the rural builder's usual scale. This scale is not based, as it should be, on getting out of the workmen employed a full week's work for a full week's pay; nor is it drawn up, as it should be, to give the landowner the substantial advantage which is his right when he has no need to use the builder's capital, or rather the builder's merchant's capital, but is ready to pay cash.

It is possible that practical men may hesitate to accept as conclusive every one of the statements of cost which we have collected. It is admittedly difficult to check them; and every student of the cheap-cottage question knows of instances in which figures in regard to supposedly inexpensive dwellings have failed to stand investigation. As in the case of the balance-sheets of 'profitable poultry-farms,' some item or other of expenditure has been omitted; or it may be that for the new buildings old foundations, old tiles, or old outbuildings have been used without payment. The editor of the 'Journal of Estate Clerks of the Works' was good enough lately to bring to our notice three examples of this kind of thing. It will be admitted, however, that a sufficiently large body of evidence as to the possibility of

cheap cottages has been collected to justify landowners in making careful enquiries into the subject, and in believing that the building of homes for agricultural labourers is in many cases needlessly costly. Even the veteran clerk of the works we have quoted admits that 'cottages are being built, and have been built, on certain estates in certain counties—Wilts, Hants, Devonshire and Somerset principally—at an inclusive cost of 300*l.* per pair.'

'The best way I always found to build cottages' (he goes on to say) 'was to supply plans and specifications to the village carpenter and blacksmith, and either agree to pay them by measure at an agreed schedule of prices or, simpler still, to provide a complete bill of quantities and, with a view to inspire confidence, to agree to make the quantities the basis of the contract. If any work was done not contained in the bill, it became an extra. If anything was omitted, it was deducted. The bricklayer and carpenter were to price out their bill; and the total was to be the contract sum. If certain materials on the estate were to be used, these were to be delivered free, or the contractor was to pay fixed rates for same. Work done in this way enables small tradesmen to work as long as they like during long days, and practises them in "speeding up." I have in mind some of the best and cleverest men of years ago—only village carpenters and bricklayers—the principal source from which the bulk of London mechanics is derived and from which most of our largest contractors or their fathers hail. Of course no workmen at town wages can compete with work done in this way—so far as price is concerned.'

It is on lines not dissimilar from these that Mr Clough and Mr Pretyma have worked; and they have started in business not a few deserving rural craftsmen.

With regard to the difficult question of the return to be expected from inexpensive cottages, almost the last word has been said by the Minister of Agriculture.

'A landowner' (wrote Lord Carrington in the 'Times' of October 12, 1905) 'must not expect to get a direct high rate of interest on his outlay out of the actual rent paid by the labourer, as it is obvious that if the interest is taken at 8 per cent.—i.e. 4*l.* 10*s.* on a 150*l.* cottage—and the cottage is let to an agricultural labourer for 1*s.* per week—2*l.* 12*s.*—there is no margin for rates, insurance, and repairs. I have, however, no

doubt that, indirectly, a landowner who improves his estate by adding cottages to his farms, does eventually get a very high rate of interest for his outlay. . . . If a farmer has cottages on his farm, he knows that he can always secure labour; and my experience is that a higher rent can in consequence be obtained for a farm with cottages, even although the cottages be let at a nominal rent. 150*l.* cottages will not keep people on the land; but 150*l.* cottages, let at a rent of 1*s.* a week, will have that effect if the labourers have allotments or small holdings at a fair rent, as well as a garden.'

It cannot be doubted that an ample provision of cottages for labourers gives an important security to tenant farmers, security that in no case will labour be driven away by lack of housing; and that this security is of considerable financial value. At any rate the landowner who has provided an adequate number of cottages will not have demands made upon him for reductions in rent on the familiar ground that the labourers cannot get housed. Certainly the building owner who to estate timber-yards, brickfields, gravel-pits, etc., adds the advantage of building on his own land, must indirectly improve his property by erecting cottages, even if he lets them at a low rent which pays only rates and taxes.\* But as a matter of fact he usually receives a little more than this.

When we come to the question of the building by-laws in rural districts, it is unnecessary to write with the severity that was justifiable enough a short time ago. The struggle with stupid and prejudiced Councils and ignorant and obstinate surveyors continues in some districts. Drastic bylaws, reasonable enough in Camberwell, are enforced or not enforced in areas 'miles from anywhere,' according to the friendly or unfriendly relations which exist between the landowner and the majority of the Council, or between his clerk of the works and the surveyor—who may be an ex-publican. A well-to-do popular or tactful building owner is left free to build while his less highly estimated neighbour is hampered in doing so. The administration of the bylaws may,

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\* The burden of rates and taxes—and there is no sign of their becoming less heavy—is undoubtedly, in some cases, one of the motives which hinder the low renting of existing cottages and the building of new ones.

however, be arbitrary without being unjust to individuals. We are ourselves familiar with cases in several counties in which the regulations, enforced with a high hand, were absurd from all points of view, whether of health, sound building, or sightliness.

But the agitation in the Press and Parliament against bylaws which, drawn up with the best intentions, have resulted in some cases in preventing economical building altogether, has had its effect. The Local Government Board, which took a distinct step forward in issuing its Rural Model Bylaws of 1904, has since accepted the advice frequently pressed upon it, and has gently explained in a circular to the Councils of the country that regulations necessary enough in the metropolis may be safely relaxed in many rural areas. As a result, several Councils have proposed, we believe, to amend their by-laws. We could wish the number were greater. It may yet become desirable that the Board, which was undoubtedly largely responsible in the first instance for the unnecessarily strict rural building bylaws that were so widely enacted, should issue a second circular, or an adaptation of its Rural Model and Urban Model Bylaws, so as to form an Intermediate Series. Nevertheless, the number of complaints of cases of hardship suffered at the hands of Councils is diminished. Some of these authorities have ceased latterly to enforce their more stringent bylaws, albeit by such a course of action they place themselves at the mercy of any busybody.

The success which has been attained by Lord Hylton's Public Health Acts (Building Bylaws) Bill, which has passed the Standing Committee of the House of Lords, and by Mr Mackarness's Housing of the Working Classes Amendment Bill, now in Committee of the House of Commons, is another pleasant sign of the change which has been wrought in public opinion. But perhaps the most promising indication of all to rural residents who wish to see the question of building bylaws in country districts put on a common-sense basis is to be found in the presence of Lord Carrington and Mr John Burns at the Board of Agriculture and Local Government Board. The Board of Agriculture has many opportunities of playing a part in helping to solve the rural housing problem; and it is unlikely that so keen a cottage-builder as Lord

Carrington will be disposed to neglect them. Mr Burns, in his turn, has a sincere interest in the question of the provision of sanitary dwellings for the working-classes. Those who fear that a slackening of the restrictions on rural building will open the door to the jerry-builder may take comfort from the fourth clause of the Local Government Board's circular to the Councils as to the 'strict observation of sanitary requirements,' wherein we seem to see the President's own hand. Reasonable liberty in rural building must be secured, but the liberty must not be permitted to degenerate into license. One or two trumpery erections at the Cottages Exhibition are an illustration of the kind of thing the building of which must be prevented.

Whether the Bills of Lord Hylton and Mr Mackarness are pushed forward or are embodied in the Government Bill which Mr Burns has evidently in his mind, does not much matter. But it would be greatly to be regretted if the promise of an official Bill should be the means of shelving the Bills already so far advanced, without ensuring the introduction and pushing forward of a substitute. However good the intentions with which a Local Government Board Bill might be brought into the House of Commons, circumstances might conceivably prevent it making rapid progress next year.

'HOME COUNTIES.'

**Art. IX.—THE BRITISH MUSEUM (NATURAL HISTORY).**

*Statutes and Rules of the British Museum, made by the Trustees in pursuance of the Act of Incorporation (26 George II, cap. 22, s. xv).*

HE who, after visiting the imposing building in Cromwell Road, often called the Natural History Museum, but more correctly the British Museum (Natural History), and after examining the magnificent collection of specimens of 'the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms' housed and exhibited therein, takes the trouble to enquire into the history of the Museum, will come across a striking instance of evolution, and of that particular kind of evolution, so common in human affairs, in which much of what exists to-day exists because it was needed in days gone by, and not because it is needed now or best fulfils the purposes which it is made to serve.

The British Museum may, in a certain sense, be said to have come into existence in the reign of William III, an Act of Parliament (12 and 13 Will. III, cap. vii) placing the Cottonian Library at Westminster under the care of Trustees, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. It was not fully born, however, until 1753, when it was definitely established by an Act of Parliament (26 Geo. II, cap. xxii),

'for the purchase of the Museum or Collection of Sir Hans Sloane and of the Harleian Collections of Manuscripts; and for providing one General Repository for the better reception and more convenient use of the said collections, and of the Cottonian Library and of the additions thereto.'

The general repository thus established was placed in charge of a body of Trustees, consisting partly of Trustees by virtue of office, among whom three—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons—were designated 'Principal Trustees,' partly of Trustees by family appointment, representing the families of the chief donors, the Cotton, the Sloane, and the Harley families, and partly of elected Trustees. In subsequent years large additions to the Museum were made from time to time. These



were of various kinds; but, owing to the numerous gifts of books, notably those given by George IV, the Library continued to be, as it was from the beginning, a dominant part of the establishment.

The government by the Trustees has been continued; and, though some changes or additions have from time to time been made, the body of Trustees remains at the present day, and their powers remain on the whole, the same as at the foundation. At the present day the Trustees are 49 in number—24 by office, 1 by the appointment of the Crown, 9 by family appointment, and 15 co-opted by the Trustees themselves. Of the 24 by office, three are the 'Principal Trustees' mentioned above, the remaining 21 consisting of Cabinet Ministers, high legal officers, the Bishop of London, and the Presidents of the Royal Society, the College of Physicians, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Academy. So large a body is unfitted to transact the ordinary business of the Museum; and this is therefore entrusted to a 'standing committee' consisting of the three Principal Trustees and of 15 other Trustees appointed annually, the committee reporting their proceedings to general meetings of all the Trustees held quarterly. Though great powers are vested in this standing committee, the power of appointing the officers of the Museum rests with the three Principal Trustees alone.

The first officers of importance, namely, the 'Principal Librarian,' three 'keepers of departments' (Manuscript department, Natural History department, and Library of Printed Books), and three 'assistant librarians' belonging respectively to the above three departments, were appointed in 1756. In 1787 a new office, that of 'secretary,' was established; but in 1849 the duties of this office were united with those of Principal Librarian. In the course of time other new offices were established; of these it is unnecessary to speak here, except in one case.

Though the Library was from early times so far the dominant part of the whole establishment that the Principal Librarian was the chief officer, all other officers being 'subordinate' officers, whose duty it was 'to assist the Principal Librarian in the care and custody of the Museum,' the Natural History collections soon became too large to be satisfactorily handled by the Principal

Librarian, whose abilities were literary, not scientific. In consequence, a new office, that of 'Superintendent of the departments of Natural History,' was established in 1856. The Superintendent, though a high, was still a 'subordinate' officer. He transmitted the reports of the keepers of the departments of Natural History, with his remarks on them, not directly to the standing committee, but to the Principal Librarian; and, while having to take care that the officers, attendants, and servants of these departments did their duty, he had no power over them himself, and reported their omissions, not to the standing committee, but to the Principal Librarian.

Early in the last century it became evident that the buildings in Bloomsbury were wholly unfitted for the housing of the rapidly increasing Natural History collections. Various appeals were made to the Government; and finally it was decided to place these in a separate building, constructed for the purpose, in Cromwell Road, South Kensington. The removal took place in 1880-1884.

In the statutes of 1886, drawn up after the removal, certain changes are to be found. In the older statutes the whole establishment was spoken of as 'the Museum'; in 1886 the words 'the Museum (Bloomsbury)' and 'the Museum (Natural History)' are used, though occasionally 'the Museum' appears to be used in the old sense. The quarterly general meetings of the whole body of Trustees are directed to be held alternately at the one Museum and at the other. The standing committee are instructed to meet at the one Museum or the other, and to 'report their proceedings to general meetings held at that branch of the Museum to which they refer.' The officer previously styled 'Superintendent of the departments of Natural History,' is now called 'the Director of the Museum (Natural History),' or simply the Director, his duties being defined in the same chapter of the statutes as those of the Principal Librarian under the title 'Rules relative to the Principal Librarian and Director.' He is no longer a subordinate officer; and he is by the statutes directed to perform at the Museum (Natural History) specified duties 'similar to those discharged by the Principal Librarian at the Museum (Bloomsbury).'

The foregoing sketch, brief as it is, will suffice to show that, great as have been the expansion and development

of the whole Museum, the part devoted to Natural History has increased out of proportion to the rest. It is true that, in a recent issue of the statutes (1898), certain changes are to be found indicating, to some extent, a reduction in the importance of the Natural History Museum relative to that in Bloomsbury; but we need not dwell on these. We have before us the fact that what was originally a part of a 'general repository,' indeed an appendage to a library, and hence managed by a librarian, has become a great national collection of natural history, second perhaps to none in the world.

Not every one who passes by, not every one even who visits this great Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road, understands what is its real nature and purpose; and we desire here to say something about this. In doing so, though it is a museum belonging to the so-called 'three kingdoms of nature,' animal, vegetable, and mineral, we will, for simplicity's sake, in what we are about to say, consider it as being, what indeed by far the greater part of it is, a museum belonging to the animal kingdom, a zoological museum. We feel all the more justified in doing this by the fact that the zoological collection, in certain respects, stands quite apart from the other two. The botanical collection has its fellow in the collection at the Royal Gardens at Richmond (Kew); the two have so much in common that a few years ago an enquiry carried out by a departmental committee recommended that the botanical collection should be removed from Cromwell Road to Richmond and amalgamated with the collection there, both the national botanical collections being placed under one administration. Similarly the mineralogical and geological collections have relations with those of the Geological Survey and the School of Mines, also national institutions. The zoological collection stands alone as the single national collection; the only other large collection in London, the Hunterian Museum, being the private property of the College of Surgeons. We do not now propose to deal with the questions thus raised, important as they are; we simply refer to the facts in support of our proposal to deal with the zoological collection alone.

Such a museum is a collection of authentic specimens of animals of all kinds, gathered, as befits a great national

establishment, from all parts of the world. All these specimens are, or should be, authoritatively identified and named, classified and arranged, either in the way of exhibition or otherwise, according to the use to be made of them, and catalogued in such a manner that their existence and position in the Museum can be readily ascertained, and reference made, when necessary, to the individual histories of each. The uses to which such a collection can and ought to be put are manifold. One highly important scientific use is that the specimens serve as standards of reference. If, for instance, it be desired to know whether an animal found here or there is a known animal, and, if so, what is its scientific name, its specific name (and this reveals at once its position in the animal kingdom), this can be ascertained by comparing it with the specimens in the Museum, supposing that the collection is a complete one. And it may here be incidentally remarked that the value of the collection obviously depends on the collection being as complete as possible.

This use of the Museum as a means of identifying specimens, important as in certain cases it may be, is one only, and by no means the greatest, of its uses. The authentic specimens in the Museum serve, so to speak, as counters in the games which we call biological problems; and these are both many and of the most varied character and importance. To attempt to describe them would be to attempt a treatise on biology. It will be enough here to take a single instance and to recall to mind the importance which, especially since Darwin's great work, attaches to the facts of variation in animals; by the study of these facts we are making steady progress in our knowledge of the nature of heredity, and gaining an insight into some of the most profound mysteries of life. Now, if the Museum contains, as it ought to do, not one specimen only of a particular animal form found in one particular place, but many specimens gathered from as many different places as possible, and specimens showing differences, even slight and abstruse differences, from the specimen which serves as the historic type of the form—if the Museum contains these specimens duly arranged, as they ought to be, for ready reference, it becomes a storehouse of facts of variation the value of which, from the point of view of general biological

science, cannot easily be exaggerated. But the facts of variation are only some of the facts which the Museum teaches. It is a storehouse of biological facts of the most diverse kinds; it is a collection not only of dead animals, dried, stuffed, bottled up or pinned down, but also of living biological truths, silent as the dead forms so long as no one asks the proper question, speaking with clear, far-reaching voices so soon as the right man puts the fitting query.

It would be a waste of time to dwell further on the great and manifold uses of the Museum as a means of scientific research. But it has other uses as well. The Museum belongs to the people; it is supported by the people's money; and it is only right that some benefit to the people more direct than that yielded by abstract science should come from it. And great direct benefit can, with some little administrative care, be got from it for the people. In this dull life of ours, above all in this dull city of ours, with its murky surroundings, it is no small thing that an easy stroll, without fee, should bring the dweller in slum alley and unlovely street face to face with the countless beauties of the animal creation; and much of the animal world is beautiful even in death. It is perhaps even a greater thing that, as is clearly shown by what has been done during the past few years, the collections may be so arranged and displayed as to bring to even the careless stroller lessons not only of beauty but also of wisdom, opening his eyes to some of the great truths of the world of life.

We may now ask the question, What are the duties involved in so carrying on this great Museum as to ensure that it shall serve efficiently, first as a great means of scientific research (and, we may add, of scientific teaching), and secondly, as a great opportunity for educating and elevating the general public?

One great duty is obviously the most careful preservation of the specimens already present in the collection, and their housing and arrangement in such a way that they shall be available for scientific research. To this may be added the exhibition of such specimens as may be suitable for the purpose, with the view of interesting and, if possible, instructing the general public. On this duty there is no need to dwell, were it not that the task of

properly arranging the specimens involves another task of great intricacy and importance—the identification, naming, and classification of the specimens; and on this some few words must be said.

When it is remembered how many hundreds of fresh specimens arrive each year, and must do so if the Museum is to continue to be one of the foremost museums of the world, this task will be seen to be no small one. It is also one of great difficulty. At first sight it might appear that the best solution would be to attach to the Museum a staff of trained experts whose chief if not only duty should be to deal with the specimens as they arrive. But the satisfactory determination of a species demands so large an amount of exact and special knowledge as to have led to an enormous subdivision of labour among systematic zoologists. It is a common saying that it needs a lifetime to acquire that thorough knowledge of even a tiny group of animals which alone will furnish a sound judgment on the specific differences of the individuals forming the group and on their relations to each other. Hence a staff fully qualified to judge of all specimens must be a very large one; and, if the members of the staff are to be paid in such a way as to secure the best work, this must entail an enormous expenditure.

On the other hand, there are to be found, if not in this country alone, at least in it and other countries, men who, through love of science, have been led to devote sometimes their whole lives, sometimes their whole leisure, only to acquiring just that complete knowledge of small groups of animals which makes each of them the best living expert for the identification of specimens belonging to some small group. Many such men are ready to offer their services for such tasks; and in many cases the opportunity thus afforded of enlarging their special knowledge would be considered by them an adequate remuneration for their labours. There can be little doubt but that such an identification of specimens by outside experts of acknowledged reputation is—at least in very many cases—the best, the most effective, the most secure, and, it may be added, infinitely the cheapest plan.

The duties of the Museum, however, do not end with the identification of specimens. If it is to maintain

its high reputation and its great usefulness, it must continually add to its collections, striving to make all these as complete as possible. It must do all in its power to induce the owners of private collections to give or to bequeath them to the nation; this it will readily be understood is a test of administrative tact. It must be prepared to purchase at their proper, but not at any factitious value, collections which may be offered for sale. And there is a method of adding to the collection, one of peculiar value, of which the great museum at New York has made use with the happiest results, namely, the sending-out of expeditions to secure particular objects from particular places. The scientific value of specimens so obtained far exceeds, in nearly all cases, that of any already made collection purchased more or less at hazard or incidentally presented.

The several duties just mentioned are more or less of a routine kind; the performance of them calls for a certain amount of knowledge and of judgment but for little else, and can be adequately secured by appropriate administrative rules. But beyond these routine duties there are others of a higher and more difficult kind. As was said above, the great value of such a museum, the one thing which above all others justifies a large expenditure of public money upon it, lies in the collections being made use of in the solution of important, pressing, general biological problems. The mechanisms of the Museum may be perfect, or as nearly perfect as possible, in respect to the acquirement, identification, arrangement, and preservation of the specimens; the collections may be the most complete possible; they may be most admirably housed and exhibited; but the Museum may be a lifeless museum, an intricate organism doing nothing, beautiful to look at in its quiescence, but a sleeping beauty and nothing more. It needs to be made alive, and to be kept alive, by the spirit of enquiry being breathed into all its parts. Only through research making itself felt in every room, in every case, in every drawer, can the great collection fulfil its chief and highest duty. It can only justify its existence and the money spent on it by making itself felt as a potent factor in the national intellectual life.

In two ways can research be fostered in the Museum. In the first place, free hospitality can be offered to investi-

gators having otherwise no connexion with the establishment. The Museum could do much by not only permitting, but even inviting and encouraging scientific workers to make use, for the purpose of enquiry, of its great resources. Certain conditions would of course have to be imposed on the use of the Museum by such outside enquirers; but, if the regulations were guided by the principle that, in making arrangements for it, the Museum was fulfilling one of its chief duties, and that not only science, but the Museum itself benefited by the use being extended, administrative difficulties would soon be overcome.

In the second place, research would be fostered, and possibly even to a greater extent, were it laid down as part of the constitution of the Museum that the members, or at least the chief members of the staff, should be men not merely capable of performing more or less routine duties, but distinguished for their powers of research. If the view just urged be accepted, namely, that the chief duty of the Museum is to serve not merely as a collection beautiful to look at, but as a direct and much-needed means of scientific enquiry, then this demand as to the character of the staff must inevitably follow.

This indeed brings us at once to a consideration of the nature of the staff needed in order that the Museum may rightly fulfil the duties just discussed. We may now put to ourselves the question—Suppose the Museum, with its present unrivalled collections, were suddenly created as a new institution, what kind of staff would be needed to enable the various duties on which we have dwelt to be efficiently carried out? The whole collection (we are, as we said at the beginning, dealing, for simplicity's sake, with the zoological collections in the first instance only) would naturally be divided into sections corresponding to the divisions of the animal kingdom accepted by zoologists; there would be departments of mammals, of birds, of fishes, of insects, and the like. Owing to the great and increasing specialisation of knowledge, it would be necessary to place each of the several departments under the charge of a special officer, who would be primarily responsible for the care of everything belonging to that department.

The nature of the work of each department, and the



nature of the departmental staff needed to carry it out, will of course depend on the policy adopted in respect to the identification and naming of specimens. The arguments in favour of the plan spoken of above, of making use of all available outside talent, rather than of keeping up an expert staff for this purpose, seem to us so overwhelming that we venture to take it for granted that it would be adopted. This being so, one main duty of the keeper or officer in charge of a department would be to make himself fully acquainted with all existing outside talent, and with the means by which it might be utilised; he would have to keep himself in constant touch with what was being done in this and other countries in the branch of science under his care. This would entail considerable effort on his part, but it would go far in building up his scientific character and position; he would have wider views than if he were simply the head of a small expert staff, shut off from the rest of the world.

The adoption of the plan in question, while very largely increasing the duties and especially the responsibilities of the keeper, would bring about a very great reduction in the number, and a great change in the nature of the duties, of the staff under him. These duties would become largely mechanical; and the members of the staff would hold very subordinate positions. They would be for the most part ordinary trained museum attendants or caretakers, carrying out definite instructions with respect to the arrangement, display, and preservation of the specimens; some would be workmen skilled in the art of 'putting up' and of displaying specimens. What further assistance the keeper would need, beyond that of a clerical kind, in carrying out his own duties, in providing for the identification of new specimens, in intercalating these into the collections, and in arranging and displaying the collections so that they might possess the greatest possible scientific value—whether, for instance, he would need scientific help in the way of an assistant-keeper, or the like, may be left for the present out of consideration. Whether he had such assistance or not, the keeper must be a man combining scientific eminence in his own line with administrative ability. His duties would not be arduous in the sense of consuming a large amount of time, but they would be arduous in the sense of entailing

a large amount of responsibility. For to ensure that no opportunities of adding to the collections are lost, and that the other duties mentioned above are efficiently performed, means responsibility of no slight kind. What may we lay down as the essential qualifications of such a keeper?

In order to ensure completeness and exactitude in his collections it is not necessary that he should be a systematist, that is to say, one whose scientific activity is directed towards determining the likenesses and unlikenesses of animals with the view of classifying them into cognate groups. But it is absolutely necessary that he should have deep sympathy with 'collections,' a sympathy bordering on devotion; he must fully recognise the immense scientific value of collections, realising to the utmost the importance of having in hand the full number of counters, each of absolute accuracy, when the games of scientific problems are being played. He may be a systematist; he may have a passion for determining counters; but he must be something more. He must be in hearty sympathy with biological enquiry, and ever ready to assist endeavours to use the counters for the solution of biological problems.

He should have what we may call the spirit of a teacher. We do not mean that he should have the gift for elementary teaching, for that mechanical sort of teaching the goal of which is to secure academic degrees. But he should have the power of leading other and younger men along the path of scientific enquiry; he should be a teacher of research. To exercise that power he must have opportunities; and the best opportunities would be afforded by his being able to instruct in his own line of study those who, by their previous work, have shown themselves capable of going further. He should indeed be encouraged so to use his position as, by higher teaching, first to induct the fitted into original investigations, and then to direct them towards success. And such teaching would be good for himself; it would give life to his mere routine duties; it would keep him constantly in touch with the younger generation, and prevent that benumbing isolation which has such an evil effect on the man of science in an official position screening him from the criticisms, but at the same time depriving him of the help, of the

outside world. For such teaching his more routine duties ought to leave him ample time; and indeed the possession of the power to teach in this way ought to be a recommendation for the post. It may at times happen that one otherwise highly qualified for the post of keeper possesses also to a marked degree the gift of popular exposition. Seeing that the Museum belongs not to science only, and exists not for science only, but belongs to, and exists for the people, such a gift should not, by any fanciful restrictions, be hidden under the bushel of office. Greater care is undoubtedly needed in the provision for popular exposition than in that for advanced studies; opportunities are perhaps more likely to be abused or wasted in the former case; but any such abuses could easily be avoided by adequate care.

Supposing then that the scientific staff of the Museum, as distinguished from the mechanical staff of attendants, workmen, and clerks, consists mainly of keepers, or heads of departments, not necessarily all equal, with such additional scientific aid, in the shape of assistant-keepers or the like, as may be found necessary or profitable, it is obvious that these keepers must not occupy wholly independent positions, subject only to some governing body. Each department cannot be allowed to go on its own way, and manage its own business quite irrespective of what the other departments are doing. They must be co-ordinated; and the only satisfactory mechanism of co-ordination is that of the headship of one person. No group of persons, even though some, nay, even though all of them be persons possessing adequate scientific knowledge, can effect the needed co-ordination by meeting together at intervals. What is needed is the continual presence of some one person of such scientific eminence as to command respect, of such wide scientific knowledge as to be able to appreciate the wants of all the departments, and of such administrative skill and tact as will enable him to reconcile conflicting interests.

Some sort of governing body, however, will be necessary; a wholly free hand cannot be given to the Director or to the combined staffs. The governing body should be small enough to be effective in action and yet large enough to represent the several interests concerned. Those interests, however, are, in the main, two only—the

interests of biological science and the interests of the nation, the latter demanding that public money should not be wastefully spent. The State and science should join to form the governing body.

The State, as such, must have a large share in the governing body, for the Museum is sustained by public funds. Indeed, in view of the large sums which it receives from the national purse, the Museum ought in justice to be looked upon as a Government department. But, quite apart from the fact that, though sustained by public funds, it has come into existence largely through private endowments, its scientific character makes it necessary that its administration should not be that of an ordinary Government department. Where scientific work is being carried on, one of two methods of administration may be adopted, the choice being determined by circumstances. Where the scientific work is mainly of a routine kind—work in which scientific knowledge is used to secure definite ends, scientific enquiry intervening in an incidental manner only—the kind of administration needed is that which long experience has shown to be the most effective, namely, that known as the Civil Service system. Where the scientific work is mainly that of enquiry—work having for its aim the progress of science, routine scientific work coming in incidentally only—long experience has similarly shown that the best kind of administration is that which obtains in learned bodies, universities, and the like, and which may be called the academic method. Now, unless what has gone before has been written wholly in vain, the work of the 'Natural History Museum is essentially work of a purely scientific kind, work of scientific enquiry. In every feature it contrasts most strongly with the scientific work carried out by a Government department, say by the Local Government Board, or the Board of Trade, work in which scientific enquiry comes in incidentally only, and has to be provided for in a special way. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the Museum ought to be administered, not on the lines of the Civil Service system, but according to the academic method.

The State has on its hands other establishments resembling the Natural History Museum in that they are collections valuable as a means of advancing human knowledge,

but unlike it in that they deal, not with natural science, but with other branches of human knowledge. The question naturally arises, Is it desirable to place all these establishments under the same governing body?

In favour of doing so, it may be urged that such a plan would relieve the Government or Parliament from the responsibility of deciding how much of the total sum of public money granted to all the establishments should be given to each. But a wise Government or Parliament would not wish for such relief; it would desire to determine for itself, in a broad way, how the money should be spent. It may further be urged that the several branches of human knowledge form in reality a continuous whole, one branch gradually merging into another; thus, while a collection of use for the advance of historical knowledge seems wholly distinct from a collection of use for the advance of zoological knowledge, the two are brought together by a collection of use for the advance of archaeological knowledge, which, on the one hand, touches geology and even zoology, and on the other hand history. A common governing body, it may be said, would be best fitted to secure the interests of each.

But whatever advantages might thus be gained are counterbalanced by the disadvantages due to the differences between the several branches of knowledge. The ways of the man of science, be he zoologist, botanist, or geologist, are at bottom very different from those of the historian, however much the latter may be led to make use of archaeological knowledge. The one has great difficulty in appreciating the views, and putting himself in the place of the other; each resents being governed by the other. A large governing body attempting to rule a number of diverging, and often contending interests, undertakes a task of great difficulty; and its very constitution often invites failure. As was said above, the State itself is as competent as any other body to decide how much of the public money should be spent on this object, and how much on that; it ought to be willing, and indeed anxious to do this. The funds being thus allotted, there is everything to be said in favour, not of placing all the great national collections under one large unmanageable governing body, which must, by the force of circumstances, depute its functions, but of placing each great

collection under a small governing body specially fitted to do its particular work.

The Natural History Museum is a collection large enough and important enough, even if it were converted into a purely zoological one, the botanical, mineralogical, and geological (as distinguished from palæontological) collections being separated from it, to have an independent governing body of its own. On that body, as was said above, the State and science should both be represented; and the representatives of each should be so chosen as to secure the presence, on the one hand, of men of business capacity and habits, and on the other, of men fitted by their special knowledge and by their scientific experience to be always in touch with the work and with the staff of the Museum, able to appreciate what is wanted, and competent to judge of proposals for its development.

We may now compare the constitution and conduct of a museum, thus roughly sketched out according to theoretical considerations, with the actually existing constitution and conduct of the Museum, determined as these have been by the process of evolution. Is the present administration of the Natural History Museum the best fitted to ensure that its great and important functions are carried out as they ought to be?

In the first place, if the considerations put forward above have any validity, it is clear that the body of Trustees, as at present constituted, does not supply the best form of government. The Trustees may be described as, in part, persons chosen as giving dignity to the institution, namely, the Cabinet Ministers and others of high rank. It cannot be expected that these should take an active part in the administration. Others of the Trustees, those by family appointment, may in like manner be described as complimentary. The only Trustees who can be regarded as truly business Trustees are the four presidents of the societies and the elected fifteen; but there are no formal safeguards guaranteeing the fitness of the latter for their difficult and important functions. It may be urged that the Trustees, as a body, do not conduct the business of the Museum; they depute this to the standing committee. But they *are* the governing body, for they hold regular quarterly meetings at which the standing

committee reports its proceedings. And, the standing committee being chosen from the Trustees, the want of adequate formal guarantees of fitness applies also to the members of it. Some such guarantee, though perhaps not of the best, might have been afforded by making the four presidents of societies *ex officio* members of the standing committee; but this has not been done. One bright feature of the present constitution of the Trustees is that it induced His Majesty, while Prince of Wales, and is inducing the present Prince of Wales, to take an active share in the conduct of the Museum. The great value of this cannot well be overstated; it is indeed of great moment for letters and science that the heir to the throne should thus directly handle great national literary and scientific undertakings. But for such a royal co-operation surely the present constitution of the governing body is not an absolute necessity.

The Trustees as at present appointed might perform useful functions as a Board of Visitors, carrying out a general superintendence, or available for advice when needed, but they do not supply the best form of direct government. This is no new view. Again and again the fitness of the Trustees for the duties entrusted to them has been called in question. So far back as 1850, a Royal Commission, appointed to enquire into the conduct of the Museum, reported in favour of attaching 'to a limited number of competent persons a direct responsibility for the effective administration of the affairs of the Museum.' They proposed to retain the Trustees, but to limit their duties to those of a Board of Visitors, and to entrust the actual conduct of the Museum to a small 'executive council.' Forcibly impressed, as indeed everybody must be, with the anomaly of the powers of appointment given to the three Principal Trustees, they insisted that the effective administration of the Museum by such an executive council could not be carried out 'unless that body were invested with the power, hitherto exercised by the Principal Trustees, of appointing to the various offices of the Museum.'

What was wanted fifty years ago is wanted to-day—the government of the Museum 'by a limited number of competent persons,' that is, of persons chosen to bear office by reason of their fitness to perform duties demand-

ing great special knowledge as well as great judgment. If, fifty years ago, the high positions by virtue of which the three Principal Trustees hold office did not seem to fit them to appoint to the various offices, and so, in a way, to rule the whole Museum, largely literary in character, what is to be said to-day as to those high positions fitting men to rule a purely scientific institution?

But indeed, if any change is made in the government of the Museum, then assuredly, if the considerations urged a little while back are of any value, the Museum should be looked upon, not as a single institution, but as at least two; the government of the Natural History Museum ought to be wholly independent of that of the Library and of the Museum at Bloomsbury. This again is no new idea. The Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, appointed in 1870, in their fourth Report, dated January 16, 1874, made the following recommendations:—

‘12. After due consideration of the question, your Commissioners are of opinion that the objections to the present system of government of the British Museum, by a Board of Trustees as at present constituted, so far as relates to the Natural History Collections, are well founded; and we have been unable to discover that the system is attended by any compensating advantages.

‘13. We accordingly recommend that the occasion of the removal of those Collections to a separate building in a different locality should be taken advantage of to effect a change in the Governing Authority and Official Administration of the Natural History Division of the Museum, in the sense indicated by several of the witnesses.

‘We further recommend—

‘That a Director of the National Collections of the Natural History Department should be appointed by the Crown, and should have the entire Administration of the Establishment under the control of a Minister of State, to whom he should be immediately responsible.

‘16. That a Board of Visitors be constituted. That this Board be nominated in part by the Crown, in part by the Royal and certain other Scientific Societies of the Metropolis, and, in the first instance in part also by the Board of Trustees. . . .’



These recommendations were made in vain; but what was recommended more than a quarter of a century ago is even more urgently needed to-day. An independent government of the British Museum (Natural History) is one of the most pressing scientific needs of the time. We have already offered such general suggestions as may be made without presumption with respect to the constitution of such a new governing body.

The mere appointment, however, of a governing body, however fit, however capable, would not be in itself sufficient to secure that the great collections are put to their full use. Such a governing body must have a free hand to make such changes as it thinks desirable in the administration of the Museum. We may feel assured that it would decide that the trammels of the Civil Service system should be done away with. At present this system obtains throughout the whole establishment; promotion by seniority and the performance of routine duties are the dominant features. At present a young man joins the staff by examination, becoming a second-class assistant. In due time he may become a first-class assistant, the instances of men becoming first-class assistants without previous examination and without previous service being extremely rare. If he be very fortunate, he may become an assistant-keeper and finally a keeper, all the present keepers having been formerly assistant-keepers; but the majority are content to perform in a routine way their routine duties of determining species, waiting for the happy time when they shall deserve their pension and need determine species no more.

A great deal of valuable routine work has been and is being done by the staff; but, as was pointed out above, much at least of the determination of species could be done far more economically and far more effectively by another system. Much valuable work, not of a routine kind, but of a high scientific character, has also been done and is being done by various members of the staff; but this cannot be placed to the credit of the system; it has been done, so to speak, in spite of the system, and may be regarded as a happy omen of what might be accomplished in more favourable circumstances. The Museum ought to be able to attract to itself the best talent in the land, and ought to afford opportunities for the exercise

of that talent; this it can never do so long as seniority of service and the rigid exaction of the performance of routine duties remain dominant features. When a post, whatever be its importance, has to be filled, whether it be that of assistant, assistant-keeper, or keeper, the governing body ought to have a free hand to choose the particular man best fitted for the task, whether he already hold a post in the Museum or not. Recent events have shown acutely how difficult such a choice is made by the Civil Service rules.

As was urged above, the freer method adopted in our universities, which we have called the academic method, and which, while fully appreciating past services and the claims of seniority, is not blindly led by these, but seeks for the best man whencesoever he may come, is the one under which alone adequate scientific progress can be expected. And such a method, as shown by several examples, though unhappily not to be seen in all cases, is not incompatible with the one alluring feature of the Civil Service system—that of at least promising to secure a haven when the power to do the best work begins to wane.

Another result of the present system which is prejudicial to science is that the staff forms more or less a closed ring; it does its work more or less apart from the rest of the world of science. By this it is not meant that the members of the staff are not active members of scientific societies, for many of them are so; or that they do not bring the results of their labours before their scientific brethren, for this they do. But the main part, if not all, of their work is done in the seclusion of the Museum. Every man of science, while working in the academic class-room, museum, or laboratory, or even in the lecture-room, is strengthened and encouraged by the presence, at once stimulating and guiding, of his scholars. He feels that without these his mind would be in danger of getting entangled in cobwebs. The eager questions, the apt remarks, nay, even the silent faces of his pupils, serve to brush all cobwebs away; and the knowledge that, as he is working surrounded by learners, he is not only advancing science himself but forming a school which, even if it be small, will carry on his work after him, gives him a strength greater than his own.

The lonely worker in the Natural History Museum has no such help. He has no chance of forming a school; there is no one near him to spur him or to correct him, and cobwebs thicken round him. This, again, is not the place to enter upon the details of how the academic method should be applied to the administration of the Museum; how, in the appointment and remuneration of all the members of the staff, regard should be had not merely to the performance of routine duties, though this must be adequately secured, but also and chiefly to utilising fully the almost boundless opportunities of the Museum. The work of the Museum should be made alive and kept alive by the air of outside scientific activity blowing continually through its walls.

We are content to put the whole case as follows. Never more than at the present time was there, in the interests not of science only, but of the public at large, greater and more crying need that wide general problems of biological science should be solved, and that as speedily as may be. We need only point to the great problems of heredity; even the man in the street is aware of the far-reaching social and industrial consequences hanging on the true solutions of these problems. So urgent are these problems, that we hear on many sides loud demands that the public money should be spent in support of the abstract investigations through which alone we can hope to reach the solutions. And so with many other problems. A very large sum of public money is spent yearly on the Natural History Museum. Great and valuable as is the work done in the Museum under present conditions, it would be increased many fold were its government and administration modified in character and brought into closer touch with scientific life, so that the work done there might be more directly devoted to wide biological investigation. In the treasures of the Museum lie the keys to many scientific locks; but the locks will never be opened by routine handling. The nation has the right to demand that all possible efforts should be made to secure the best use of the keys.

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**Art. X.—THE REGULATION OF MOTOR-CARS.**

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Motor-cars and Minutes of Evidence taken* [Cd. 3080, 3081]. London: Wyman, 1906.
2. *Report from the Select Committee on the Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis) Bill*. Presented to the House of Commons, July 31, 1906.
3. *Motors and Motor-driving*. (Badminton Library.) Edited by Lord Northcliffe. Fourth edition, revised throughout. London: Longmans, 1906.

THERE is no doubt that 'motors' have come to stay. Nor will men of a progressive turn of mind regret the fact. The utility, the convenience, and the general advantages of motor-cars are so obvious that it is almost unnecessary to dilate upon them; and the man who would willingly prevent their development would take a heavy load of responsibility upon his shoulders. No reasonably minded motorist will deny, however, that the comfort and safety of all his Majesty's subjects is, and ought to be, a matter of grave consideration. To reconcile, therefore, the development of the use of motor-cars with existing rights and interests is well worthy of the attention of the Legislature; and it seems to us that a satisfactory solution will never be arrived at if terms of abuse are to take the place of arguments, and catch-phrases to be substituted for truthful descriptions.

That the use of our roads by motor-cars must be regulated by legislation will be admitted by every one. Motorists have received the whole of the privileges they now enjoy by means of recent legislation; their common-law rights, if indeed they possess any, being of such a restricted character as to be absolutely worthless. In the era of toll-gates, for instance, it was legal to impose rates of toll which were practically prohibitory. Mr Gurney is said to have been the first person to use mechanical means of locomotion on the roads of England. So far back as the year 1829 he travelled from London to Bath and back in his steam carriage; and though, owing to a break-down, he was unable to use his engine at its full capacity, he performed the last eighty-four miles of

his journey, including stoppages, in ten hours. The rates of toll he was called upon to pay were certainly extortionate. Thus on the Liverpool and Prescott Road he was charged 2*l.* 8*s.*, whilst a loaded stage-coach would only pay 4*s.* On the Ashburnham and Totnes Road he had to pay 2*l.*, while a coach drawn by four horses was only charged 3*s.* By means such as these, and also through violently restrictive legislation, the early development of motor-cars in this country was prevented; nor was it until 1896 that a more reasonable spirit began to prevail. In that year motorists received the first instalment of the privileges of which they are now possessed. By the Act of 1896 there was fixed an absolute maximum of fourteen miles an hour for speed, with power to the central authority to reduce the maximum by regulations. Other provisions for the protection of the public were also inserted, such as the use of a lamp at night, and of a bell or other instrument for giving warning of approach.

The passing of this Act was immediately followed by a great development in the use of motor-cars; and in a very few years afterwards a practically universal demand for further legislation was made both by the motorists and the general public. The demand was met in the year 1903, when Mr Walter Long introduced the Act by means of which the use of motor-cars is regulated at the present moment. It is important to remember that this Act, as originally introduced, contained no speed-limit; and Mr Long's main argument in favour of its abolition was the statement that the police were against a restriction.

'Obviously' (said Mr Walter Long) 'it has been my business to consult the best authorities on the subject—those who have to carry the law into effect. The police, for instance, have had more personal experience than anybody else; and I may say at once that a very great majority of the chief constables in the country are of opinion that the proposals of the Bill, without a speed-limit, are more likely to secure the effective control of motors than with a speed-limit.'

It is evident that either Mr Long's information was obtained from defective sources, or that the police have now adopted a different attitude, for on page 9 of the Report of the Royal Commission we read, 'The chief constables of counties who gave us their evidence were

distinctly in favour of retaining a general speed-limit.' However that may be, neither Mr Long's statement, nor his interesting arguments in support of it, succeeded in convincing the then House of Commons that it was desirable to do away with a speed-limit. Speakers on both sides of the House declared their intention of voting against the second reading of the Bill if the Government persisted in their original design; and Mr Long speedily found that he would be obliged either to abandon his guns, or lose his Bill and submit to a Government defeat. Like every wise minister under similar circumstances, he decided immediately that the defeat of his Government would be a calamity too great to be borne by the country. He promised to insert a speed-limit in committee, provided that the breach of it should not carry the penalty of imprisonment. The compromise was accepted; the Bill passed its second reading without a division, and a speed-limit of twenty miles per hour was subsequently inserted in committee.

It seems rather cruel to refer to the hopes and anticipations of the author of the Bill with regard to his offspring. But, having regard to the fact that we shall shortly be called upon to legislate with regard to the same subject, and that 'once bitten is twice shy,' it is necessary to do so, in order to show, not how the thing ought to be done, but how it ought not to be done. Mr Long emphatically denied that his object in promoting the Bill was to help the users of motor-cars.

'The reason that we have asked Parliament to consider this Bill at so late a period of the session' (said he) 'is one which every man who looks into the history of the question must easily recognise for himself. Twelve months ago the passage of such a Bill would have been easy; but latterly, in the last six months, there is no doubt that public feeling has been greatly excited by what I can only describe as the disgraceful abuse of their rights and privileges by many users of motor-cars. It is not only the security of life and limb that has to be dealt with, but also the extraordinary discomfort suffered by people who live on the roads which motors largely frequent. Many houses alongside the public roads have been rendered almost uninhabitable, not only by the dust, which is an intolerable nuisance in the summer months, but by other inconveniences which follow from the improper use of this

means of conveyance. It is in order to deal with those difficulties that the Government have thought it their duty to introduce the Bill to Parliament.'

No one will deny that the difficulties Mr Long proposed to settle still remain unsettled, and that the clamant grievances of 1906 call with an even louder voice than in 1903. To tell the truth, however, the Government of the day perceived, before the Bill had passed through all its stages in the House of Commons, that it could not be looked upon as a final settlement of the matter. An amendment was moved in committee that the Act should only continue in force until December 31, 1906, unless the House should otherwise determine. The consequence is that the Government must either pass another Motor Bill this autumn, which they are extremely unlikely to do, or continue the operation of the present Act for another year under the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill.

The Act of 1903 had not been in force for more than eighteen months when it became apparent that a considerable spirit of discontent with its provisions existed throughout the country. This spirit of discontent found expression in an important debate which took place in the House of Commons in the month of June 1905. In the course of that debate Mr Gerald Balfour (who had succeeded Mr Long as President of the Local Government Board) frankly admitted that the Act of 1903 had not fulfilled the anticipations of the Government.

'He realised' (he said) 'that public opinion had been greatly stirred by the danger of motor-cars when recklessly or negligently driven, and by the accidents that had occurred. In addition there was the intolerable nuisance of dust to dwellers by the roadside. Difficulties had to be met without unduly checking the use of motor-cars. Something could be done by Local Government Board administration, more by increased stringency on the part of local authorities and the police, and a good deal by legislation.'

In the course of his speech Mr Gerald Balfour promised the appointment of the Royal Commission whose Report now lies before us for consideration; and the Government thus succeeded in staving off what would certainly have been an awkward division. In order to test the reality

of the expressed desires of those gentlemen who had spoken strongly with regard to dangerous driving, Mr Soares subsequently introduced a short Bill to amend the Act of 1903. This Bill gave power to the magistrates to inflict the penalty of imprisonment for the first offence on any man who should drive recklessly, negligently, or dangerously. The first reading of this Bill was opposed by Mr Scott Montagu (now Lord Montagu of Beaulieu), but was nevertheless carried by 222 to 58. Amongst those voting in favour of the Bill were the present Prime Minister and many members of his Government; and it is therefore reasonable to anticipate that, in framing a new measure, the safety of the public will have their earnest consideration. The Bill was blocked at its subsequent stages by representative members of the Automobile Club, and therefore merely remains as a pious expression of opinion on the part of the last Parliament.

What the effect of the general election may be on the controversy now under discussion remains to be proved. That the conduct of some of the motoring publications during that election was reprehensible, will, we think, be admitted by every fair-minded politician. Every member of Parliament who had taken an active part in the protection of the interests of the public was black-listed; and a determined attempt was made to prevent him from regaining his seat. No motor-cars were to be lent to him for the purposes of his election, and a system of boycott was to be introduced. A question of such importance to the country as Free-trade and Tariff Reform was to be ignored by patriotic motorists; and the issue to be substituted was that of their own interests, their own pleasures, and their own amusements.

What, then, is the present political situation? The general election is over; the opinions of a large number of the members of the present House of Commons on the main points of the controversy are either unknown or unformed; the Report of the Royal Commission is presented for our consideration; and, before new legislation can be attempted, we have plenty of time at our disposal within which to discuss the question in all its bearings. Now, with regard to the Report of the Royal Commission, we may as well at once enter a caveat against the treatment of its findings as a verbally inspired document. On most



of the points in discussion in the present controversy a man of average intelligence can form his own opinions from his own personal experience; and it is a matter of considerable doubt as to whether a Royal Commission was really required or not. At the same time we cannot fail to recognise that the members of the Commission have carried out their duties in an honourable and painstaking manner; and that, if the product of their labours is by no means final or exhaustive, they have, at any rate, earned our gratitude for the time and attention they have devoted to the matter.

The nature of the problem which confronted the Royal Commission and now confronts the Legislature is as follows—how to place on the roads of this country traffic capable of moving from fifteen to fifty miles an hour amongst traffic accustomed to move at from three to ten miles an hour. Now it will be readily admitted that our roads, whether in town or country, were not originally designed for swiftly moving traffic. Like our illogical constitution, they have grown up slowly and casually in accordance with the needs of the people. The Roman roads were planned with a view to military exigencies only, whilst the other roads were evolved as means of communication, and developed *pari passu* with the development of traffic. We find them twisting and turning in all directions—here to avoid a steep gradient, there to dodge a piece of bog-land, and there again to find the easiest place to ford some stream which has long since ceased to flow. We find them constantly intersected by cross-roads, most of them at a direct right-angle and absolutely hidden from view at the distance of a few yards. High hedges or banks usually serve as their boundaries on either side, made not only to prevent the straying of cattle on the roads, but also to serve as shelter on the lee side in open or exposed positions. That some few of our roads possess a perfectly open and straightforward view for considerable distances is true; but it is submitted that the benefit in these cases is conferred accidentally, owing to the fortuitous lie of the country, and not with the object of obtaining the uninterrupted view. When one remembers that most of our byroads were originally made for saddle-horse and pack-horse traffic, and that a stage-coach was the fastest

vehicle in the minds of the designers of our turnpike roads, one cannot help sympathising, at any rate, with the views of those people who regard with alarm the prospect of these unsuitably planned roads being habitually used by traffic moving at a rate of speed which has hitherto been confined to railroads.

This portion of the subject is referred to by the Royal Commission, though it cannot be contended that any great amount of illumination is shed upon it. The Commissioners suggest that local authorities should acquire the right, by agreement or purchase, of dealing with any banks, hedges, or similar pieces of land near high-ways in order to clear away obstructions to the view at corners, cross-roads, and similar dangerous places. We are inclined to think that the recommendation is superfluous, as the power is already possessed by local authorities. But, even if it were not, its possession would not take us much further. The difficulty would lie in the unwillingness of the ordinary non-motoring rate-payer to put his hand in his pocket for the purposes suggested, for no one in his senses would contend that the produce of the suggested increase of licence duties would be sufficient even to deal with the dust problem alone. That this is the case a very short consideration of the figures furnished by the Royal Commission itself will sufficiently demonstrate.

The county councils expend on the maintenance, improvement, and repairs of the main roads in England and Wales about 2,400,000*l.* annually. To this must be added the large sums spent on the upkeep of roads by London, by the county boroughs, and by the rural district councils, necessarily amounting to many millions annually. The Royal Commission recommends that all money derived from the taxation of motor-cars should be handed over to some central department and should be appropriated in part payment of the cost incurred by the local authorities, not on customary repairs, but on works which have for their object the creation of more durable and less dusty road surfaces, and the removal of danger to traffic; and that it should, in the first instance, be devoted to the roads, whether technically main roads or not, which are important arteries of through communication.

The Commissioners also propose an increase in the

rate of the present licence duties on motor-cars, though they do not give us an estimate as to the probable amount which would be raised by such increase. Under the present system of taxation, we are told, the amount collected in the year 1905-6 was about 100,000*l*. Presumably this came not only from England and Wales, but also from Scotland and Ireland. The Commissioners state that, under the new rates recommended by them, this sum of 100,000*l*. would be materially increased, but do not go into further details. All we know, therefore, is that, under the scheme of the Commission, there would be a sum of something over 100,000*l*. per annum to be divided amongst the local authorities of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales for the reconstruction of roads, the placing of danger-signals at necessary places, and for the clearing away of obstructions to the view. Having regard to the fact that millions are now spent on the upkeep of the roads of England and Wales alone, is it not obvious that this sum, when distributed, would amount to a mere drop in the bucket of local expenditure? It would certainly not be sufficient for even the extra expense of putting up danger-signals, lopping hedges, and clearing away obstructions to view. The scheme of the Commission would be altogether inadequate to carry out the objects at which they aim, and would scarcely justify the complicated system of accounts which its adoption would necessarily involve.

There is, moreover, another point of view from which the taxation of motor-cars must be regarded, namely, the point of view of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the Commissioners themselves admit, the tax, whether increased or not, is in the nature of a sumptuary tax. It is levied on the principle that the burden of taxation should be borne by those most capable of bearing it; it comes under the heading of the taxation of luxuries, and must therefore inevitably be extended to its greatest revenue capacity. That the limit of taxation is not yet reached is proved by the fact that almost every motorist in the country is willing to pay an extra amount, provided he is permitted to allocate the revenue to purposes which he considers desirable. That in these circumstances the Chancellor of the Exchequer will seize the opportunity of increasing his budget by the suggested extra amount is

almost a foregone conclusion. But would he permit, or will the House of Commons permit, the revenue derived from it to be ear-marked in the manner suggested? If the motorist for pleasure is to be permitted to allocate his share of taxation in order that his amusement may be carried on with more convenience and safety, why should not other taxpayers have a similar privilege? Is the man who pays a game-licence to be allowed to allocate his tax for the payment of extra policemen to assist his game-keepers to watch his coverts and prevent poaching?

That one political party is always ready to accuse another political party of using the public funds improperly is a regrettable fact; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer who will boldly stand out as the champion of the policy of 'Doles to Wealthy Motorists' will certainly be more remarkable for his courage than for his discretion. The resources of the Chancellor of the Exchequer are dependent upon the taxable capacities of the country; and, if it is decided to expend money on improving the roads, it is immaterial, so far as he is concerned, whether the money is raised by the tea-duty or by a tax on motor-cars. The present Government, at any rate, has such an urgent need of money to carry out its many projects for the benefit of the working-classes that it is hardly likely to let slip so peculiarly suitable a subject of taxation as a motor-car used for pleasure; and those motoring gentlemen who are indulging in pleasant dreams with regard to the expenditure of the taxes they are or may be compelled to pay will probably have a rude and rough awakening in a Radical House of Commons.

With regard, therefore, to the grave question of the dust nuisance, the Report of the Royal Commission gives us practically no help whatever. They tell us, it is true, that, if better and more expensive materials were used in road-making, the roads would be better; but even the humblest member of the smallest rural district council hardly needed a Royal Commission to give him this information. They say, in a hesitating manner, that it is possible that increased expenditure may turn out to be true economy in the end; but, as they themselves admit, 'on the question of economy they find themselves unable to express any definite opinion, partly because the conditions vary in different counties, and partly because there has

not been time for a satisfactory test.' The Commissioners are evidently of opinion that the dust preventives which are used both at home and abroad have still got their reputation to make; and they rightly rule out of consideration the adoption of the French tarring process, of which we have heard so much, as being too expensive for application, costing annually, as it does, from 40*l.* to 50*l.* a mile for an 18-ft. road.

That no satisfactory remedy is offered by the Commission for this all-important evil is a matter of grave concern; for the dust nuisance steadily grows, and is intensified by every new motor-car put on the road. We have quoted Mr Long in 1903, and Mr Gerald Balfour in 1905; in 1906 the Commissioners report:

'There is no doubt at all about the dust nuisance; during the summer months it exists more or less on all frequented roads, but more particularly on the great main roads, and within a radius of thirty or forty miles of London, and it causes material damage, discomfort, and annoyance to users of, and dwellers by, the highways.'

The Commissioners give us some of the evidence on which they formed their opinion; and no one who keeps his eyes open can say that it is either exaggerated or highly-coloured. Take, for instance, the evidence of Mr J. Drysdale, a tenant-farmer of Stirlingshire, and one of the representatives of the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture. He quoted the answers sent in by agricultural societies all over Scotland affiliated to his Chamber, the general tenour of them being as follows:—

'Considerable injury has been done to hedges by dust.' 'Hay and grain crops are rendered dangerous as feeding for livestock by fine dust adhering to them.' 'Hedges and crops near roads get covered by dust; it ruins hay.' 'Cattle seldom grazed on pasture next roads,' etc.

That the grievance of the tenant-farmers is a genuine one is proved by its corroboration at the hands of the market-gardeners. Mr Steel, for instance, a market-gardener of Brentford, says:

'The effect of the dust from motor-cars is so to destroy the marketable value of the produce on either side of the road, more particularly fruit, flowers, and salads, that growers have frequently complained to me.'

It would be impossible, within the limits of a single article, to do adequate justice to the complaints made by various classes of small, hard-working tradesmen as to the injury inflicted by dust. Their grievances from time to time become articulate in the Press. Instances of damage to house-property also, much of which is owned by men of scanty means, might be multiplied indefinitely. In fact, there is no doubt whatever as to the seriousness of the nuisance. Not only, however, is injury caused to property, to productive trades and distributing trades, but the health of foot-passengers and the general amenities of the roads have been seriously affected. Giving evidence before the Royal Commission, Mr Breathwaite, a railway signalman at Elstree, said :

‘I have gone out for a Sunday afternoon’s walk with my wife and family, and come home as if I had come out of a flour-mill. The dust has been raised by motors, and it has been something terrific; and instead of coming home with an appetite for your tea, and feeling benefited by your country walk, you come home tired and jaded and irritated; in fact you feel that you wish you had not gone out at all.’

What, then, can fairly be deduced both from the Report of the Commission and the evidence accompanying it? Is it not that a large number of the poorer classes of the community, tenant-farmers, small tradesmen, working-men living by the roadside, and users of the road both for business and health, are suffering from an intolerable and grievous nuisance? So far, it is true, the restraint of both their actions and their language has been as commendable as it is remarkable. But that it will always be so, that these injured men will permit the nuisance to continue and be intensified, is incredible. It is evident that the dust nuisance must be tackled in a resolute manner; and the *laissez-faire* policy of the past few years must come to a definite end. There is no need to appeal to class prejudice in the matter; but we must bear in mind the fact that the owners of motor-cars will always be a small minority of the users of the roads. A very large proportion of motors are now, and always will be, used for purposes of pleasure and recreation merely. We can practically eliminate from our calculations the number of motor-cars used by

doctors and other professional men, for these cars are of necessity used in the places in which their owners carry on their business; and, inasmuch as popularity is as essential to a doctor as it is to a politician, we may be quite sure that their cars will be used with a minimum of nuisance and a maximum of courtesy. It must also be remembered that motor-cars used for purposes of trade, for the carriage of agricultural produce, and in other useful ways, are not seriously in fault, so far, at any rate, as the dust nuisance is concerned. To none of them is a high rate of speed essential; and the Royal Commission reports:

'Speaking generally, we came to the conclusion that, at a speed below ten miles an hour, the dust raised is comparatively slight; that it increases very greatly at from, say, twelve to twenty miles an hour, and continues to increase, but in a smaller proportion, at higher speeds.'

We find, then—and most fair-minded men will admit the truth of the statement—that the people mainly responsible for the creation of the dust nuisance are wealthy folk who use motors for recreation and pleasure. 'Sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas' is a maxim of great weight, and seems to apply with peculiar force to the present situation. That the pleasure of one class cannot be permitted to interfere with the health and livelihood of a much larger class is a truth of which Parliament will be bound to take cognisance; and, when next year this question comes up for decision, it will have to aim, as in all other legislation of the present era, at the promotion of the greatest good of the greatest number.

The other branch of the controversy, on which there is certain to be a considerable amount of hot disputation, is the question of the speed-limit. Ought there to be a speed-limit, or ought there not? Does it merely give an opening to malice, hatred, and perjury, or is it a means of protection for the public safety? It may be admitted at once that much valuable information is furnished by the Royal Commission on this head, though it seems to have led the majority of the Commissioners to vague and illogical conclusions. Nothing could be more helpful than the extremely able and interesting report of Captain Clive Bigham, the secretary of the Commission, on the law and

practice as to motor-cars in the principal foreign countries. The information contained in this Report has been asked for over and over again in the House of Commons, but hitherto has not been vouchsafed to us. Its importance can easily be seen when we recall an argument which has been frequently used in the course of debate, viz. that owing to the less stringent conditions in the use of motor-cars in foreign countries, the foreign manufacturer has a considerable advantage over his British competitor. The report of Captain Bigham disposes once for all of this contention. France, for instance, the most serious competitor of the British manufacturer, has a general speed-limit of  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, reduced to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour in inhabited places, and to 4 miles an hour in narrow or crowded places. Austria has found it necessary to abandon her old law of no speed-limit, and by an Act which came into force at the commencement of the present year has enacted a speed-limit of 28 miles in the open country, of 9 miles in inhabited places, and of 5 miles in narrow, winding roads and other places where speed would be dangerous.

In Germany, it is true, somewhat different ideas appear to prevail, for the Federal Council has just recommended to the different States certain regulations which lay down no speed-limit in open places and a limit of about 9 miles an hour in inhabited places; but, since these regulations were to come into force only on October 1 in the present year, we can have no guidance as to their efficiency or the reverse. If, on the other hand, we turn to another continent, and to a country renowned for the go-ahead spirit of its legislation, we find that five-sixths of the United States have maximum speed-limits averaging  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour on open roads, and 10 miles an hour in inhabited places. Having regard, therefore, to this fact, and to the fact that all the principal European countries, with the exception of Germany and the Netherlands, have maximum speed-limits, it is clear that the British manufacturer will have no cause of complaint if Parliament should decide in favour of the continuance of a maximum speed-limit in this country.

The Royal Commission is not unanimous on this question of a general speed-limit. Sir E. R. Henry (Commissioner of Police of the metropolis) and Mr H. C.



Monro (assistant secretary of the Local Government Board) present a 'reservation,' in which they say that the interests of the general public appear to them to demand that a general speed-limit shall continue to be part of the law, so that it may be applicable when required; and it is obvious that the opinion of these two gentlemen deserves special attention, since, owing to their positions, they have a wide experience as to the manner in which a speed-limit works out in actual practice.

The majority of the Royal Commission recommends that the present general speed-limit of 20 miles an hour should be abolished, but that in towns, villages, or 'other more or less continuous collection of houses along the highway,' or at dangerous corners, steep hills, and other places in which special caution is required, there should be a 12-mile speed-limit, where adopted by the local authorities. This recommendation appears to be both vague and illogical. It is vague because no one can possibly define what is meant by 'a more or less continuous collection of houses along the highway,' or by the words 'other places where special caution is required.' It is also difficult to know what they mean by their recommendation that the new Act should make it explicitly clear that 'speed may be an element of danger,' and how far this conflicts with the proposed abolition of the speed-limit. Their Report is illogical because, although they propose a speed-limit in villages, they state that 'police control' is very difficult to work in a public street; in other words, they recommend a law the detection of whose infraction would, in their opinion, be almost impossible. The Commissioners also report that the new Act should contain an express provision against racing on a highway. Very laudable, but again slightly difficult of comprehension. Do they mean racing against another car only, or do they include racing against time? If the latter, then it looks as if some new and undesirable rules will have to be introduced into English jurisprudence whereby a criminal would be compelled to give evidence in order to secure his own conviction.

The question, however, as to whether high rates of speed shall be legalised on our public roads will not be settled by the report of any Commission, but by the votes

of the representatives of the people in the House of Commons. That our roads were not designed for this purpose has already been shown; and that the higher the speed the greater the dust nuisance is admitted by every one. But there are other considerations which must have weight and force when the matter comes on for decision. The higher the speed, the greater becomes the difficulty of stopping the car in moments of danger, and the greater and more serious becomes an accident] arising from skidding or side-slip. It must be remembered, too, that no test for efficiency is demanded in England before the issue of a driving-licence. To any one, competent or incompetent, cautious or reckless, of drunken or sober habits, the payment of a small sum of money secures the right to drive. That the public are sufficiently protected by the desire of the driver of a car to secure his own safety will appear an absurd argument to any one acquainted with human nature. Every sportsman constantly risks his life in the pursuit of his amusements; and motorists do not differ from other people in this respect. As for pecuniary claims arising from injury done to other users of the road, provision is made for these by insurance; and, by taking out a third-party policy, a motorist may cause accidents to the annual value of 1000*l.* a year without any monetary loss to himself.

The abolition of the speed-limit is mainly demanded by the wealthier class of motorist. When wealth meets wealth a low speed-limit is at once insisted upon, as in the royal parks of London. But surely the altruistic spirit of the age will not be altogether neglectful of the humble inhabitants of the country-side. Are the mothers of our rural children to be compelled to restrict them from using the roads as they have hitherto been accustomed to do? Are the children of an agricultural labourer, living by the roadside, to be confined within the four walls of his cottage during the whole of a lovely summer day? Surely not. The majority of Parliament will doubtless care more for the rosy cheeks of our country children than for titillating the nerves of some wealthy Lucullus. A speed-limit is good because it ensures a reasonable rate of speed on all our roads; and any one exceeding it should be brought within the category of law-breaker. With many, it is true, this is a consideration

of little or no importance ; but the majority of the people of England are of a law-abiding nature ; and there are thousands of motorists who are restrained by the present law, even though they would like, in their own interests, to see the speed-limit abolished.

So far we have dealt with the question of the speed of light motor-cars only ; but of course the question of the speed of heavy motor-cars is equally serious. Here, however, the Commissioners appear to have arrived at conclusions in which, we think, they will be supported by the general public. They recommend that the present limit of 12 miles an hour should be adhered to, except in the case of cars weighing from two to three tons and having non-resilient tyres, which, they rightly consider, should be reduced to a limit of 5 miles an hour. In this opinion the Commissioners are supported by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Cabs and Omnibuses (Metropolis), whose interesting Report was published in July of the present year. This Committee not only considers that the present speed-limit of 12 miles an hour is sufficient, but calls attention to the fact that it is at present frequently exceeded, and demands closer police supervision. So far as we are aware, neither the manufacturers nor the proprietors of heavy cars are asking for an increase of the speed-limit ; and we may take it therefore that on this point, at any rate, there is practical unanimity.

Here again, then, is an illustration of the fact that a high rate of speed is not required for utilitarian purposes ; for it cannot be denied that it is mainly in the improvement and development of the heavy kinds of motor-cars that the public hope to find some recompense for all the evils that they are at present called upon to endure. In rural districts especially it is to be hoped that this class of traffic will become more general and less expensive. If the proposed extension of the system of small holdings is to be successful, it will be found to be absolutely essential that the occupier should be placed in close touch either with the railway or some large centre of population. If he is to dispose of his eggs, his chickens, and his butter on favourable terms, and at fair market prices, he must have a reasonable and constant means of access to his customers. Many of us believe that this could be effected

in an economic and expeditious manner by means of a service of heavy motor-cars, which would run into scattered villages and hamlets and collect agricultural produce either daily or bi-weekly, as the case may require. A service of this kind, whether carried out by the Post-office or by an agricultural co-operative society, would undoubtedly prove of immense benefit to the whole country-side; and rural ratepayers would get some return for the damage inflicted upon their roads.

As things stand at present, we doubt whether there is a rural road authority in the United Kingdom which has not passed indignant resolutions with regard to the burden imposed upon them by the increased cost of the maintenance of their roads owing to motor-car traffic. What the precise amount of the burden may be is very difficult to estimate; and very few surveyors can be found who are willing to undertake the task. Mr Copnall, however, who is clerk to the Nottingham County Council, and was nominated by the County Councils Association to give evidence before the Royal Commission, states that the cost of the maintenance of the main roads in Nottinghamshire has steadily increased within the last ten years, which may be taken as the motor period. Between 1902-3 and 1904-5 the cost of maintenance had increased by 10% per mile; and he estimates that, if the heavy traffic continues to increase in the same proportion, it will not be long before the cost of maintenance is nearly double what it was in 1900. In Mr Copnall's opinion this increase of cost is due wholly and solely to the increase of locomotive and motor traffic, and is not owing either to an increase in horse traffic, to increased cost of labour or road materials, or anything else.

It is an admitted fact that other counties besides Nottinghamshire are suffering under a similar state of affairs; and it is not to be wondered at that the voice of the ratepayer is making itself heard at the various district council meetings. It is perfectly true that the main portion of the damage must be laid at the doors of the heavier forms of traffic. The light motor-cars have a considerable disintegrating effect on all roads except those of the highest class; but, except where they are present in large numbers and running constantly on the same portions of the road, it is doubtful whether they do

more harm than an ordinary carriage and the eight iron-shod hooves of the horses. With locomotives and motor-trolleys, however, the position is entirely different; the damage they inflict upon roads of all kinds and descriptions is of a most serious character; and, having regard to the fact that most of them are used for the purpose of profit-making for individuals, some means must be taken to make them recoup to the public the damage they occasion by the use of the public roads.

The injustice of existing conditions appears to have forced itself upon the minds of the Commissioners, though they seem inclined to shelve the matter by declaring that the question of 'extraordinary damage' caused by exceptionally heavy motor-vehicles and their loads hardly comes within the terms of their reference. How they could be of this opinion when they were appointed to enquire and report (*inter alia*) upon 'the injury of the roads alleged to be caused by motor-cars' it is somewhat difficult to understand; but at any rate we must be grateful to them for the fact that they do not leave us entirely without guidance on the matter. They speak approvingly of a suggestion that owners of heavy motor-cars using a road continuously so as to increase the cost of maintenance should be called upon to make a contribution, the amount, in case of difference of opinion, to be settled by arbitration. Inasmuch, however, as any alteration of the law to this effect would of necessity apply to locomotives as well as to motor-cars, they do not recommend that the subject should be dealt with in the coming Bill; and, if regard be had to all the circumstances of the case, the course they suggest would probably be the wisest one for the Government to take.

With regard to heavy motor-cars, however, it is not so much the question of damage to roads which is agitating the public mind, as the question of danger to life and health caused by the multiplication of motor-omnibuses in the streets of our large towns. The enormous number of accidents occasioned by these omnibuses, the terrifying manner in which they skid and slip about the greasy streets, the offensive nature of their exhausts, and their noise and vibration, are admittedly matters of the gravest concern to every inhabitant of the City of London. In the metropolitan area alone there were

400 accidents in the month of May of this year, 62 of which caused personal injuries; and in the month of June there were 390 accidents, of which 80 caused personal injuries. The figures for the past three months are not before us; but from the cases reported by the newspapers we may feel certain that these modern Juggernauts have maintained, if not increased, their monthly average of accidents. To a large extent these accidents are owing to careless and faulty construction. The demand for delivery has been so great that the manufacturers have had practically a free hand; and, as Mr. Bertram Blount recently acknowledged in the 'Westminster Gazette,' 'many of the motor-omnibuses now on the road have been simply thrown together.' When it is remembered that the safety of the people in the 'bus and that of the people on the road absolutely depends on the accurate behaviour of the complicated machinery of these heavy vehicles, it is evident that the public demand for effective tests of construction will have to be complied with.

There is no need for any further legislation in this matter; the Local Government Board has full authority to prescribe conditions both as to the use and construction of heavy motor-cars; and it is a public scandal that the matter was not taken seriously in hand by the authorities as soon as the danger became apparent. The injury done to property by noise and vibration is a grievance so universally admitted that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it here; and the eloquent fact that there has been a decline in the rates of South Kensington of no less than 5,000*l.* during the first half of the present year needs no further comment. Eminent scientists have given us their views as to the dangerous nature of the foul and poisonous gases disseminated below the breathing level of the users of the streets; and the fogs of the coming winter threaten to offer an infinite variety of horrible choices to those unfortunate people who are compelled to live in London. It is clearly unthinkable that evils such as these can long be tolerated in any residential town.

It is perhaps not too much to hope that the new President of the Local Government Board may interfere effectively. His views on the matter may be gathered

from an article in the 'Pall Mall Magazine' which appeared over his name after he acceded to office. It is entitled 'The Tangle of London's Traffic'; and in the course of it Mr Burns says, 'As for motor-omnibuses, their cost, noise, maintenance, ubiquity of movement, and mobility of obstruction, discount them for London use, except as feeders for branch-lines of Council tramways.' No words could possibly be stronger; and, having regard to the fact that his Board is possessed of plenary powers, we may hope that the nuisance will be rigorously dealt with in the course of the next few months. We do not suggest that regulations should be issued of a kind which would drive this form of traffic off the streets of our large towns. It undoubtedly serves a public need and meets a public want, but it must be regulated in accordance with the rights of all classes of the community; and the health and safety of his Majesty's subjects must take precedence of the dividend-earning ambitions of the motor-omnibus companies.

There are many other points of interest in connexion with motor-cars, but it is impossible to deal with all of them within the limits of a single article. The Royal Commission has made some useful recommendations with regard to registration, identification, the emission of smoke, the excessive use of horns, and unnecessary vibration. These recommendations are both interesting and important, and afford proof, if proof be needed, of the care and energy brought by the Commissioners to their task. No doubt they will be carefully considered by the President of the Local Government Board when drawing up any future regulations, and receive at his hands the consideration which their intrinsic value deserves.

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## Art. XI.—COUNTY FAMILIES.

1. *Northamptonshire Families*. Edited by Oswald Barron. ('Victoria County Histories.') London: Constable, 1906.
2. *History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain*. By Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-at-arms, and Ashworth P. Burke. Eleventh edition. London: Harrison, 1906.

'STEMMATA quid faciunt?' To those who lightly echo the gibe of the Roman satirist it may cause considerable surprise, if not a shock, to learn that four English historians have insisted in recent times on the value of honest genealogy, especially when it is combined, as in the first of the volumes mentioned above, with the study of a family's origin and rise, and of that territorial position on which insistence has here been placed. Kemble, a careful writer, went so far as to assert that

'it is indispensable to a clear view of the constitutional law and governmental institutions of this country that we should not lose sight of the distribution of landed estates among the great families, and that the rise and fall of these houses should be carefully traced and steadily borne in mind. . . . From the days of Harold to our own the succession of the landowners and the relations arising out of these successions are the running comment upon the events in our national history; they are at once the causes and the criteria of facts, and upon them has depended the development and settlement of principles in laws which still survive, in institutions which we cling to with reverence, in feelings which make up the complex of our national character.'

Palgrave followed him with testimony no less emphatic on the subject.

'Genealogical enquiries and local topography, so far from being unworthy the attention of the philosophical enquirer, are amongst the best materials which he can use; and the fortunes and changes of one family, or the events of one upland township, may explain the darkest and most dubious portions of the annals of a realm.'

Should it be urged that we have travelled far since the days of Kemble and Palgrave, that territorial position and ancient lineage alike are now but of small account either politically or socially, we may confidently reply



that the study of genealogy has by no means thereby lost its value for the social historian or its interest and charm for the public. Stubbs, with his ripe judgment and intellectual power, did not hesitate to write that

'the expansion and extension of genealogical study is a very remarkable feature of our own times. Men are apparently awaking to the fact that there are other families besides those described in the peerage; that those families have their records, played their part in history, furnished the bone and sinew of national action, and left traces behind them which it behoves their descendants to search out and keep in remembrance. There is nothing in this that need be stigmatised as vain and foolish; it is a very natural instinct, and it appears to me to be one of the ways in which a general interest in national history may be expected to grow.'

Even Freeman, for whom pedigrees possessed little attraction, remarks:

'Let no one deem that, because a false pedigree is a thing to be eschewed and scouted, therefore a true pedigree is a thing to be despised. . . . It is only the false imitation of the true which is to be despised.'

This is the spirit which animates that modern school of genealogists of whom the editor of 'Northamptonshire Families' is so brilliant a representative. As he says:

'In the first place, and the chief, we set before ourselves a high standard of truth and of good faith. Such genealogies as we record shall carry with them the proof for each generation set down, proofs drawn from trustworthy sources, from the great treasure-house of the Public Records, from inquests and wills, from parish registers and family letters, suits at law, and gravestones, and from all the hundred sources available to modern genealogy.'

The work of that school is associated, probably, in the public mind with the ruthless exposure of false genealogy, the work of many generations, rather than with such work as this volume contains—the toilsome construction of true pedigrees of the families with which it deals. If, for no other reason than its fearless honesty and candour, it may claim to stand in a class apart, to represent the work of those who know not fear or favour.

But there are other and sufficient reasons why a work

of this character deserves encouragement and welcome. The historian of social life has of late been busy in our midst, but of that life there are aspects which as yet elude his grasp. The means by which men rose from the ranks, the fate of the younger sons of landed houses in the past, the attitude of classes toward one another, the position of trade and the professions—these are but some of the points on which we have much to learn; and, if the 'Victoria History' performs for other counties the task it has accomplished for Northamptonshire, it will eventually supply the student with a great repertory of facts. As Mr Barron himself expresses it:

'The rise of a great house is shown after a fashion which may serve the historian or sociologist in his task, for whether our house rise from a careful citizen or an adventurous soldier, from a feudal lord with a banner and forty knights at his back, or from a husbandman who followed the plough-tail, the fact is here in plain words, a fact which should prove of truer and more abiding interest to the descendants of the house-founder than could any lying entry spangled with heraldic fiction.'

No one who knows Mr Barron's work can doubt that we shall have those plain words, or will encounter with surprise in his pages 'obscure London tradesmen—drapers and oilmen outside the city gates.' Indeed one is tempted to believe that he must have discovered the oilman with a great and a peculiar joy.

'Mr Ardenne' (wrote Lord Beaconsfield in 'Lothair') 'had an ancient pedigree, and knew everybody else's, which was not always pleasant.' Lest his readers might miss the allusion to the late Mr Evelyn Shirley, the author was careful to add that 'what he most prided himself on was being the hereditary owner of a deer-park, the only one, he asserted, in the county.' Mr Barron reminds us in his preface of the chastening effect produced by the publication of Mr Shirley's book, 'The Noble and Gentle Men of England,' in the midst of a 'strange revel of genealogy,' when Norman and 'Saxon' houses were burgeoning forth before an unsuspecting public. One can but hope that such volumes as this may exercise a similar influence in view of the atrocious nonsense that finds its way into the Press as to families that are said to be still

seated on lands held by them not only since, but even from before the Conquest.

The principle, the distinctive principle, on which this work is based is that which Mr Shirley adopted, namely, that the qualification required for admission within its pale should be the association of a family with the tenure of a seat and landed estate for a certain period, in the male line. Mr Shirley's austere standard required that such a position should have been held continuously from a date well before the dissolution of the monasteries; Mr Barron opens his portals wider and requires evidence of such a position only from before the accession of George III. The whole remnant of an interesting and indeed historic class, our old territorial houses, will thus be marshalled before us; titles will make no difference; the 'Victoria History' looks only to the long association of a family with the county whose story it unfolds.

If only as a protest against the present practice of describing as 'landed gentry,' families destitute of landed estate, and allowing them to masquerade as such, in print, among the squires, one would welcome this honest enterprise. But its further limitation to those families which are not of yesterday confers an additional status on those whom it admits within its fold, and imparts to it the character of a *libro d' oro*, in which the appearance of a name will have a definite meaning and bestow the sense of privilege.

Algernon Sidney, speaking in his 'Discourses concerning Government' of certain commoners of ancient lineage, claimed that, 'if the tenure of their estates be considered, they have the same fame, and as antient as any of those who go under the name of duke or marquis.' And, when Mr Barron contends that what 'is called nobility on the continent of Europe has in our days been connected in England with the hereditary holding of free lands,' he is evidently unaware how ancient this conception is. In his 'Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions,' Mr Chadwick has recently reminded us what were 'the qualifications of thegnship' among our remote forefathers. For 'the rank of thegn,' he writes, 'the most usual condition is the possession of land'; and the ownership of at least 'five hides,' roughly the equivalent of the later 'manor,' was the standard. 'If he does not possess this

amount of land he is still to be accounted a ceorl, even though he has a helmet and a coat of mail and a sword overlaid with gold.' Again, of the 'Northleoda Lagu' we similarly read: 'Permanent nobility of blood was obtained after three generations, conditionally, however, on the possession of land during that period.' Here we have in essence the qualification required for the county-family volumes of the 'Victoria History,' though in detail the ownership of land must have covered a century and a half.

The student of English society in the past cannot fail to be struck by the eagerness to acquire a landed estate and the status which its ownership in time conferred. Less than thirty years ago the author of 'Our Old Nobility,' writing with the jaundiced bitterness in which the Welsh Radical excels, could still complain that

'The first step for a wealthy *parvenu* is to buy up land right and left. . . . Wealthy buyers have constantly been induced to accumulate land, no matter at what price purchased, as a road to the House of Lords. . . . We offer the highest prizes in the State to the men who will accumulate the most land in their own hands.'

The blind fury of the Radical against large landowners is that which Cobden did so much to foster—although they were notoriously far more liberal to those upon their land than the grasping millowner or sweating employer to those in their employ. But to Cobden, the champion of the men who ground the faces of the poor, fifty per cent. on one's capital was righteous, but two per cent. extortion. If we regard only the interests of the nation, the gratification of Radical spleen has been wholly injurious in its effects; it has meant the divorce of capital from the land, and the creation of a class the existence of which is a danger to the body-politic. In England the position of a landed proprietor has always entailed duties; it has given a man an interest in his district, and led him to reside largely on the land from which his importance was derived, and to spend his money in the district in which his seat was situate. But a social revolution has been taking place; and, now that the ownership of land has been dethroned from its position, which has been successfully usurped by the mere possession of wealth, a class has

arisen with no ties and no calls upon its purse, a class free to squander its fortunes at the pleasure-resorts of foreign lands or to rouse the anger of the people and goad them into socialist frenzy by combining, for the purpose of social advertisement, the luxury of the ancient world with the ostentation of the new.

Of this deplorable importation from the land of the Pilgrim Fathers the landed aristocracy are guiltless. Ground between the upper and the nether millstone of rising taxes and falling rents, too often driven from their fathers' homes or compelled to live in penury, they are still depicted as gorged with wealth, as the spoiled children of the State. Let us take a concrete instance. An election is near, and the usual attempt is made to inflame the populace by depicting the squire as extorting a 'dole' from the people. To suppress the facts that Sir William Harcourt imposed on him new and crushing taxes, and that the moneyed classes have shifted on to land the burden of local rates, is, of course, but economy of truth; the point is that the squire is cunningly shown in 'pink.' Now of all the changes of our time in country-life, none is more significant or notorious than that in the character of the hunting-field. On the one hand, the squires and the farmers have on all sides fallen from the ranks; on the other, their places have been filled by strangers who now hunt over their lands—by the brewer from the towns, or by the wealthy stockbroker; while the true attitude of the squire's assailants towards this costly sport is shown by the presence in the field of the socialist *grande dame* or of Radical members of Parliament, of American or Welsh extraction, who proudly proclaim in a work of reference that their recreation is 'hunting.'

Sharper even than the change in the hunting-field has been that in the representation of our counties since the Act of 1885 made the labourer its arbiter. To those who have practical experience of elections in the rural districts, and who know the tales the rustic is told, and in his simplicity believes, it is no surprise when his vote is given to the latest agitator from town, and when the character of county members, and with it that of the House of Commons, undergoes a revolution. Yet the lists of local members at the end of Mr Barron's volume prove that in Northamptonshire at least the change was slow. Even

at the revolutionary election of 1885 a Cecil, a Knightley, and a Spencer were returned. Only one of its four divisions was captured by a stranger.

A striking and characteristic feature of English political history is the long association of the House of Commons with our older county families. Of those that in Northamptonshire still survive, and are among the select band dealt with in this volume, a Wake is found as knight of the shire so far back as 1300, while a Knightley of Fawsley was sitting for the county in 1420, and another was familiar to the House in the same capacity from 1852 to 1892. The first of the great house of Spencer to represent the county in Parliament was Sir John, returned in 1554, and the latest was returned in 1900. The first Langham sat for Northamptonshire in 1656, and the first Isham in 1661, while in the house of Cartwright of Aynhoe, from 1695, 'the representation of Northamptonshire in Parliament,' to quote Mr Barron's words, 'became almost an hereditary honour' for a century and a half. Indeed, a Cartwright and an Isham kept it almost to themselves from 1701 to 1768. It was not till 1593 that a Cecil sat for the county, but the founder of the house was a burgess for Stamford so early as 1511; and the old order has not wholly changed when, even in the present year, we have seen Lord John Joicey-Cecil returned for the Stamford division.

As is well known to students of our parliamentary history, it is not till about the reign of Elizabeth that country gentlemen condescended to sit as burgesses for the local boroughs. In 1572 a Spencer is found as member for Northampton, and in 1584 a Knightley; and these names, with Langham and Isham, recur at later dates. For Peterborough an Isham of Pytchley was sitting so early as 1554, but it was not till the seventeenth century that the great house of Fane of Apethorpe is found representing it in Parliament. Of the nineteen families dealt with in this volume, we have shown that eight were representing Northamptonshire constituencies in Parliament before 1700; and to these may be added, in later times, Powys, Robinson, and Maunsell.

Of the great period of the English Parliament, the era of 'the Puritan Revolution,' as Mr Gardiner styled it, we have, for this county, interesting glimpses en-

twined with its genealogy. In the Puritan house of Knightley of Fawsley there were three Richards in succession. The first, who sat in four parliaments, left valuable notes, still preserved at Fawsley, of the proceedings in that of 1625. In 1639 this Richard was succeeded, not by his nearest heir-male—a point passed over by Mr Barron—but by a more distant cousin, who was, however, maternally his uncle. According to Mr Barron this second Richard was member for Northamptonshire in '16 Charles I'; but this is an error, for he sat for the county neither in the Short nor in the Long Parliament. Of the election for the former we have a vivid glimpse—priceless for the rarity of such touches—in the diary of a local Puritan, Robert Woodford. In those days county elections resembled manoeuvres of horse. Gentry and freeholders rode to the field in troops, and formed up on the scene of action in two great companies with the rival candidates at their head. Northampton was on this occasion the scene, and Mr Elwes—whom we cannot identify in Mr Barron's pedigree of the family—the Court candidate; John Crewe of Stene, and Sir Gilbert Pickering of Tichmarsh—both of them in later days lords of Cromwell's making—stood for the country party. Peers could at that time take a part in elections that would have gladdened the heart of the late Mr James Lowther. Three Northamptonshire nobles, all Cavaliers as yet, were present on the field; and,

'after the writ was read, the Earl of Northampton, Earl of Westmoreland, Earl of Peterborough, with others, mounted their horses and rode between the companies, calling men to come to Mr Elwes his company; but the company of Mr Crew and Sir Gilbert, who stood near together, was the greatest, so the Lords would go to polling.'

It was agreed, in accordance with a practice of the time, that Mr Crewe should be returned; so Pickering and Elwes fought it out for the second seat, and two days later, 'about two or three o'clock, Sir Gilbert was declared knight of the shire to the joy of harts of gode people.'

The Puritans had triumphed (though the fact, we observe, is obscured by careless printing in the list of county members appended to this volume); and they triumphed again in the autumn of the year, when they

returned to the Long Parliament Sir Gilbert Pickering, with his brother-in-law, Sir John Dryden of Canons Ashby, still the home of his descendants. There is, we believe, preserved there his characteristic letter to his 'uncle,' Richard Knightley (the second)—who was only, in fact, it may be explained, his wife's mother's half-brother—written soon after Parliament met.

'He shall have his prayers, tho' he [Dryden] cannot be so serviceable either to him or the country that hath set him [Dryden] in that place of trust. He can only bring straw or stubble to that great work. God be praised, here want not skilful agents for this great work; it hitherto goeth on fast. . . . The walls go up fast, tho' they cannot be suddenly finished,' etc.

We take it that the uncle of 'glorious John' was speaking of that New Jerusalem which a reforming Parliament occasionally proposes to erect in this pleasant land.

As for Richard Knightley the third, he represented Northampton borough in both the Short and the Long Parliaments, and was chosen between the two to ride to the King at York with the grievances of his county in his pocket. A son-in-law of John Hampden, he was heart and soul for the cause; yet his political career was checkered. It is clear that he acted in conjunction with John Crewe, then member for Brackley. Together these ardent champions of the Parliament objected to the King's death; together they became in consequence, for awhile, the army's prisoners. Both of them made their peace with Cromwell; both sat in the Council of State on the eve of the King's restoration; and both, when that event took place, received their reward. Our conjecture is supported by the fact that, at this very time, there was issued Spelman's 'Historical Sacrilege,' dedicated to them jointly as 'worthy patriots of our county of Northampton.' Richard only lived long enough to enjoy his Knighthood of the Bath at the King's coronation (1661), although Mr Barron, by a luckless slip, marries him to his second wife in the days of James II.

Knightley, however, was not returned at the next election for the county, of which the record is preserved. In 1656 Northamptonshire had to return, not two, but six knights of the shire to Cromwell's second Parliament,



The blue-book containing the returns supplies but a single name, that of Claypole, his daughter's husband. We print, therefore, a striking narrative which supplies the names of all six.

'The freeholders, by the appointment of Major-General Butler, were assembled on Kettering Heath; and, the Sheriff having read the writ, the Major named himself and the five following gentlemen: Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr Crew the younger, the Lord Cleypole, James Langham, Esq., and Major Blake. Having first named Sir Gilbert, he rode round the heath with a party of his own, crying "*a Pickering! a Pickering!*" and, coming to the Sheriff, ordered him to set him down as duly elected. The other five [*sic*] were successively returned in the same manner. At the same time Colonel Benson, with a large body of electors, was on the heath, and proposed, without any notice being taken of his nomination, Mr Knightley and other considerable gentlemen of the county.'

It is a singular fact that the last paragraphs of the last chapter of his work which the great historian of the Puritan Revolution was spared to finish dealt with the elections to this Parliament, and with the question of the influence which Cromwell's major-generals exercised upon them. We cannot doubt that had he known of this remarkable narrative he would have eagerly availed himself of its evidence, which would have modified, at least for this district, the conclusion at which he arrived.

We have been led to touch on the political aspect of the history of our landed aristocracy because it is one of considerable importance and is apt to be overlooked. Even Mr Barron—who presents in himself a combination perhaps unique, being unsurpassed as a genealogist and possessing a brilliant style—has failed, we think, to do full justice to all the interesting aspects of his theme. A genealogist *pur sang*, he is apt to forget that the mere accumulation of proofs, facts, and dates, although precisely what is needed by the peerage lawyer, is apt to make a weary maze for all but those who are as fascinated by the construction of a pedigree as himself. The publication of manuscript evidence in public and in private custody has proceeded so rapidly of late years that the writer of family history is now in a position to avail himself of a great mass of illustrative material formerly inaccessible, or at least difficult to obtain. We have

already made some use of it in speaking of Northamptonshire elections, and we propose to do so further in dealing with the family history in this volume.

To those who might expect to find Northamptonshire still rich in ancient houses, and even more to those whom novelists have taught to look on families seated on the lands they acquired at the Norman Conquest as of no unusual occurrence, it may come as a shock to learn that only nineteen of its families possess the modest qualification required for admission, and that of these only one can show a connexion with the county so far back even as the thirteenth century.

For the origin of our oldest houses we have in most cases to turn, not to that mythical Battle Roll which is still fondly believed to have been compiled at the Conquest, but to the return of knightly tenants which dates from just a century after William's landing. One Northamptonshire family, that of the Wakes, has a clear pedigree beyond it, and traces, moreover, not to a knightly, but to a baronial founder. Their true beginnings, hitherto obscured by one of those silly fictions over which Mr Freeman made merry, are here clearly established; and the father of Hugh Wac, the baron of Stephen's reign, is discovered in a Guernsey *seigneur*. Marrying heiresses in every generation, his descendants steadily rose in wealth and position till the death of the last Lord Wake of Liddell, in 1349, childless. The broad lands of Liddell had been brought to Hugh Wake of Bourne, in 1229, by his wife, Joan de Stuteville, who is here seen on her seal, her shield uplifted in her hand, and presenting by far the earliest instance of a lady riding side-saddle.

The Wakes of Courteenhall are but cadets of cadets, whom a happy chance has enabled to preserve their ancient name in the county which has known them since the marriage with a Briwere heiress brought Blisworth to their house in 1232. Ardent Royalists though they were, they weathered the Civil Wars; and a kindly fate has enabled them to escape the distressing name of Jones, which the sixth baronet was forced to adopt as the price of succeeding to Courteenhall. The varying fortunes of a fighting house are a fruitful theme for Mr Barron's pen; and their long pedigree enables him to show what modern genealogy can accomplish. A single instance

will illustrate the use that such work as this may possess for the student of historical documents. We have noted among Lord Salisbury's priceless MSS. at Hatfield a confidential letter to Archibald Douglas, in 1596, from 'a poor gentleman living in the country, very desirous to understand the state of the world,' who speaks of the bearer, Robert Wake, and himself as 'grandmother's children,' and writes from Bromham. The Record Office authorities read his name as 'J. Drue'; but it will doubtless occur to the expert that he was 'the righte woorschipfull John Dyve, Esquyer,' as his neighbours termed him, who was then head of the Bedfordshire house of Dyve of Bromham. Reference to Mr Barron's pedigree at once confirms the conjecture by showing us that Robert Wake of Hartwell had for his grandmother a Dyve of Bromham.

We turn to the Knightleys of Fawsley. Here we have one of those cases of which we have spoken above, in which a pedigree can be carried back—though not in this case perhaps with absolute certainty—to the returns of 1166. The family derived its name from Knightley in Staffordshire, their earliest lordship; and Fawsley did not become their seat till 'within a year of Agincourt field.' But the Knightleys grew to be a power in Northamptonshire, where Fawsley descended in turn to successive branches of their race, involving a tangle of pedigree that tests a genealogist to the utmost. Like the Tichbornes in Hampshire, they numbered among them ardent Puritans and stubborn recusants. As Mr Barron duly reminds us,

'in the autumn of 1588 "Martin Mar-Prelate" set up his travelling printing-press in a garret at Fawsley, where was printed the "Epitome" . . . followed by a broadside sheet of abuse aimed at the reverend bishops. Whilst this work was going forward in the garret, Master Penry, for the allaying of suspicion amongst curious malignants, walked in Fawsley Park clad as a gay gallant with a long sword, a hat of the fashion, and a broad, sky-coloured cloak with a collar of gold and silver and silk lace. It may be that the sour fanatic did not carry these Babylonish garments with a convincing swagger, for curious eyes pried into the garret. The press was borne away to Sir Richard's house at Norton and thence out of Northamptonshire; but it had left a trail of evidence; and Sir Richard Knightley made an unwilling appearance

before the Court of Star Chamber, and was only rescued from the clutches of that tribunal by the generous aid of Archbishop Whitgift, who had been a chief mark for Mar-Prelate's shot.'

Yet the recusant branch of the house, descended from Sir Richard's brother, produced but a century later in Alexander Knightley a Jacobite plotter, to whom we have detected a reference in a letter from Queen Mary (of Modena) among the Stuart papers at Windsor. To Sir John Knightley she writes that 'she will take it very kindly if he continues his good intentions of making his heir a gentleman of his name and family who serves in the regiment called hers, and for whom she has a particular good will and liking.' The coveted estate did not come to Alexander, for Sir John abandoned the Roman faith in 1688 and left him but 200*l*. Lying under sentence of death in Newgate in 1696, he lived to become (as we learn from the Stuart papers) a gentleman of the privy-chamber to the Old Pretender ten years later.

The Knightleys were among those English houses which 'left their dead about the world.' Two are said to have fallen at Tangier in a gallant sally on the Moors; Richard Knightley, whose end Mr Barron cannot tell us, died, we think, of the plague in Surinam (1668); his brother is said to have fallen in the wars in Flanders; while Valentine, of another branch, died at Masulipatam before the century had closed. Far different was the last resting-place of their forefather, Sir Richard Knightley, who died at the crisis of the eighth Henry's breach with Rome.

'Upon a noble tomb at Fawsley he and his wife Joan Skenard lie carven in alabaster—the knight in his plates, his head upon a crested helm, with a collar of eses about his neck. His tabard and the lady's long mantle are splendid with quarterings of arms, and in panels at the side of the tomb stand their children, amongst whom we see Edmund Knightley in his serjeant's robes.'

Of this 'splendid tomb . . . the most magnificent and beautiful of all the monuments of the house,' a singularly exquisite illustration adorns this stately volume.

Edmund Knightley married a Vere, the daughter of an Earl of Oxford; and, when he came to dwell in the seat

of his fathers, 'he is said to have finished the work upon the great hall at Fawsley, where his arms are in the window, supported by the blue boar of Vere and the golden falcon of the Skenards.' Lawyer that he was, he took a hand in the dissolving of religious houses, and made 'a Star-chamber matter' of it when his brother-in-law, Sir William Spencer, came upon him in Cheapside,

'in riotous manner, with six or seven persones with him, having their swordes and bucklers in their handes redi to fight . . . the said Sir William Spencer, laying his hande upon his dagger, and saying thies wordes: "Edmund Knightley, what communicacion hast thou had with the Busschopp of Lincoln concerning my vicious living?" . . . And therewith the said Sir William said to your said suppliant thies wordes: "Thou art a knave, a precious knave, and a wretche,"' etc.

The Spencers, as Mr Barron observes, were 'then rapidly become a ruling house on the country-side,' although their rise from the ranks of the great sheep-farmers of the Midlands had been but a recent business compared with the origin of the Knightleys.

Few, perhaps, are aware that, though the Spencers have now been seated for four centuries at Althorp, it is not there, but at Blenheim, that their heir-male is to be found. When Charles Spencer, the head of the house, who held the earldom of Sunderland and barony of Spencer, succeeded, through his mother, to the dukedom of Marlborough in 1733, he made over the Spencer estates to his younger brother, John, the ancestor of the Earls Spencer. His marriage with a Trevor the year before had so enraged their grandmother, old Duchess Sarah, that, writes Harbin to Lord Oxford, 'she has forbid Mr Spencer, upon her blessing, to come near his brother; but, finding he has no more duty for her than the earl (has), she has told him his doom.' That 'doom,' however, was averted by John Spencer, though the Duchess, 'the best hater of her time,' exacted from him a grievous sacrifice as the price of her favour. In 1744 he made, as Mr Barron tells us, a will, bequeathing to William Pitt the reversion of the Spencer estates. Why he made it we are not told; but we are admitted behind the scenes by a letter from that Lady Bolingbroke, *née* Des Champs de Marsilly, whose exquisite portrait by Nattier was sold not long ago at Christie's.

'Vous aurez sceu aussy que Mr Spenser a fait un testament que sa grande mère lavait obligé de faire out il laisse le bien de Sunderlan à Mr Pitt en cas de la mort de son fils. On avait dit quil avoit fait un codicil a Bathe pour changer ce testament, dont M. Sherterfield [Lord Chesterfield] est un des executeurs, mais come ce codicil na pas encore paru peuestre nen a til pas fait, et il le peut quun jour Mr Pitt se trouve avec 9 ou 10 mille livres de rente. Voila, ma chère contess, les jeux de la fortune et le comble de liniquité de cette vieille Malboroug, qui fait oster aux Spencers cadets le bien de leur famille, car quand à celui quelle avoit acumulé elle pouvoit sen croire la mattresse. Le patriotisme est une belle chose quand il rend bien, car on le peu quitter ensuite quand on veut pour quelque autre recolte.'

Within a few months the tartar Duchess bequeathed to Pitt, by her own will, 10,000*l.* for 'the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country,' and made her grandson the heir to the residue of her vast fortune, forbidding him to accept any office but that of ranger of Windsor Park. Less than two years later, Horace Walpole wrote:

'Jack Spencer, old Marlborough's grandson and heir, is dead at the age of six or seven and thirty, and in possession of near 30,000*l.* a year, merely because he would not be abridged of those invaluable blessings of an English subject—brandy, small beer, and tobacco.'

A portrait of him shooting over dogs, with his boy by his side, is reproduced in the volume.

As the earlier Spencer history is to appear under 'Oxfordshire,' on the ground that Blenheim is the seat of their present head, and as the Ellesme Egertons are to be treated of, not under 'Northamptonshire'—where Brackley gives name to their viscounty, and was formerly their pocket-borough—but under 'Lancashire,' which contains their 'principal seat,' it would *a fortiori* be expected that Lord Northampton's family would be dealt with in this volume in virtue of their tenure of Castle Ashby, which has long been their chief seat. Inconsistently, however, as it seems to us, they are to be treated as a Warwickshire family because their older home, from which they derive their name, is found at Compton Wynyates. Northamptonshire thus loses the tale of a noble house which has

long played a part in its history. The eighth earl, we believe, was one of its three magnates who did their best to wreck their fortunes over one of those eighteenth century elections which left their scars on our landed houses; nor did he ever recover from its effects. 'The Northampton election,' wrote George Selwyn, 'will cost God knows what.' In contrast with the Comptons, the house of Fitzwilliam will be dealt with, not under Milton, which still gives them their courtesy title and has been theirs for more than four centuries, but under Wentworth House, in Yorkshire, that vast mansion which they did not inherit till 1782. This obscures the interesting fact that, in spite of its long pedigree, the family was founded, as it were, anew by Alderman Fitzwilliam, who purchased Milton and other estates with the wealth he had acquired in the City. As with Althorp, it has now become, though only for half a century, the seat of a cadet branch.

'For those,' writes Mr Barron, 'who would study the sociology of our great landed houses, it may be of interest to point to the large part played in Northamptonshire, as elsewhere, by the practice of the law, that maker of English nobility and begetter of ancestral fortunes.' We think that he is disposed to exaggerate the proportion of territorial families founded by successful lawyers, although the belief that it was large is of old standing. The acquisition of the Milton estate reminds us how large a part London aldermen and merchants have played in the foundation, if not of families, at least of their wealth and possessions. Even the one essentially feudal house in the county, the Wakes of Courteenhall, owe their seat and estate to their descent from a London merchant, Isaac Jones. But the cases of Isham, Robinson, and Langham are more directly to the point; and with these three families of baronets we now proceed to deal.

The Ishams, who derived their name from the parish of that name in the county, first meet us, about the end of the fourteenth century, at Pytchley, its neighbour; but we agree with Mr Barron in thinking it probable that they descended from the old lords of Isham, in which case their connexion with Northamptonshire would be older than that of any family in the volume. Yet Lamport, the present seat of the house, was acquired by John Isham, who, like his brothers Gregory and Henry, became a

citizen and mercer of London in the days of the sixth Edward. In many ways of singular interest, the Ishams are probably better known for their ancestral raiment at South Kensington than for the interesting library at Lamport, or for those curious chronicles which led Mr Walter Rye to say that, in all probability, 'no family in England has more ample and minute materials for its history.' That even the vicissitudes of the English Church may at times have light thrown on them by the study of genealogy is shown by the case of Robert Isham, a brother of the three London merchants and a chaplain to Queen Mary. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he lost his stall as a canon of Peterborough, but contrived, we find, to retain the family living of Pytchley, dying a well-to-do parson thereof in 1564.

A genuine connexion with New England is always interesting to trace; and one welcomes, therefore, Mr Barron's proof that Henry Isham, a great-grandson of Gregory, 'left England for Virginia, and through his daughters . . . his blood runs in the veins of many of the old families of the south.' But Americans will detect another connexion, to which he does not allude. The curious Christian name of Justinian, borne by six of the Lamport baronets, owes its existence to a learned civilian of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whose professional enthusiasm for the author of the Digest must have led him to bestow upon his son the emperor's name. One of this learned man's daughters and co-heiresses married the first baronet of Lamport, and another bore a famous name as the wife of Lawrence Washington.

Mr Barron also seems to have omitted Henry Isham, a younger son of Thomas Isham of Pytchley, who found himself at Algiers, under the emperor's banner, in the days of Henry VIII, and, marrying a Kentish heiress, obtained with her the captaincy of Walmer Castle. Among Lord Burghley's papers is preserved a mysterious letter to their son Edward in 1589, inviting him, as captain of the castle, to betray his trust, 'not doubting of your well-disposed mind towards our Catholic religion, whose predecessors have always been of that ancient Church and faith, as you know,' and hinting that he only conformed 'for policy's sake.' It is significant that we find him a prisoner in the Tower not long afterwards.



Both the Langhams and the Robinsons received their baronetcies in June 1660, the grantees and founders of their respective families being City aldermen. But, although they both assisted the Restoration, Langham belonged, in our opinion, to that middle or Presbyterian party which was so powerful in London, while Sir John Robinson was that *rara avis*, a City Royalist and Anglican. It is a curious illustration of the difference in values in the last two and a half centuries, that at the Restoration baronetcies could be purchased for as little as 400*l.*; though a great merchant like Sir John Langham, whose fine, dignified face looks out at us here squarely above the broad Puritan collar, could clear, it was said, at one stroke 30,000*l.* by cornering the year's currant crop. Another Langham, a London apothecary, purchased the Northamptonshire estate of Arthingworth, still held by his heirs the Rokebys. Mr Barron, we think, is sometimes apt to be so absorbed in his genealogy as to overlook the close connexion between a family's pedigree and its estates. He duly records the interesting fact that the Langhams have impressed their name on a London district through the rise of the 'Langham' hotel on the site of one of their town houses; but he ignores the remarkable succession of Sir James Hay Langham, in 1824, to the Sussex estate of Glyndebourne, at the foot of the Lewes Downs, the home of William Hay, poet, politician, and philosopher, in virtue of his ancestor's marriage with Martha, daughter of Herbert Hay, so far back as 1666. On his succeeding to Cottesbrooke, the seat of his house since 1639, Glyndebourne passed to the Langham Christies; but the old alliance is commemorated in the name of the twelfth baronet, Sir Herbert Hay Langham.

The most striking fact perhaps in the Robinson pedigree is that which is similarly commemorated in the name of the present baronet, the fact that the mother of the founder of their house was a half-sister of Archbishop Laud, that unhappy man of whom we have heard Professor Gardiner say, with deep insight, that but for him there would probably have been no Civil War. The genealogist here brings to light that prelate's *amazing* nepotism, a feature in his character perhaps hitherto unsuspected. Mr Barron, however, has confused, we

think, his pluralist nephew, Dr Cottesford, with his father. He appears also to be unaware of the very interesting glimpse of Sir John Robinson to be found in the autobiography of Sir John Bramston. Bramston and his father, who were strong churchmen, had, under the Commonwealth, sought in vain for a minister to their taste in the City, till, entering the now vanished church of St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, he found to his surprise that Robinson, its churchwarden, had installed there 'Mr Farrington, that excellent scholar and orthodox preacher,' the ejected vicar of Bray. Here, again, we have a sidelight on the history of the English Church. Bramston adds that he knew Robinson as having been apprenticed before the war to Mr Marsham (of Lord Romney's family), who had gone to join the King, and in whose house he was living. It is more to Mr Barron's taste that Pepys, after drinking with Sir John, described him as a 'bragging bufflehead,' though he was 'mightily pleased' with his wife, a 'comely, big woman.'

We have been led to speak of the great part played by City aldermen in the founding of landed houses; but far different was the origin of the three families in this volume who have attained the higher honours in the peerage—those of Fane, Earls of Westmorland, Cecil, Marquises of Exeter, and FitzRoy, Dukes of Grafton. As the elder, though the less known line of the Cecils, the lords of Burghley are traced by Mr Barron to their beginning, a beginning which, since the time of the great Burghley himself, has vexed the souls of genealogists. His conclusions are directly opposed to those of a recent work on the subject, for he definitely adopts the theory of Welsh origin. To those who know that, as a Christian name, Seisil had been not infrequent in Wales, it will seem probable enough that Altt yr Ynys on the Welsh March was the cradle of the famous house. But, before the days of Burghley's grandfather, old David Cecil, the pedigree was quite conjectural. Mr Barron does not touch on the curious Cecil crest, and its alleged derivation from the Winstons, remote ancestors of the house; nor does he mention the heraldry with which the founder of Burghley adorned the vaulting of its western entrance in 1585-7. But the statesman who had gained wealth and

fame hungered for ancestral coats; and those were the great days, not of heraldry, but of heralds. 'Darye Sessell' was a yeoman of the guard, we learn, under Henry VII, and, as such, received at Henry's funeral (1509) a livery of black cloth. But he and his offspring rose steadily in the sunshine of royal favour; and, when two earldoms were bestowed upon his house less than a century later (1605, 1606), they bore the stately and historic styles of Salisbury and Exeter. We may add that a letter preserved at Belvoir dates the marriage to which it refers more closely than is here done, when, on December 3, 1610, the writer states it as 'most sure that the Erle of Exeter is newly married to the young fayre Lady Smythe, the widow of Sir Thomas Smythe.'

If the origin of the Cecils was a thorny question, that of the Fanes (and Vanes) gave Mr Barron his chance. Those who have visited Battle Abbey may have noticed in the windows of its banquetting-hall armorial coats depicting the descent of a former owner, the Duke of Cleveland. Had not the Vanes, of whom he came, a 'pedigree, as set forth and prepared by the heralds of the realm,' from Howel ap Vane, a Welsh noble of days before the Conquest? Were there not, in Mr Barron's words, 'rolls of ancestry beautiful with illuminated shields and attested by the signatures of officers of arms?' Nay, when one of the Fane family set himself, some years ago, 'to test the authenticity of the Fane pedigree as given in the "Heralds' Visitations of Kent," preserved at the College of Arms, by the light of contemporary records,' and found it 'constantly incorrect,' was not an assistant of York herald (now Garter King-at-arms) shocked at any one rashly daring to question 'the genuineness of the pedigree registered by a herald acting under royal commission'? But the day for such language has passed away; and the pedigree which converted a yeoman of Kent into a Welsh gentleman of ancient lineage has but short shrift at Mr Barron's hands. The Fanes have a goodly origin.

'A knight of Cales,  
A gentleman of Wales,  
And a laird of the north countree,  
A yeoman of Kent,  
With his yearly rent,  
Can buy them up all three,'

Who now remembers 'the Greycoats of Kent'? Yet they were still a power in the land when George the First was king, as the Kentish squires knew to their cost, for the yeoman vote turned the scale at a poll for knights of the shire. 'These were they that in times past made all France afraid.'

So we start with Henry a Vane, chamberlain at Tonbridge to the Earl of Stafford in 1437. In Mr Barron's words:

'This yeoman of Kent, of humble place, and with no known ancestry at his back, was an ancestor indeed, the founder of a family which saved, and fought, and married its way to the first rank in England. From the loins of Harry Vane came Fanes, Earls of Westmorland, Lords Le Despenser and Burghersh; Vanes, Dukes of Cleveland . . . Viscounts Fane of Loughgur and Viscounts Vane; Vanes and Fanes, baronets and knights of the Garter and the Bath; Vanes and Fanes, Puritans and Cavaliers, soldiers and sailors, diplomatists and conspirators, dramatists and divines.'

Yet Henry's eldest son, John, is always styled a yeoman; nor was it till the day when it rained pedigrees that Cooke, Clarenceux, bestowed on him a fitting ancestral rank.

In Mr Barron's spirited sketch of the family history no allusion is made to the Jacobite tendencies of the house. The memoirs of the sixth Earl indeed lay stress on his father's support of the 'Glorious Revolution,' and on the favour that he and his brother had expected, and to some extent received, from King William in consequence. But then his mother was a City heiress, a Rachel, the daughter of a Judith, names which suggest the character of the views she must have held, and apparently impressed upon her husband, whose gross, jolly face looks out bluffly from the canvas, between his wig and his cravat. Far different had been the marriage, the second marriage, of the third Earl, the writer's uncle. His wife was a Brudenell of Deane, of a great Northamptonshire house, whose father and grandfather, Earls of Cardigan, were Cavaliers heart and soul, and recusants to boot. When Charles was planning his escape from Carisbrooke Castle, it was her father who had supplied the money for the attempt; and to her grandfather he had written from within his prison walls.

'BRUDNELL,—Your doing that Courtoisie for me w<sup>h</sup> this Noble Lady will tell you of, who will deliver you this, I doe heerby promis you, as soone as I have a greate Seale in my owen Power, to confer upon you the Tytle & Honnor of an Earle of this Kingdome; wherefor I hope you will take & trust to this my word; presently performing that w<sup>h</sup> I am made belive you will doe for me: So I rest your most assured Friend.'

It was she herself (not, as might be thought, the wife of the sixth Earl) of whom the Old Pretender wrote to Bolingbroke, August 23, 1715:

'Some months ago Lady Westmorland writt the good dispositions her nephew (the Duke of Shrewsbury) was in, and on that I writt a letter to that Lady to be shewd to him, but the whole was only in general terms. . . . This particular of Lady Westm[orland] is only to your self and Charles, because I believe that Lady would be very cautious of the secret of what her nephew may have said to her.'

Shrewsbury was a son of her infamous sister the 'wanton Shrewsbury' of Pope.

Whether the old Countess infected with the Jacobite leaven her husband's nephew the seventh Earl, or not, it was partly for his Jacobite sympathies that Oxford made him its Chancellor at the close of George the Second's reign; and the Young Pretender himself alleged that when he visited London in 1750, Lord Westmorland was among the friends who assembled secretly in Pall Mall to meet him. It is only fair to Mr Barron to say that not even the 'Dictionary of National Biography' knows anything of this episode in the Earl's career.

The FitzRoys, Dukes of Grafton, are dealt with in this volume because the honour of Grafton, from which their title is derived, was part of the immense provision made by Charles for their founder, one of his sons by Duchess Barbara the notorious, of whom Dugdale brought himself to write that, 'as in former times the raising of eminent women to great titles of honour hath not been unusual in this realm, in pursuance, therefore, of those so laudable examples,' this 'Barbara, by reason of her noble descent from divers worthy ancestors, and her father's death in his Majesties army, as also in respect of her own personal vertues,' was created Duchess of Cleveland!

But the chief seat of the house is at Euston, 'on the decoys and orange-gardens and interminable conservatories' of which Lord Arlington, in Macaulay's words, 'lavished his ill-gotten wealth,' and which came with his child-heiress to the first Duke of Grafton. To the pageant of his soldier's life, as it glitters in Mr Barron's hands, we are tempted to add a quaint touch from a letter of John Methuen, who wrote from Lisbon that 'the convents are kept stricter in consequence, it is said, of the Duke of Grafton and some companions. The nuns can only be seen through two gratings, nine feet apart, which they opposed by law-suits and violence.'

Of Northamptonshire houses which undoubtedly rose and acquired estates by the practice of the law, those of Cartwright of Aynhoe, Powys, Lord Lilford, and Willes of Astrop are the best examples. The Cartwrights, whose family portraits supply some fine illustrations, were founded by a barrister who purchased Aynhoe in 1615, having, though of undistinguished birth, acquired a great fortune, as is shown by his son's wealth. The Maunsell who purchased Thorpe Malsor in 1622 was also at the Bar, as were his father and brother; but the family had been landowners previously for many generations in Bucks. The Palmers of Carlton, who have been seated there for nearly five centuries—the longest continuous tenure in the male line in the county—produced an attorney-general under Charles II; but Carlton came to them by marriage. It is probable, no doubt, that the purchase of Brockhall, in 1625, by a Thornton was the fruit of his labours at the Bar; but we think that in Northamptonshire the proportion of families so founded is above the average.

The other families specially dealt with are Dryden of Canons Ashby, Rokeby of Arthingworth (of old north-country stock), Young of Orlingbury (of Worcestershire origin), and Cary-Elwes of Great Billing, the last-named of which did not settle in the county till the end of the eighteenth century.

We are given, under Dryden of Canons Ashby, an exceptionally full account of the family of Page-Turner, to which they belong by male descent, and an interesting portrait of Sir Gregory Page-Turner, who added the name and arms of Page to those of Turner on succeeding to Sir Gregory Page's estate. But there is no description of

the splendid seat which came to him with that inheritance. Sir Gregory, the son (we have seen it stated) of a Greenwich brewer, was like his son-in-law, Sir Edward Turner, an East India director, a new-made baronet, and a man of vast wealth. Buying Wricklesmarsh, the grounds of which extended from Blackheath right to the Eltham Road, in 1721, he set himself at once to build what, in Defoe's words, 'will be a more magnificent work than any private gentleman's seat in this part of Great Britain.' In eleven months the pile was raised; and the 'palace' was quickly filled by its owner with what our forefathers deemed the masterpieces of art. When Arthur Young visited the house in 1767, his bucolic soul revelled in the grossness of the early Georgian taste. The City magnate had filled his dressing-room with pictures such as greeted Christopher Sly when he opened his eyes in the lord's chamber; and the agriculturist found them 'worthy of a month's incessant admiration,' and 'the females capitally plump.' Collectors should note that he also observed 'a beautiful collection of ornamental Dresden and Chelsea porcellane (*sic*) scattered about the house.' The end of Wricklesmarsh and its glories came quickly enough; in 1782 the Page-Turners parted with that 'very magnificent structure'; and three years later it was sold for building materials and the stately grounds broken up.

Blenheim was but one of the 'heavy loads' that Vanbrugh and his fellows laid upon the earth; noble and *nouveau riche* were building on a mighty scale. 'The house,' wrote Horace Walpole of Sir Gregory's mansion, 'is magnificent, but wounded me; it was built on the model of Houghton.' At Wanstead in Essex, there had risen, shortly before, that 'magnificent palace' on which was lavished the wealth acquired in the City by the Childs, and which—the wonder of London, and one of the sights of England—became, early in the last century, the victim of profligate extravagance. Levelled, like Wricklesmarsh, to the ground, its existence is now but a tradition, and its site a people's park.

The vast wealth of the Turners was acquired by them as City merchants; and the Elwes' fortune was founded by a City alderman in the days of James I. The attitude of the landed aristocracy to trade, and the history of class distinctions, is far too wide and difficult a question to

discuss in the space remaining to us. But there was clearly a great change between the beginning and the end of the eighteenth century, several causes uniting to widen the gulf between the gentleman and the shopkeeper, and to make the practice of apprenticing cadets not only obsolete, but as completely forgotten as if it had never existed. Lecky, writing on this century, observed that 'it was noticed, as a remarkable sign of the democratic spirit that followed the Commonwealth, that country gentlemen in England had begun to bind their sons as apprentices to merchants'—for which he cites the old authority of Hume, and quotes from Pope's 'Moral Essays':

'Boastful and rough, your first son is a squire,  
The next a tradesman meek, and much a liar.'

But there were apprentices and apprentices; and, although the statement quoted by Lecky from a pamphlet of 1722—that 'now the greatest gentlemen affect to make their junior sons Turkey merchants'—is supported by letters (which we have seen) so early as 1683, relating to a son of Lord Castleton, a nephew of Lord Fauconberg, Pope's tradesman, the shopkeeping cadet whom the 'Tatler' describes in 1709 is on quite another footing. Hume, moreover, we find, only cited Clarendon; nor have we been able to verify the quotation. But there has lately come to light a very curious paper, written by a peer's brother in 1657, which bears directly on the question. The author complains that

'nothing argues the ill-breeding of our gentlemen so much as the low employments they betake themselves to as not knowing themselves fitt for higher ones. To be apprentices in a shop, sitt barehead, sweep the shop and streets, is the life of thousands. To serve noblemen in most unnoble offices . . . is the ordinary course of gentlemen in England, wilst in other countreys they goe to the warres and scorne to sitt in a shop or wate upon any one.'

In Gascony at least, that home of an ancient landed aristocracy, the cadet, as M. Rostand reminds us, looked for his living to his sword.

So far as we have been able to judge from this Northamptonshire volume, the younger sons who were sent to



make their fortunes in London were rather those of the smaller gentry, or of men who were themselves cadets, than those of substantial squires. And this accords with what Sir Robert Naunton says in his 'Fragmenta Regalia' when, speaking of the Tudor period, he tells us of one who was 'exposed and sent to the citie, as poor gentleman use to do their sons, and became a rich man on London Bridge.' Those who remember the feelings of Sir Roger de Coverley on the subject, or who have met, in the 'Spectator,' with that 'old country gentleman' whose heart went pit-a-pat when he discovered 'an alderman of London' in his pedigree, and who wished to cut off the 'merchant-taylor perched on a bough' thereof, know that the contempt for trade felt by the country gentry is far older and more deeply-rooted than Mr Barron imagines. Throughout our history the higgling of the market was held to leave its traces even to the third generation, to exert an influence that could only be purged by a prolonged tenure of landed estate. We observed at the outset that this was the case even so far back as a thousand years ago; and the maxim that 'it takes three generations to make a gentleman' is, as has been seen, as old as the Anglo-Saxon laws. We find Habington, the Worcestershire chronicler, writing of Sir William Courteen—whose daughter married a Knightley of Fawsley—that 'this knight was so famed for his modesty, bounty, and charity to his tenants and neighbours as is scarce to be met with in those new men who purchase gentlemen out of their ancient habitations and manors.' And we heard but the other day the same contrast drawn by a leading tenant-farmer, at a coming-of-age celebration, between the *novi homines* and the squires of old estates.

And now we must take our leave of Northamptonshire halls and manors with a parting glimpse of the county in days when it teemed with gentry. An aroma as of 'Sandford and Merton' hangs about this quaint page from the travels of the Rev. James Brome in the year 1700.

'Nor is there perhaps a county which, within that compass of ground, can show more Noblemen and Gentlemen's seats; for in all the dispersed villages of this country it is observed that there are fixed several bright and coruscant Luminaries shining in this Orb, of whose influence the Peasantry are continually sensible, feeling divers good Effects and enlivening

Operations from their Vicinity. For whilst the Noblemen and Persons of Superior Ranks transplant themselves hither, and fix in this Soil, the Commonalty are quickly invigorated with the warmth which they communicate, whilst all Trades flourish more by those Encouragements they afford them.'

It is a picture that would have charmed Sir Leicester Deadlock, or rather the kindly English gentleman of whom he was the caricature.

On Mr Barron's volume we may congratulate those responsible for its production. Of noble *format* and splendidly printed, its fine portraits and artistic heraldry add no less to its attractiveness than his masterly genealogy to its value. When we turn from such a work to Burke's 'Landed Gentry,' the contrast is sharp indeed. Mr Barron avowedly sets himself to distinguish the old from the newer landed families by adopting a uniform method free from fear or favour; 'Burke,' it is hardly too much to say, devotes itself, on the contrary, to confusing the newer with the older families by narratives which at least suggest, for the former, pedigrees and a landed status remote from actual fact. We do not of course imply that the pedigrees are mere fiction; but the expert can detect generations of humble and obscure individuals where the general reader would only see pedigrees resembling those of an ancient house of squires. 'Jeames de la Pluche' may marry the cook (we have in mind an actual case), but he and his parents might be people of position, if we were to judge from 'Burke.' Where this method cannot be employed, it is always possible to invoke 'tradition.' A family, for instance, which begins its pedigree no earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, 'claims descent by tradition from a race of independent Kentish yeomen of Saxon times.'

The complaint is sometimes made, and we think justly made, that the really old families in 'Burke' are quite eclipsed by the splendour of those which have lately risen. Less than a generation ago the pedigree of Smith-Carington would here have been vainly sought for. It now fills no less than a page and three-quarters, and is one of the most gorgeous in the volume, conveying the idea of a house with a great position from the Conquest. But its growth has been as rapid as the mushroom's, or perhaps we should say that it has risen from very small

seeds. But after all, our chief complaint against the 'Landed Gentry' is not that its genealogy is misleading, but that it is going from bad to worse as a record of the 'landed' gentry. The class with whom the work professes to deal is thus set forth in an edition published since the death of Sir Bernard Burke:

'Invested with no hereditary titles, but inheriting landed estates, transmitted from generation to generation, in some instances from the periods of the Conquest and the Plantagenets, this class has held, and continues to hold, the foremost place in each county. The tenure of land was, in the olden time, the test of rank and position . . . and even now it remains the same. . . . No pains have been spared in the preparation of this edition. . . . Every available source of information has been exhausted. Each memoir has been carefully revised.'

We turn over these pages, and what do we find? In one home-county a gentleman from the Stock Exchange purchased a house (not a seat) with some thirty acres, and forthwith appeared among the 'landed' gentry with a pedigree of nearly two pages, while such houses as Okeover of Okeover and Scrope of Danby have less than one apiece. In another a landless paper-manufacturer rented a small residence and garden, which enshrined him among what 'Burke' considers the landed gentry; in yet another a country banker, who owned no land, rented in succession two houses, one of them in a town, which 'Burke' entered as his 'seats.' One of them still so figures, though it has another tenant. In Middlesex a family is entered as 'of Hadleigh House,' which proves to be in Highbury New Park, a curious qualification for a landed gentleman. It is needless to extend such a list as this: 'every available source of information' does not, it would seem, include even Kelly's Directories or the return of owners of land. We are told in the latest edition that 'the sale of their estates' excludes families from these pages, yet so carelessly is the work compiled that 'Bullock of Faulkbourne' appears on one page, and 'Parker of Faulkbourne' on another, each family being credited with Faulkbourne Hall as its seat. Since the Bullocks, described as 'now of Faulkbourne,' sold the estate, it has changed hands, we believe, more than once; but some amends is

made to its actual possessors by assigning them a second seat of which they were never the owners. Such is the work of which (to continue our quotation) 'it is confidently hoped' that 'it will be found a reliable authority on the subject of which it treats, and an adequate and faithful record of an influential class.'

If we feel it our duty to speak strongly of its genealogical history, it is because this eleventh and latest edition vaunts, in the usual fashion, 'the very careful revision necessitated by the more precise and critical methods of modern research,' and even glibly speaks of 'the constant increase in our genealogical knowledge.' With great regret we have to say that we find the editors, on the contrary, repeating fables and blunders, even when publicly exposed. The audacity of certain statements is almost past belief. Thus of the Sibthorps we read that,

'in Domesday Book, folio, vol. i, p. 287, are enrolled the names of Robertus de Sibetorp and Willielmus de Sibetorp.'

This statement is simply untrue. The actual words in 'Domesday' are only 'Robertus homo Willelmi,' that is, Robert, a tenant of William (Peverel)! So also, under Bulwer of Heydon (whence Bulwer Lytton), we read that

'the family of Bulwer, of Norman origin, was founded by Tyrus or Turoid de Palling, who was enfeoffed of the lordships of Wood Dalling and Bynham by Peter de Valoins.'

A glance at 'Domesday' is sufficient to show that Peter had enfeoffed no such person at either of these places. 'Tyrus' and 'Turoid' are all the same, doubtless, to the editors of 'Burke'; for, under 'Scudamore,' we still find, in the twelfth century, 'Sir Titus' followed by 'Sir Willcock,' a pedigree one could only expect to find in the pages of 'Punch.' The Beckwiths, we learn, 'originally bore the name of Malebie or Malebisse,' but on marrying, about 1226, a certain 'Dame Beckwith'—who was not, strange to say, the widow of a City knight, but a daughter of Sir William Bruce—agreed to take the name that she so unaccountably bore. Let us hope that they duly registered the change in the College of Arms.

As an example of 'the more precise and critical methods of modern research,' the pedigree of a member of that College is still deduced from 'Sir Reginald de

Lone,' living at a remote period, although it has long been shown that the family derived its name from living 'in the lane' at Wolverhampton at a date considerably later. We may close with an illustration of the 'increase of our genealogical knowledge.' The pedigree of Grimston of Grimston Garth (a genuinely ancient house) formerly began in the days of Stephen; in this edition we find it thus carried to the Conquest:

'Sylvester de Grymestone is recorded by Philpot (*sic*) to have been standard-bearer at Hastings. He did homage for his lands at Grimston and elsewhere in 1067, in which year he was chamberlain to William I.'

The whole paragraph is sheer fiction, and obvious fiction to boot; for Yorkshire had not even been conquered in 1067. Another addition to our knowledge since some earlier edition is found in the extension of the Daubeney pedigree to the days of the Norman Conquest. In it we find the delightful phrase that the family is 'represented on the Rolls of Battle Abbey and of Magna Charta.' Such a phrase would have roused Freeman to peals of Homeric laughter. It is when we find the Battle Roll, 'Philpot,' or the 'records' of the Heralds' College vouched for the period of the Conquest, that we understand why genealogy in England had become the laughing-stock of scholars. For those who are labouring to rescue it from this deplorable position we here raise our voice; we ask that they should receive the encouragement due to those who are fighting a hard battle in the cause of honesty and of truth.

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## Art. XII.—THE REAL NEEDS OF IRELAND.

1. *Ireland in the New Century*. Third edition. By Sir Horace Plunkett. London: Murray, 1905.
2. *The Crisis in Ireland*. By the Earl of Dunraven. London: Chapman and Hall, 1905.
3. *Irish History and the Irish Question*. By Goldwin Smith. Toronto: Morang; London: Jack, 1905.
4. *Devolution in the British Empire*. By the Earl of Dunraven. London: Chapman and Hall, 1906.
5. *Speeches on Devolution*. By the Right Hon. Lord Atkinson. Dublin: The Irish Unionist Alliance.
6. *Modern Ireland and her Agrarian Problem*. By Moritz J. Bonn, Ph.D. London: Murray; Dublin: Hodges and Figgis, 1906.
7. *Report of the Estates Commissioners for Ireland*. Dublin: Ponsonby, 1906.

RECENT events and controversies threaten to plunge Ireland once more into the cauldron of party politics. We regret this deeply, but feel that it furnishes all the more reason for a thoughtful outlook upon Irish affairs. In his much-criticised book on Ireland, Sir Horace Plunkett has described the Irish question as 'a many-sided, deeply-rooted human problem which has baffled generation after generation of a great and virile race, who complacently attribute their incapacity to master it to Irish perversity, and pass on, leaving it unsolved by Anglo-Saxons, and therefore insoluble!' We hope it is not insoluble, even by the Anglo-Saxon; but the problem, as Sir Horace well says, is a human one, many-sided and deeply-rooted; and we feel, for this reason, all the more averse from seeing it made a pawn in any partisan contentions. We agree with Sir Horace Plunkett in thinking the Irish question to be now mainly a question of character, and in believing the economic aspect of the question to be gravely important.

Holding these views, we cannot observe without uneasiness so many signs that the old political passions and contentions are about to surge forth anew, interrupting the quiet progress of economic development which has been going on in Ireland since 1895, the year in which Mr Gerald Balfour took office as Chief Secretary. Regret

this as we may, we nevertheless feel that we cannot ignore present political issues; but, having given those issues their right share of notice, we shall turn towards the more hopeful means whereby the Anglo-Saxon may endeavour to solve the riddle of what Mr Morley once called the Irish sphinx.

The political interest most prominent in many minds just now is the Devolution policy, and the question whether it is to be the basis of the Government's Irish Bill of next year. At the recent general election, Ministers did not very explicitly tell the country what their Irish policy was to be. The Prime Minister's Stirling speech seemed, as Lord Rosebery said, to lift the banner of Home Rule once more. Yet in that speech Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman did not actually mention Home Rule as a policy, though he undoubtedly described a policy which, in its full realisation, would be as much equivalent to Home Rule as twenty shillings are equivalent to a sovereign. He said his desire was 'to see the effective management of Irish affairs in the hands of a representative Irish authority'; and he advised every Nationalist to 'take it in any way he could get it.' Perhaps the following sentence contains the most striking pronouncement of Sir Henry's views on the whole question.

'If an instalment of representative control were offered to Ireland, or any administrative improvement, he would advise the Nationalists thankfully to accept it, provided it was consistent and led up to their larger policy; but, he repeated, it must be consistent with, and lead up to, the larger policy. To secure good administration was one thing, but good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.' ('Times,' November 24, 1905.)

From this we gather that good administration is merely a part of the larger policy, 'government by the people themselves' being evidently the real thing, such government being vested of course in the 'representative Irish authority.' The most remarkable part of this declaration is that everything must be consistent with and lead up to 'the larger policy.' If this does not make Home Rule the final objective, then it cannot mean anything.

On November 27 Sir Edward Grey, speaking at New-

castle-under-Lyme, said 'he thought it was for Liberals to carry on the policy of Mr Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell where the present Government had left off.' Sir Edward also said 'he considered that everybody ought to know that whoever voted for the Liberal party ought to be prepared to see the Liberal Government go on with Sir Antony MacDonnell's policy. Further than that he did not think it would be right to take them.' Speaking on the following day at Wisbech, Mr Asquith 'associated himself entirely and unreservedly with every word that was spoken on Monday night by his friend Sir Edward Grey.' Mr Asquith repeated the phrase 'step by step' in connexion with a policy of endeavouring 'more and more to associate Irish ideas and the Irish people themselves with the management of purely Irish affairs.' Mr Birrell, at Birmingham (Nov. 29), spoke of 'the devolution of local business upon local assemblies,' meaning, evidently, what is called Home Rule all round. Mr Haldane, in a speech at Salisbury (Dec. 1), said, 'There lay to hand a very plain policy.' He then mentioned Sir Antony MacDonnell, and added, 'Let them give him a chance.'

Perhaps this selection of Ministerial declarations will be sufficiently representative of the leanings of that part of the Cabinet which we have most to consider. If we survey them with one glance, the things that stand out are the Premier's declaration that everything 'must lead up to the larger policy,' and the Grey-Asquith-Haldane pronouncements in favour of Sir Antony MacDonnell's policy. The link between the Premier and the Liberal Imperialists is that the former used the word 'instalment,' and Sir Edward Grey and Mr Asquith said 'step by step.' The various pronouncements are apparently consistent with the harmonious co-operation of their makers during the present Parliament. As even Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman himself does not want Home Rule immediately, it seems to us that the 'step-by-step' line of advance and 'the policy of Sir Antony MacDonnell' are evidently conceived to be much the same thing—a circumstance which renders it necessary to consider the latter.

The difficult question for us is, What is Sir Antony MacDonnell's policy? Nobody seems to know this with certitude; and Sir Antony himself, in a recent speech in



Dublin, said he was not entitled to tell his audience the grounds upon which the 'message of hope' which he wished to convey to them was based ; but, he added,

'his firm belief was that the coming year 1907 would see the fruition of many of those hopes which the best Irishmen had for many years entertained. It might not be the fruition of everything which Irishmen had hoped for, but it would be, he believed, the fruition of so much that Irishmen, if they were true to themselves, would make the fountain and the source from which the whole of their hopes might be fulfilled.'

These words are vague, but they certainly foreshadow large legislation for Ireland next year, and they seem also to agree with the 'step-by-step' or 'instalment' policy. The only direction in which we can turn for light as to what Sir Antony MacDonnell's policy is, or may be, is that indicated by Sir Edward Grey's phrase about 'carrying on the policy of Mr Wyndham and Sir Antony MacDonnell where the late Government had left off.' Rightly or wrongly, this is supposed to mean Devolution ; and, in the absence of any better guide to Sir Antony MacDonnell's intentions, we shall consider the policy commonly known as Devolution. It is in any case desirable to discuss Devolution here as one of the policies competitive with Home Rule.

The Devolution policy, in its present form, originated with the Irish Reform Association, a body of Irish country gentlemen, whose president is the Earl of Dunraven. Lord Dunraven has various claims to fame. In 1896 he strove for the America Cup with his yacht 'Valkyrie' ; as chairman of the Irish Land Conference of 1902 he sought to establish such an understanding between landlord and tenant interests in Ireland as would further the policy of land purchase. He failed in the first object ; he succeeded, after a fashion, in the second. The Land Act of 1903 is the result of the Land Conference, which charmed the British taxpayer into providing twelve millions sterling as a golden bridge between what Irish tenants offered and Irish landlords asked. Flushed with so much success, Lord Dunraven ventured into greater fields. His Land Conference represented a compromise of agrarian interests ; his Devolution policy is meant to effect a compromise of political claims ; but in this case

there is no golden bridge. Devolution is a policy, and also a plan or scheme. We shall examine both.

In his pamphlet on 'Devolution in the British Empire,' Lord Dunraven quotes from Mr Chamberlain's manifesto of June 11, 1886, a passage which states that one of the objects which Liberal Unionists must keep in view is 'to relieve the Imperial Parliament by devolution of Irish local business, and to set it free for other and more important work.' This passage sufficiently defines the policy and its object, and indicates its prime origin. Lord Dunraven proceeds to argue that the British Empire is practically carried on by devolution; and he illustrates his theme by instances drawn from all parts of the British Empire, from Jersey to Quebec, and from the Isle of Man to Australia. He analyses the constitutional fabric of the Channel Islands with much gravity. 'Each island possesses a legislature of its own, known as the "States," and each of these assemblies is presided over by a bailiff, who is a nominee of the Crown.' If Lord Dunraven knows as much of Ireland as he appears to know of Jersey, he must be aware that a bailiff is not a very popular person in the larger island—not even one 'who is a nominee of the Crown.' Of course we know that the Jersey bailiff is a quite different sort of dignitary from the kind known in Clare. But what of that? Who cares how Jersey is governed? There has never yet been a general election fought on the question, and we doubt if there ever will be.

The same remark applies to some of Lord Dunraven's other 'modern instances.' He gives nearly two pages to Devolution in the Isle of Man. To what purpose? The Strand never resounds with a 'stop press' on the question of what Tynwald does, or leaves undone; if the House of Keys were to lock itself up in permanent session nobody would be seriously excited about it. The case of French Quebec is a trifle more pertinent, but it is not a parallel. Quebec is homogeneous, both racially and in religion; Ireland is far from being homogeneous, and the same remedy could not be applied. Then there is the Dominion itself. 'Each of the seven provinces forming the Dominion has a separate parliament and administration.' Perhaps so; but as Ireland is not a 'province' of anything, the instance proves nothing. There is not much use in

talking about Nova Scotia, or Alderney, or the Isle of Man, or the Crown Colony of Malta; Ireland stands upon a different footing altogether

As for parallels—which are no parallels—drawn from the Indian Empire, there is no use in looking into them. If Ireland were a settlement, she might be governed like North Borneo or Sarawak; if she were a province of a colony, she might be given a suitable government, or parcelled into homogeneous districts with a suitable government for each. But she has never been looked upon in these lights; and, now that she has shared in wielding the Imperial power for a hundred years, it is too late to look on her in any such lights. Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, wields a power equal in quality with that of England herself; and there is no parallel between a country which has shared in the Imperial power for more than a century and colonies which have never shared in it at all. So much for the parallels by which Lord Dunraven recommends Devolution. It may perhaps be suggested by some Liberal Unionists that, since such statesmen as Mr Chamberlain and the Duke of Devonshire have at one time favoured the devolving or delegating of powers to local bodies as a possible settlement of the Irish question, Devolution of some sort is not an impossibility; but, however this may be, we submit that Lord Dunraven's parallels are absurd.

Coming now to examine the plan of Devolution put forward by Lord Dunraven and his friends, we may say at once that, if he supposes such a scheme will finally satisfy the ruling elements in the Nationalist party, we think he is grossly mistaken. However, let us examine the scheme. In its preparation Lord Dunraven tells us he had the assistance of Sir Antony MacDonnell. We gather that Lord Dunraven and Sir Antony together 'drafted out a rough report'; that the former afterwards 'perfected this to the best of his ability'; and that it was subsequently considered by the Reform Committee 'and amended considerably.' We shall now consider the amended perfections of Lord Dunraven's labours.

The Report proposes (a) 'administrative control over purely Irish finance,' and (b) the devolution of 'certain parliamentary functions connected with local business.' The administrative control is to be vested in a 'Financial

Council,' half elected and half nominated—twenty-four members in all. The elected half is to be elected by groups of county, borough, and parliamentary constituencies—one member from each group; the nominated half is to be nominated by the Crown. One-third of the Council is to retire by rotation at the end of the third year. The votes of the majority should determine the decision of the Council, 'and its decisions should be final, unless revised by the House of Commons on a motion adopted by not less than a one-fourth majority of votes.' 'It would be the duty of the Council to prepare and submit the Irish estimates to Parliament annually.' We are also told that

'the Council should be competent to examine, supervise, and control every item of expenditure . . . to propose such reductions as it considered consistent with the efficiency of the public service, and to apply such reductions and all other savings on the annual estimates to the improvement of the administration and the development of the country's resources.'

As to funds for the Council to work with, it is proposed that the average annual sum now voted for purely Irish services from the Imperial Exchequer (say 6,000,000*l.*) should be assigned for this purpose. We are also told that 'the Council should be entitled to carry forward balances and to meet deficits under one head of expenditure by savings under another. Supplementary estimates would cease to be submitted to Parliament.' It is suggested that the Irish estimates 'might be transmitted through the Treasury Board if for formal reasons this was thought desirable.' It is observed that, 'under the Budget system here contemplated,' all the proposals of the Council as regards reductions and appropriations 'would necessarily come under the cognisance of Parliament, which would afford an adequate safeguard against undue interference with any establishment or service.'

Various criticisms have been passed on this part of the Dunraven scheme. Lord Atkinson, formerly Attorney-General for Ireland, and now a Lord of Appeal, has attacked it on constitutional grounds. He considers it a violation of the principle secured by the Revolution—that money voted by the Commons to the Crown shall be

applied for the specific purposes mentioned in the vote and for none other. To this, no doubt, the Devolutionists would probably reply that their scheme provides that all the proposals of the Financial Council 'would necessarily come under the cognisance of Parliament.' The fact is Parliament would delegate certain of its financial powers to the Council, and yet would have cognisance of all that the Council did, and power to upset its proposals by a one-fourth majority. But Parliament could only vote specific proposals. The 6,000,000*l.*, or other contractual sum indicated in the financial scheme, would remain under the control of the Council. We confess we never heard of such a plan. Parliament and the Council would be equal to the two kings of Brentford. In whom does the power finally abide? In the Council with its 6,000,000*l.* or in the House of Commons? In the end Parliament might say, 'We shall give you 6,000,000*l.* a year, but we shall determine how you shall spend it.' In that case where would the power and usefulness of the Council come in? In any other case what would become of the appropriating power of Parliament? Briefly it comes to this: the scheme is either unworkable or unconstitutional. If it is unworkable, it is of no use; if it is unconstitutional it is inadmissible. Mr Dillon said of the scheme:

'It was absolutely unsatisfactory and unworkable, entirely inconsistent with the well-established principles of free constitutional government; and any attempt to fit it into the English system, as was proposed by its authors, would be utterly impossible.'

We are glad to find ourselves for once in agreement with Mr Dillon. An Advisory Council, with instructions to report on possible reductions of present Irish expenditure and to suggest more useful applications to Irish objects of the sums which could be thus saved, might do some practical service; the Financial Council of the Dunraven scheme is a perfectly impossible body, both as regards its constitution and its powers, to say nothing of its encroachments on the representative rights of the House of Commons. There are numerous flaws in the details of this part of the Devolution scheme; but it is useless to examine them since the whole plan of the Financial Council is neither constitutional nor workable.

The devolution of parliamentary functions is more easily dealt with. The statutory body which the reformers propose would be 'composed of Irish representative peers and members of the House of Commons representing Irish constituencies and of members of the Financial Council.' As to the powers to be delegated to the statutory body, we find Private Bill procedure set down as one head. Under another head we find power to promote Bills for some of the matters 'now dealt with by Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board and the Board of Works.' Again, we notice that the statutory body is to have power 'to promote Bills for purely Irish purposes,' including those of the category last specified. Finally, it is suggested that the statutory body might also deal with 'such other matters' as Parliament might 'in its wisdom' refer to it. How, we ask, would such reference be effected? 'Parliament' means the King, Lords and Commons; would the reference have to be effected by a regular, formal Act? We hardly see how else it could be done; and we think that, by the time the unlucky reference had been dragged through the fiery furnace of debate in both Houses, it would prove to have been just as easy to legislate on the whole matter at once as to 'devolve' it at an equal cost of time and trouble. We note, too, that nothing is said as to what happens to a Bill when it has passed the statutory body. We should like some illumination upon this, to us, not altogether unimportant matter. The omission is like forgetting to put a head upon the statue, and suggests the absence of any 'old parliamentary hand' from the framing of these Devolution proposals.

Now it is precisely this part of the Devolution scheme that interests us most. Is this statutory body to be a legislature, or is it not? If it is, then it is Home Rule; if it is not a legislature, then what is it? The Union cannot stand, as Unionists interpret it, if any second legislature be erected in the United Kingdom. We note that the authors of the Devolution scheme, in assigning Private Bill legislation to the statutory body, make some deceptive references to the Scottish Private Bill Procedure Act. They omit to state that there is no kind of legislature set up in Scotland for the purposes of that Act; nothing but a local tribunal for conducting the enquiries now made by the Private Bill Committees of the House

of Commons. We understand that it was the intention of the late Cabinet to have extended this principle to Ireland in the near future. Lord Atkinson, in criticising the statutory body says :

‘But, having created a local legislature, the authors of the scheme do not trust it. They give it no power over finance, no power over the executive, and no power to impose or collect taxes.’

To this we may add that the presence of nominated members in the Legislature is contrary to all established principles of the English parliamentary system. We do not feel that more need be said in condemnation of this strange hotch-potch of legislative and administrative suggestion commonly called Devolution—a scheme which would obviously place the Irish Government upon an inclined plane, leading inevitably to Home Rule. Not the least of the arguments against it is that nobody has asked for it, and that it will satisfy nobody.

Before passing from these political issues, we feel it necessary to notice another matter. We have seen it suggested that the Bill which the Government intends introducing next year is one establishing some species of elective council for the control of administrative bodies in Ireland, and the co-ordination or amalgamation of many of these bodies. We cannot, of course, criticise a merely rumoured programme; but the rumours lead us to make some remarks having a definite connexion with recent facts. One of the first things the present Government did when it came into power was to appoint a Commission to enquire into the working of the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Now this Department is the only Irish central administrative body which actually exhibits in itself something of one of the plans which the Government is credited with contemplating. The Council of Agriculture and the Agricultural Board and Board of Technical Instruction, which exercise a large control over the Department, are bodies of which two-thirds are popularly elected—a favourable contrast with the 50 per cent. of nominated members on the Dunraven Financial Council. In addition, the Department of Agriculture unites within itself several Government boards which were

formerly separate, while much of its work is carried on co-ordinately with that of several other bodies, notably the Congested Districts Board, and the Board of Intermediate Education. Yet, in deference to an entirely one-sided, sectional clamour, the Government chose to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the working of the only central body in Ireland which really represents a popular devolution of administrative, not legislative, power, and represents also that very principle of co-ordination on which the Dunraven party lays stress.\*

No doubt it may be said that the very fact of the Cabinet contemplating such a policy is the justifying reason for such an enquiry; that it is desirable to see how an existing scheme of elective control is working in order the better to frame further schemes of a like nature. Yet every one knows that it was for no such reason that the Commission of Enquiry was appointed; it was set on foot to please Mr Dillon and the 'Freeman's Journal.' We cannot, of course, anticipate the report of the Commission here; we can only draw attention to the fact that several important witnesses have expressed astonishment at such an enquiry being instituted at all. These gentlemen represented different shades of political and religious opinion in different parts of Ireland; and their evidence, together with the general weight of other testimony, has been of such a nature as to justify the Department of Agriculture as against its critics. The reason of this is not far to seek. The majority of persons best qualified to give evidence consisted of members of those local bodies which have so greatly assisted the operations of the Department; its critics have been mostly men who have stood aloof and have done nothing to help its working, but have preferred to visit its proceedings with abuse, disguised as criticism—sometimes not even so disguised.

Up to the present, the result of the enquiry has been not merely to vindicate the Department, but to show that it enjoys the confidence of the more intelligent and helpful elements in Ireland, whether in Ulster or else-

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\* See 'Ireland in the New Century,' caps. 8, 9, and 10, which fully explain the inception, creation, constitution, and working of the new Department.



where. There were a few isolated explosions of perfectly accountable—and discountable—wrath from interested quarters; a few proprietors of unground axes or unadopted fads spoke sorely; but the general volume of testimony has, so far, been such as to warrant us in saying that, if the Department is to go on enjoying the confidence of Ireland—the Ireland that includes Ulster—it must be so far left alone as not to be made the sport of change, effected as an appeasement of critics whose outlook is from the political platform, not from the economic standpoint. We make these remarks because we are anxious to prevent, if possible, any destructive interference with one of Mr Gerald Balfour's most valuable pieces of Irish legislation. The Department of Agriculture is laying the foundations of the economic future of Ireland; it needs an atmosphere of confidence and quietude for its efficient working; and it is the last institution in Ireland that should be made the subject of political, or semi-political, changes.

Having dwelt with the political issues to which we adverted at the outset, we may now turn towards those more important, albeit less exciting, questions which rise before the mind of every really thoughtful student of the Irish problem. In a country such as Ireland, almost wholly agricultural, the main economic issues will always be agrarian; and upon the right treatment of these all will depend. There are other questions too at which we shall more briefly glance; but our chief present concern must necessarily be with that bundle of related problems which, more conveniently than accurately, are called the land question.

To turn suddenly from the stress of the reigning Irish political topic to these quieter questions may seem to some persons almost gratuitously academic. To us, upon the other hand, the Dunraven proposals which we have just discussed seem academic affairs as compared with such vital, pressing problems as that of the congested districts of the west of Ireland, or the acceleration of land purchase. A sort of Irish 'Duma,' with limited powers and limited financial resources, would be sadly nonplussed when, at its earliest sittings, sheaves of resolutions arrived from local public bodies in the west calling

for the instant treatment of the congestion problem. It is surely better for us to face those questions which neither the Financial Council nor the statutory body could attempt to handle with any hope of success, than to waste further time in discussing Devolution. Our wish is to see the fruitful and constructive line of policy begun by Mr Gerald Balfour in 1895 carried on without a break to its final conclusion. Were this done, Ireland would, we feel confident, become a prosperous and contented country; and the Irish sphinx would devour no more Chief Secretaries for having failed to solve her importunate riddle. The Government itself has not failed to recognise the importance of those problems, and has appointed Commissions to enquire into a number of them. It has already legislated—none too wisely, we think—upon one of them, the labourers question. On this legislation we shall have a few remarks to make presently, but shall in the main pursue the lines of the constructive policy begun in 1895—lines with which the trend of the Government's several Commissions largely coincide.

In appointing a Commission to enquire into the grave problem of rural congestion in Ireland, the Government took a wise step, assuming, as we hope we may, that they really mean to deal comprehensively with the subject when the Report comes in. We say comprehensively, because the problem is a much broader and deeper one than is implied in the misleading term 'congestion.' At least half the holdings in Ireland are very small; some 200,000 of these small holdings are considered to be uneconomic—that is to say, their working profit will not cover the living expenses of the occupier and his family. In the districts scheduled as 'congested' the poverty of the land is not unfrequently a greater evil than the smallness of the holdings. In these cases the balance of the cost of living has to be eked out by wage-labour, by harvesting in England, and by remittances from sons and daughters in America. These poor western folk live upon the brink of starvation; a fortnight's heavy rain may entail the ruin of their potato crop and long months of misery. Bad as things still are along the impoverished western seaboard, they were worse seventy years ago. The crowded squalor of the mud-cabins in the pre-famine era was the concomitant of

indescribable poverty; the swarming sties of those days were swept by wave upon wave of typhus. Then came the dreadful famine of 1846-47. Peel tried, with some success, to alleviate its earlier stages; Russell and the Whigs bungled the rest of it. Hosts of people died of fever, inanition, and sheer hunger—hundreds of thousands in all. Vast emigrations followed; nevertheless, so great had the population of western Ireland been, that even to-day it has not been brought down to anything even resembling an economic figure.

The prime origin of the congestion in the west of Ireland was a bad and neglectful system of landlordism, helped, no doubt, by political causes, and a tenacious perseverance of old tribal habit. The famine shattered the whole economic system of western Ireland; and the bankrupt landlords had neither the means nor the intelligence to reconstruct the frame of things. They were cleared out under the Encumbered Estates Act—a drastic piece of legislation; and their places were taken by speculative buyers from many quarters, men whose whole concern was not how to succour the hapless people, but how to exploit their newly-bought properties.

‘The new owners naturally proceeded to make the most of their purchase; and the way to make the most of their purchase clearly was to sweep out the cotter-tenants and throw the land into large holdings. This some of them proceeded to do; and the consequence was a period of evictions almost vying in cruelty with the famine. Whole districts were cleared and relet in large holdings; cabins were being thrown down in all directions. A thousand of them were levelled in one union within a few months, and the inmates were cast out helpless, half-naked, starving, to go to the union or perish. The cabins were burned that the people might not return to them.’ (Goldwin Smith, *Irish History and the Irish Question*, p. 184.)

Whatever else happens, this at least we must not permit to occur again.

The congested districts are situated in nine counties. They contain one-ninth of the total population of Ireland; their area is one-sixth of the whole country; but their poor-law valuation is only one-nineteenth of that of the agricultural holdings in Ireland. The first step towards applying a remedy to western congestion was taken in

1891 by Mr Arthur Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. 'The policy of the Congested Districts Board,' writes Sir Horace Plunkett, 'was a notable advance upon the inaction of the State in the pre-famine times, and upon the system of doles and somewhat objectless relief-works of the latter half of the nineteenth century.' The Board, now assisted in its working by the Department of Agriculture, has done much to improve the condition of many districts of the west. Yet it has but touched the fringe of the question. It is to be hoped that the Royal Commission will arrive at some means of deciding what is an 'economic holding.' According to a recent estimate, between 50,000 and 70,000 holdings still remain to be dealt with in the scheduled areas, while in the rest of the country but little readjustment of too small or too poor holdings has taken place. Very large operations will be necessary. These will, in all probability, have to include State expropriation in the western districts, the migration of families and the enlargement of holdings, the furnishing of implements and gear to many of the holders in order to give them a fresh start, instruction in proper methods of farming, and so on.

The task will be no light one. In several districts not only the holdings but the holders are uneconomic; while many of the latter have habits and notions that are not merely unsanitary, but almost uncivilised. Practices unheard-of in the east of Ireland make anything like progress in the arts of cultivation well-nigh impossible. One of these is the 'rundale' system of holding land in scraps and patches—a survival of ancient tribal usage. A man may have fifty of these patches scattered everywhere through the neighbourhood; and yet his 'holding,' thus made up, may be only a few acres in all. These petty plots, too small for fencing, hardly repay cultivation, because, if the lessee's neighbours neglect their plots, he is sure to suffer. Advance under such a system is impossible; yet the tenacity of ancient custom, with its underlying ideas of tribal socialism, makes it extremely difficult to uproot. Uprooted, however, it must be, together with the unsanitary practices and primitive notions and methods which go with it. These things, survivals in remote and backward corners, are not of course universal in the west; they are chiefly practised, as a recent writer

tells us, by 'men and women who, far removed from the highways of modern industry, suffer, perish, and are forgotten.' To convert these poor, backward, untrained people into efficient, self-dependent tillers of economic holdings is an administrative task of enormous difficulty, compared with which the merely legislative and financial part is as nothing. But the task must be faced.

The problem is a grave one—Ireland's gravest, and one that has long called aloud for settlement. It is certain that there is not enough untenanted arable land in Ireland to make the whole of these 200,000 holdings economic; and the greater the number successfully provided for, the greater will be the wail of the large remnant who, under the present outlook, cannot be provided for. Some vast system of drainage, coupled with reclamation of waste land and bog, may yet render the problem of congestion soluble in its entirety. But that is for a more distant day; and meanwhile present needs are pressing. Nevertheless, the duty of the Government is clear; they must begin to handle this question unless they are determined to ignore the unceasing complaints from the west, and the almost certain recommendations of their own Commission. We turn now to another great branch of the agrarian problem.

Outside Ireland there is a cheerful belief that the Irish land question was settled by the Land Act of 1903; but it is a belief not warranted by facts. Fully to understand why this is so, the enquirer should study Dr Bonn's excellent monograph on the Irish agrarian problem. We must more briefly indicate the reason here. Under the Act of 1903 Parliament authorised the issue by the Treasury of an advance of 100,000,000*l.* for land purchase in Ireland; but the money is issued at a rate so slow that thousands of the present tenants may never see the purchase of their holdings effected. Meantime such occupiers as have succeeded in getting an advance for the purchase of their holdings enjoy reductions of annual charge ranging from 10 to 40 per cent. on what their less fortunate neighbours have to pay. The disparity of conditions thus created is only too likely to produce an effect little dreamt of by those who hoped that the Wyndham Act would swiftly settle the whole Irish land question. While admitting that the Act of 1903 will effect large sales, Dr Bonn

proceeds: 'But even to-day it is also possible to affirm that the Wyndham Act will not be the last Irish Land Act' (p. 148). Having pointed out several reasons why there will be limitations to the universal progress of land purchase in Ireland, Dr Bonn adds, 'We shall soon see the rise of a new agitation whose watchword will be compulsory expropriation' (p. 150).

The latest official information does not make the prospect any brighter. In their Report just published, the Irish Estates Commissioners inform us that down to March 31, 1906, they had advanced 9,855,046*l.* That is to say, in two years and five months less than one-tenth of the hundred millions had been issued. At this rate it would take twenty-two years to issue the remaining ninety millions. During the period referred to (November 1, 1903-March 31, 1906) agreements for purchase to the extent of more than 35,000,000*l.* had been notified, so that the advances made are not greatly more than one-fourth of what has been applied for. More than four-fifths of the agreements are for 'direct sales,' a proof that the zone system,\* with its compulsory sanction, has been effective in expediting agreements. But this would be more satisfactory if it were accompanied by a corresponding acceleration of advances.

Purchase must be pushed on; for purchase is pacification, the first great step towards real progress in rural Ireland. The Land Acts have, as Dr Bonn says, 'contributed not a little to the attainment of a kind of social peace.' It is suggestive and illuminating to note the figures by which Dr Bonn shows that agrarian crime rose as evictions rose, and fell as evictions fell (pp. 76 and 115). These crimes would fall to vanishing point with the disappearance of eviction; and there would be, in many senses, peace in the land. Lord Monteagle once prophesied that if the land question were fully settled the future history of Ireland would be one of uneventful peace. We

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\* The zone system of the Wyndham Act applies only to judicial tenants, that is, those who have had 'fair' rents fixed by the Land Commission. If such tenants agree to purchase at a price which will allow their annual instalment to show a reduction of not less than 10 nor more than 30 per cent. in the case of second term rents, or 20 to 40 per cent. in the case of first term rents, then the Estates Commissioners must sanction the sale without the somewhat lengthy procedure involved in ascertaining the value of what is sold.

believe so too, and we think the experiment worth trying. 'For centuries the agrarian system of Ireland was indeed so regulated,' writes Dr Bonn, 'that the abandonment of all energetic effort seemed to be justified' (p. 160). The true remedy, then, is to remove all the remains of that 'justification,' and to give Lord Montagu's prophecy a fair chance of fulfilment.

We do not pretend that the completion of purchase will establish a rural millennium in Ireland. Historical causes have done much to make the Irishman an indifferent, not to say a bad, farmer. We must help him to be a good one. As Sir Horace Plunkett has pointed out, the establishment of a peasant ownership only settles the tenure question, which is but a part of the land question; the cultivation question remains. 'The Irish question,' says Sir Horace Plunkett, 'is the problem of a national existence, chiefly an agricultural existence, in Ireland.' This is indeed *the* Irish question; and we cordially agree with Sir Horace Plunkett when he declares that

'no "magic of property" will avail to establish an agricultural Utopia by means of the economic holding managed, under an uneconomic system, by the uneconomic man. . . . The only way to deal effectively with this problem is to devote to the system and the man some of the thought and care hitherto monopolised by the struggle for the land.'

Quite so; and perhaps we may say a few words here to persuade the average Briton of his own interest in this question, apart even from his moral interest in helping to make Ireland prosperous, and therefore contented and peaceful.

Two questions are inseparably attendant upon land purchase—repayment and agricultural efficiency; they are also inseparably related to each other, and we may treat them together here. The various Land Purchase Acts render the Imperial Government a creditor—a relation which must be provided for and kept in mind. Most of the purchasing tenants have no capital; they are dependent on the produce of the land for the means to pay their annuities. It is therefore essential that the system of tillage and stock-raising should be improved, and kept abreast of the level prevailing amongst foreign

competitors. Unless this is done the pressure of foreign and colonial competition may leave the Irish farmer unable to pay his annuity in full. This would create a very grave situation. The Government could afford to make a slight reduction in the annuity if it struck off the provision for the sinking-fund. But this would establish the Government as a landlord—a position contrary to the whole tendency of the land movement, which has all along had a peasant proprietary for its objective.

Even if this situation were accepted, another difficulty remains. What would happen if the further progress of exterior competition left the Irish farmer unable to pay even his reduced charge, which we must now call merely rent? The State itself must pay the land-stock-holders their dividends, and must get the money wherewith to pay them. Further reductions are out of the question. True, the Imperial Government has its contribution to county authorities in Ireland to fall back upon against deficits. The impounding of this, however, would give the urban communities a grievance against both the farmers and the Government—a situation which would not render the governing of Ireland more easy or agreeable. Were the Imperial Government a landlord pure and simple, reductions would always be possible. It would not, however, be a landlord with a free hand, but a landlord under a load of debt; the land-stock-holders are its creditors; and this insurmountable fact towers up in front of every possible consideration that can be urged upon the subject of the future government of Ireland. All government has an economic basis; and any attempt to plan out the future of Ireland without due regard to the ruling economic factor can only end in disaster.

If, then, we are ever to build a prosperous Ireland upon the basis of a peasant ownership, it is plain that what we may call the agricultural efficiency of the Irish farmer must be our ruling objective. We must render him capable of meeting the pressure of competition, and of paying the annuities on the State's loan in full, so that its extinction may establish him as an owner at last. It is to the Department of Agriculture that we must look as the natural director of this efficiency; but, in order to enable the Department to press forward its work, the



acceleration of purchase is essential. The ninety thousand farmers who have already purchased are fine material to begin work upon; but the great obstruction to a strong beginning, and to improvement in general, lies in the veiled—sometimes the unveiled—hostility shown towards the Department from several quarters. The known, though never frankly avowed, ground of this hostility is the fear that, as better farming would mean higher profit, it would keep up rents, thereby making landlords unwilling to sell. The only remedy finally available is purchase. The Irish tenant, north and south alike, is more than reluctant to share any increase of profit due to his own efforts; and it is vain to look for any real advance in agriculture until the occupier has become an owner. If, then, the cultivation question is to be solved, a free field must be prepared for the operations of the Department of Agriculture. The pacification of rural Ireland through the ending of land agitation consequent upon purchase can alone prepare that field.

Concurrently with the remedial treatment of congestion and the expediting of land purchase, must come a general improvement throughout Ireland in the methods of peasant-farming, and a reform of the home-life of the peasantry. The effecting of both objects must be entrusted to the Department of Agriculture; but its efforts will be largely ineffectual unless supported by a better and more suitable system of education than that now prevailing in Ireland. The Irish Government should encourage those who, with a success somewhat remarkable in view of the difficulties to be overcome, have succeeded in spreading over the country voluntary associations which are the analogues of the 'Syndicats Agricoles' of France, and the leagues of agriculture in Belgium. Working through and with these, the Department of Agriculture would be able to get a better hold on the attention of the farming class, of whom at present too many seem to feel not even the interest of curiosity in the valuable opportunities of instruction which the Department offers them. Once the practical interest of the farmer is roused and (with no prospective increase of rent to damp him) enlisted, it is to be hoped that rural Ireland will begin to live a new life. Out of this busier and brighter life, with the aid of a better education, we

may hope to see the advent of a better type of peasant home in Ireland, and a better conception of home-life.

In the effecting of these objects some money may have to be spent and some perhaps lent. 'The Irish tenant,' says Dr Bonn, 'often has not sufficient capital to work his holding.' It were better that he should borrow it from the State at moderate rates than be thrown into the hands of the provincial moneylender. Irish farmers have received loans from the Board of Works for drainage and other improvements; and it might be wise to offer similar loans to supply that lack of capital which a bad system of ownership did so much to prevent their acquiring. For this reason there should be a due margin left between the purchase price and the value of the security. These advances, however, might be cheerfully made if the pacification of the country rendered large reductions of expenditure possible. If the general line of policy we have sketched were duly followed up, we feel convinced that the Irish land question, with all its attendant troubles, would be laid to rest.

It is hard to suppose that, if the economic prosperity of rural Ireland were once assured, a cessation of emigration would not follow, with a possible uprise of urban industries. As a preliminary to these, rural prosperity is necessary; urban industries will not grow where the country is sunk in decay. But, though we should look mainly to the prosperity of the country as the best foundation for the prosperity of the town, we know that other things are needed too. One of these is facility of transit. Ireland, it must be remembered, has already some few industries, even outside Ulster; and the expansion of these should become more possible if transit facilities were improved. How this should be done we are not prepared here to discuss; it is one of those questions concerning which the Government has appointed a Commission. We note also that the enquiries of the Royal Commission on Canals are to be extended to Ireland, a country possessing several canals that might be turned to good account. What these Commissions may report we cannot say, but we hope that some helpful suggestions may come from their labours.

But, though we would found the prosperity of the towns on that of the country, we nevertheless think that

a better, more modern, and more character-building system of education will be needed if all the latent capacities of the Irish people are to be fruitfully elicited. In all respects this is necessary. We cannot have an educated public opinion without an educated people; in Ireland there is neither the one nor the other. The newspapers do the tutoring of the public mind, and they do it ill. The consequence is that there are few countries in which the air is so thick with fallacies, economic and political, or so heavily charged with unexamined, blindly-accepted, traditional prejudices. Until this atmosphere, and the tendencies which flourish in it, have been dissipated, we dare not hope for any vigorous developments of modern industry in Ireland. But we believe that the prosperity of rural Ireland would give a sufficient impulse of energy to the towns to make the demand for a suitable system of modern education too strong to be successfully resisted. Meantime something can be done. The primary and secondary systems of education now existent in Ireland could be improved and co-ordinated. The primary system must be improved before technical instruction can make real headway; the secondary system should be so elevated as to become the fitting basis of a genuine course of university education.

Here we must refer to the last of the Commissions appointed by the Government—that to enquire into the working of Dublin University and of Trinity College, Dublin, and to report how their usefulness may be extended. For our own part we naturally regard Dublin University as the only possible nucleus of one great national university for Ireland; but we feel that it is still premature to look for the realisation of that ideal. Failing this, we should like to see the proposals for the reform of the University, recently put forward by a large body of the fellows and professors of Trinity College, accepted by the Roman Catholics of Ireland and recommended by the Commission. We cannot say that we favour the idea of a second college in Dublin University, under any conditions likely to be acceptable to the Roman Catholic bishops; a new college under the Royal University would be more suitable—if a new college there must be. We are keenly aware both of the importance of the Irish University question, and of the crucial diffi-

culty of settling it. It is perhaps the very toughest of all the riddles of the Irish sphinx. We cannot debate it at length here. Two remarks we must make, however. One is that the Roman Catholic hierarchy does not appear to be giving much help towards the solution of the question; the other is that no settlement of it can be satisfactory which does not provide for the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland such an education as will fit them for their place in the modern world. No settlement will be more than a makeshift which does not satisfy this requirement; even a makeshift, however, might be better than the present disastrous state of affairs; and we look forward to seeing some earnest attempt made to deal effectively with this signally important question.

We have now completed our survey of Irish affairs, and it seems to us that the real problems of Ireland are those which we have described, and some of the main lines of solution those which we have sketched. We can hardly conceive how the Dunraven statutory body could deal with these large questions; the relatively slight savings which the Financial Council could effect would only furnish a little more solder for a little more tinkering. It is not tinkering nor peddling that is wanted now, but large, comprehensive measures, such as only the Imperial Parliament could initiate. A Dublin 'Duma,' with no control of the executive, no power of taxation, and strictly limited financial supplies, could do nothing to cure the congestion evil or to quicken land purchase. It would have neither the power nor the money necessary to deal with the great problems we have noticed, problems whose settlement must precede the stoppage of emigration and the building up of that agricultural efficiency upon which the repayment of more than one hundred millions of money and the whole future prosperity of the greater part of Ireland is to depend. These are not questions which can be left to settle themselves, nor entrusted to a mere talking, resolving statutory body, endowed with too little authority to have any respect for itself, or to raise any respect in a nation which is above all things susceptible to the influence of prestige.

We have attempted to distinguish between the essentials of the still unsettled Irish question and the party

issues with which it seems likely to be confused. It is regrettable that, while the party now in power is, so far as can be judged by the utterances of its leading statesmen, ill-prepared for a constructive Irish policy, the Unionists are in a no better position for constructive criticism of the Government's proposals, whatever they may be. Whatever may be said as to the wisdom of the MacDonnell appointment, a Minister of great promise paid the penalty for his responsibility in the matter by a serious interruption in a brilliant career. The controversy which, as we write, is still raging over the inner circumstances of this incident must gravely impair the strength of the Opposition in any attitude they may assume upon the weighty issues which the promise of an Irish policy by the present Government will, of necessity, bring before Parliament. We may venture to indicate briefly what the attitude of a united Opposition should be.

In the first place, we deprecate any want of internal harmony in the Unionist party at the present juncture. The Opposition is weak in the House of Commons; and it will not be strengthened by the persistence of any small section of it, Irish or other, in correspondence or platform addresses, embodying demands of which the gratification could in no imaginable way embarrass any party but their own. The present is not a time for any changing of leaders in the party. It is a time when those of them who have had longest experience in the governing of Ireland should remain in a position to use that experience with weight and effect in criticising the Irish proposals of the Government. We think that these proposals should be examined upon their merits, constitutional and economic, in the light of their probable effect upon the good government of Ireland, and without the least reference to the exigencies of any sectional aims or claims within the ranks of the Unionist party itself.

In the second place, a purely negative attitude, even if it were statesmanlike in normal political conditions, would, as things are, be deplorably weak. It was too little recognised by the rank and file of the Unionist party, least of all by the Irish section of it, that Mr Arthur Balfour and his brother initiated and developed an Irish Unionist policy which prepared the way for the Land Act of 1903, the most generous concession that Great Britain

ever made to the poorest portion of the United Kingdom. This policy, as we have shown, contained an element of Devolution, perhaps as much as could be safely conceded at the present time; for not only was local government put upon a democratic basis, but, under the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act of 1899, central government functions were largely placed under the control of representative bodies. Any wider extension of administrative devolution based upon experience may be favourably considered. When it is proposed to go further, a large question of principle arises; and it is upon this question that the advocates of what we may fairly call the Balfourian policy and the supporters of the 'larger' policy may have to join issue.

The danger which we most keenly apprehend at the present crisis is the subordination of sane and practical statesmanship to a species of philosophic Radicalism for which Ireland is, to say the least, ill-prepared. In the epilogue written in reply to his critics, Sir Horace Plunkett, who has devoted himself to the practical development of the Balfourian policy, has endeavoured to meet the plausible argument 'that the sense of responsibility, needful for industrial as well as every other kind of progress, cannot be developed in a people so long as they are denied the essentials of responsible government.' And with his reply we are inclined to agree.

'Admitting, for the sake of argument, that responsible government does not exist in Ireland, I reply that, in any country where individual freedom exists, a sense of responsibility can be developed in the process of striving for constitutional betterment no less than in the enjoyment of the attained result. Every worker in the new intellectual and industrial movements acts upon this theory. On the question of principle there are then two distinct courses which present themselves as practical politics—*constitutional change as a means to national advancement, and national development as a means towards the attainment of whatever may prove to be constitutionally best.* Whichever course may be theoretically right, I claim for my plan that it at least furnishes the better working hypothesis.'

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### Art. XIII.—THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MASSACRES.\*

THE news which we have received from Russia has not as yet been checked by serious study; and in Russia it is only of late that trustworthy books could be published even on the most important phases of recent Russian history. That country has been audaciously exploited by sensation-mongers, Russian and European; and news on the 'pogroms' (massacres), and on the responsibility for them, is, by the nature of things, 'tendentious.' One of the chief causes of this evil is the attitude of the Russian Government. No one in his senses would accuse all the officials wholesale of propagating massacre; yet, if certain officials have done so, we should naturally expect them to be brought to justice. But in Russia no official can be prosecuted at law without the permission of his own official superiors; and, in practice, the irresponsibility

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\* This article is based mainly on the following authorities, published and unpublished:—1. Report of the Senior Factory Inspector of the Government of Kherson on the events of July 17-19, 1903, in Odessa (published in 'Russkoye Dyelo,' July 1905). 2. Memorandum of the Minister of Finance to the Emperor on the same subject (*unpublished*). 3. Government Reports (Revisionnyye Otechety) of Senator Turau on the events of October 18-20 (October 30-November 2), 1905, in Kieff (*unpublished*). 4. Government Report (Revisionnyy Otechet) of Senator Kusminsky on the events of October 18-20 (October 30-November 2), 1905, in Odessa (*unpublished*). 5. Account of the events of October 18-20, 1905, in Odessa, dictated by Prof. Stashepkin (*unpublished*). 6. Law Report of the proceedings in connexion with the trial of the Governor of Minsk, General Kurloff (including the Report of the Crown Prosecutor of the Law Chamber of Vilna). 7. Diary of an Englishman in Kharkoff for the days October 22-November 8, 1905 (*unpublished*). 8. Statements made to the writer on events in Nizhny-Novgorod, Sarátov, Revel, and Moscow, and on the organisation of the Police Department, and other subjects. 9. Government Report by Actual Councillor of State Sávich on the events of January 12 and 13 (25 and 26), 1906, in Gomel. 10. Report to the Minister of the Interior from the Director of the special section of the Police Department, Councillor of State, Makároff. 11. Speech of Prince Urúsoff in the Imperial Duma on June 8 (21), 1906. 12. 'Appeals' of the 'Union of Russian Men,' of the 'Moscow Gazette,' and of others. 13. Circulars and telegrams of various officials. 14. Government Report of Mr Frisch, Member of the Council of Ministers, on the events of June 1-4 (14-17), 1906, in Byelostok. 15. Report on the same by the Commissioners of the Imperial Duma. 16. Debates on the same in the Imperial Duma (official verbatim report). 17. 'Une page de la Contre-révolution Russe.' By E. Seménoff. Paris: Stock, 1906. Authorised translation, with introduction by L. Wolf (to be published shortly). London: Murray, 1906.

claimed by the autocrat is extended even to his most unworthy representatives. Prosecution of an official is understood to endanger the prestige of the Emperor. It is accordingly very rare; and real punishment of an official is rarer still. Both Mr Goremykin and Mr Stolýpin, while ready to accept certain reforms, have clung most tenaciously to the old claim that the sovereign may make exceptional laws, and thus reduce to absurdity all paper guarantees for the freedom of the subject and for the observance of law by officials. It is indeed this general attitude of the Government that explains how organised massacre has become possible.

Our enquiry is founded almost exclusively on documents emanating from the Government itself, and on information supplied to the writer by men who are or have been high Government officials. There is no reason why other information should be excluded; but in the confidential and unpublished reports of Senators Turau and Kuzminsky, who were despatched by the Government to make investigations on the spot, and in the similar report of Mr Sávich and the speech of Prince Urúsoff, there is evidence abundantly sufficient to convict on the main issue. We use, then, principally the confessions of the Government as to the conduct of its own officials.

From the time of Peter the Great, who has been described as a 'Robespierre on the throne,' there have been two opposing currents in Russian thought. The wholesale admission of Western ideas led to a counter-movement based on the instinct of self-preservation, or, as the Russians say, 'self-existence.' The Slavophil is the champion of this anti-Western creed. The first Slavophiles were men of great breadth, not unlike the best English Conservatives. But, as the Government began to take up their formula and to apply it in its own way, both their numbers and their moral importance dwindled fast. Mr Gringmut, the present editor of the 'Moscow Gazette,' is but a parody of the great Katkoff. He represents, not Russia, but the system of frontiers and passports and police and humble obedience to a divinely appointed Tsar. He still maintains that there are two kinds of truth, one for Russia and one for the West; and, as his opponent, the Liberal, takes the West for his model, he is even able



to identify the Liberal with the foreigner. He and the little gang of men gathered round him, enjoying the special protection of the Government, appeal incessantly to national hatreds, to racial spite.

These doctrinaires of the Second Reaction (1881-1904), whether editors like Mr Gringmut or high officials like Mr Pobyedonóstseff, desired to be at any cost 'truly Russian.' Thus, to be an alien was, in their eyes, to be a born criminal. The attacks of the period on the local liberties of the Baltic Germans and the national liberties of the Finns were essentially doctrinaire. These liberties were not dangerous to the Government, but they might become so; the doctrinaires took precautions in advance.

The Jews are, of course, those amongst the people of Russia who will be the last to find their political salvation. Whereas the Finns are by tradition a constitutional monarchy, the Jews are by tradition a scattered and persecuted race. As Church and Tsar were supposed to march together, they had a double reason for expecting persecution in Russia. They have had to learn to live by their wits; as one of them explained to us, 'the Jews are cheats (*obmanshchiki*) but not rogues (*moshenniki*); they must cheat to live.' Their candles, their sacred meat, were taxed in order to provide them with schools, which in many cases are never founded at all. In the public schools, even inside the Jewish pale, only a certain percentage of Jewish pupils is allowed; the last few places will go to those who can bribe the highest; and, in Russia, exclusion from school means exclusion from the professions. Jews are excluded from all higher posts in the Government service; they cannot be officers in the army. When Russia annexed Poland the Government did not wish to admit the Polish Jews into the interior; and a Jew has to pay heavily to live in the capitals. Though the Empire is now commercially one, the Jew can neither come to St Petersburg to claim a debt, nor bring the debtor before a court in the Jewish pale. If these limitations were swept away, the Jews would be satisfied with something far short of revolution. 'The Jews,' said a Russian governor to the writer, 'are quite right to rise; their position is intolerable.' 'They have naturally tried to get round the law,' writes Senator Turau. 'Many had to be educated abroad; . . . they were

good soil for our revolutionaries to work on; and when they came home they soon persuaded their fellows.'

'By unanimous reports of all who have studied the local life,' writes Turau, 'no racial hatred between the Little Russian and Jewish populations of Kieff has ever been observed.' The Roman Catholic Bishop of Vilna, Baron Roop, says the same of his diocese. Yet the Jews undoubtedly 'bled' the local Russians in the days of Polish rule; even now, though wonderfully clever in supplying local needs, they are not so much traders in the Western sense as the parasites of trade. After a Jew has leased some land, it is often not worth having. As occasion offered, the local population might try to recover by violence and all in one day what the brain of the Jew had won from it during many years; as the rioter espied in the Jew's shop objects which had once been his own, 'he would feel,' says a reactionary, 'as if the Jew had been draining his blood.' So far, then, anti-Jewish riots in Russia are not different from those recorded in the history of other primitive peoples.

The carrying-out of the special laws against the Jews naturally devolved upon the police. This brought Jews and police into undesirably close relations. The official, backed by the whole weight of Imperial authority, was the natural enemy of every Jew. The Jew took pride in finding 'ways round the law.' His best course was to bribe the official; and no one can compete with him in his knowledge of Russian venality. Tsikhotsky, a Kieff official implicated in the 'pogroms,' made it a part of his defence that the Jews hated him because he would not take bribes; yet, in point of fact, he was convicted of this very offence long before the events in question.

The part of the Jews in recent politics must be very carefully defined, though the 'Moscow Gazette' and its friends have been allowed to indulge in the most wholesale generalisations, confounding revolution with reform, Sionist with Terrorist, and the Russian students and Intellectuals with the Jewish population. The question of Sionism is a purely Jewish question. There are some Sionists who desire a return to Palestine; and there are others who would like to found a self-governed Jewish colony somewhere else outside Europe. The Sionists, who are a small minority of the Jews, were not strong

in the working-classes; they had the goodwill of the Russian Government, which at one time would have been glad to get rid of them on any terms. Yet an appeal to the Russian soldiers, printed in the press of the military staff at Odessa, has the impudence to say:

'The Jews want to make our Mother Russia into a kingdom not Russian but Hebrew or Sionist . . . and to proclaim in Russia their own Jewish or Sionist Tsar. And then, *lads*, they will destroy our Christian faith, too, as they destroyed and killed Christ.'

In general politics the Jews have naturally taken a prominent part. The small Terrorist bodies in South Russia and some parts of Poland consist largely of Jews. The powerful Jewish 'Bund,' which is very strong among the working-classes, is revolutionary in its aims and methods, but it is not ordinarily Terrorist. The 'Union for the Full Rights of Jews,' which has several Sionist members, is *bourgeois* and not revolutionary at all. It is closely connected with the Russian Liberals; it organised a most successful electoral campaign in conjunction with the 'Cadets,' and it supplied some of the most prominent Liberal leaders to the late Duma.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Jewish revolutionaries are responsible for a large number of murders of policemen during the last two years. They seized the chance of paying off old scores, and they had more to pay off than the average Russian. The murders were in number and in character such as to preclude all possibility of palliation. Mr Stakhóvich estimated them in the Duma at something over seven hundred; and, as he reasonably put it, not all the victims could have been villains; in fact, many of them belonged to the better sort of police, who stuck to their posts in the face of danger. The names of the criminals were more often Jewish than not. Though the murders were usually committed in a dastardly way—by shots at night from behind street-corners—a Jew boasted to the writer that they were nearly all the work of his own people; that the murderers were often ignorant agents of others 'whose lives were too valuable to lose'; and that the murders established a title to the remedying of Jewish grievances, 'because the Jews had thus shown their pluck.'

The time arrived when it became a part of the Government policy to fight revolution with revolutionary weapons. The Minister of Finance, in his Memorandum to the Emperor, assigns as this date the year 1901. In this year, he says, attempts were made by the Ministry of the Interior to organise propaganda through the police amongst the working-men. He mentions General Trepoff as one of the chief champions of this scheme. His own representations were, he says, flouted by the Minister of the Interior (Plehve) and by Mr Pobyedonóstseff. He maintains that the result has been the opposite of what was intended; the revolutionary propaganda, far from having been arrested, has thrown out wider roots; and the whole movement has simply led to disorder.

The first application of this programme is connected with the name of Mr Zubátoff, who, in close collusion with the police, organised lectures for working-men, telling them that the Government was ready to support their claims against their employers. The working-men distrusted him; and in Moscow, though he is said to have had the support of the Grand Duke Sergius, the Metropolitan Vladímir, and the City Prefect, General Trepoff, the movement ended in a fiasco. It was the same in some other places; but in Odessa his agents engineered an artificial strike which threw the town into disorder.

According to the official report of the Senior Factory Inspector of the Government of Kherson, unions of working-men were organised by the gendarme, Vasilyeff, and by a young Jew named Shayévich, who was recommended to the gendarme in instructions from St Petersburg. The Inspector circumstantially describes how, in July 1903, Shayévich organised a general strike; how the Police-master escorted the strikers, and even rescued some of them from the troops; how this official avoided executing the instructions of the City Prefect for the arrest of Shayévich; how a telegram from the Police Department ordered the City Prefect to hear the demands of the men and satisfy them if possible; how Shayévich (who clearly had cognisance of this telegram) for the first time set about drawing up demands, which included the doubling of wages, a reduction of the working day, and, in some factories, a share of the profits for the workmen. The Prefect at last obtained the permission

of the Minister of the Interior to arrest Shayévich; and during the next four days all the factories resumed work. Zubátoff was ultimately exiled; one of his adherents was by his own confession, the priest, Gapon, who organised the petition of January 22, 1905.

The evidence which has just been quoted shows clearly that at the bottom of all the trouble there lies a dualism within the Government itself. This dualism is to be found even in the control of the police.\* The ordinary police are under the control of the local Governor; the local Governor is controlled by the Minister of the Interior. The gendarmes, or political police, are a distinct organisation: they are few in number, but they can compel the ordinary police to co-operate with them without necessarily assigning their reasons for action; there is therefore very considerable friction between the two bodies. The gendarmes are in no way controlled by the Governor; they receive their instructions direct from St Petersburg. Even in St Petersburg the control is dual; the Commander of the Corps of Gendarmes appoints and, if necessary, punishes, but he may not give orders; the Chief of the Police Department gives all instructions, but may not punish.

Let us trace the dualism further. When Count D. Tolstoy was Minister of the Interior, the Assistant-Minister was made in some respects partially independent of him. But in the spring of 1905 General Trepoff, as Assistant-Minister, received an absolute control over the police of the Empire. He was in no way subordinate to the Minister, Mr Bulýghin; he could and did report separately to the Emperor. It was only on his retirement in October that the special powers of the Assistant-Minister were annulled. General Trepoff divided the Police Department itself into two sections. The non-political work he put into the hands of one of his followers, Mr Garyn; as special commissioner for the political work, he appointed another, Mr Rachkóvsky.

These details do not display the full extent of the dualism. Till Count Witte became Premier in October 1905, even the theory of the solidarity of Ministries did not exist; and the practice of it did not even then

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\* The following details have been verified by an official who held one of the highest posts in that department.

come into use. Each Minister served as the personal nominee of the Emperor; and each might, and generally did, spend much of his time in trying to oust his colleagues and to fill their places with his own friends.

To sum up. The ordinary police are in friction with the gendarmes; the Assistant-Minister is in conflict with the Minister; and the Ministers may all be in conflict with each other. All then depends upon the Emperor; and the knowledge and will-power of Nicholas II are not enough to impose order on this chaos.

Having full control of the police, General Trepoff was, during the summer and autumn of 1905, practically dictator of Russia. The police were separated from the rest of the Government; and Trepoff represented the state of siege, exceptional legislation, and, in a word, ordinances as opposed to law. He himself had only the antecedents of a policeman; and no one ever credited him with any kind of political insight. To make him dictator of Russia was to affront the whole nation. As has been remarked, 'It was like putting a basin of dirty water on the drawing-room table.' Police are necessary in every State; but one hardly likes to confess that the functions of government are all summed up in police work. Nor had Trepoff the support of the men of old family; one such, Prince Urúsoff, who, with the object of showing 'that even a Governor could do good,' had served as Governor first in Bessarabia and then in Tver, wrote to explain that it was impossible for him to carry out the ideas of General Trepoff, and resigned his post. Trepoff himself seemed to have no policy. While Mr Bulýghin laboured at the draft of his half-hearted scheme of a Duma, Trepoff simply prohibited all meetings, which generally were held in spite of his prohibition. Now and then the peasants were invited to sign statements that they were quite contented; and many, like the famous 'Peasants' Parliament' of Chernígoft, flatly refused.

Throughout this period the officials were completely demoralised; and murders of policemen were frequent. But the 'Moscow Gazette' continued to appeal to the memories of Kishineff; and there began to arise something like an amateur organisation for reprisals against the Jews. The group which formed it began to call itself 'the Real Russians'; it always broadly identified reform

and revolution, Liberal and Jew. Certain higher police officials associated themselves with it. On the outskirts of the large towns there could be found a number of loafers who would be ready to loot Jewish shops for a few shillings, for a few drams of vodka, or simply for what they could make out of the process. The system of passports put these men in close touch with the police; and it was not difficult to show them that they were free for a given period to satisfy their nefarious desires with impunity. The earlier of their outrages took place outside the Jewish pale, and were directed as much against the Liberals as against the Jews. Thus Mr Heintze, an admirable social worker and a Liberal, was murdered and mutilated in Nizhny-Novgorod; and Mr Lvoff, who was recently invited to become a minister under Mr Stolýpin, had the Cossack's whip laid about his shoulders in the streets of Sarátoff. Curiously enough, the Governor was Mr Stolýpin; and, though present, he was powerless to prevent the outrage.

It was not, however, till the Emperor signed the Manifesto of national liberties on October 30, 1905, that the 'pogrom' was fully developed as a weapon of reaction. The opposition of the nation to the Government had become more and more tense and concentrated, until a strike of the railway servants showed how unprepared the bureaucracy was, and how easy it was for all trades and professions to drift into a great common movement of passive resistance. The Ministers were paralysed; and Count Witte, the ablest of all the bureaucrats, though disliked at Court and distrusted by the people, was able to make use of the crisis to secure his own return to power. There were, however, byways of officialdom of which he remained ignorant. We can picture the mind of the exasperated police official who saw himself abandoned by his sovereign to the hatred of his many enemies. But he had a policy—that of the 'Moscow Gazette'; he had instruments to hand; and he had a natural enemy—the Jew.

The universities had received the right of self-government early in the previous September. The students were now allowed to hold meetings in the halls; and, in spite of some of their professors, they threw open their doors to the pupils of secondary schools, male and female,

to the organisations of working-men and of Jews, and to the public in general. In Kieff, from September 20 to October 31, there was an almost unbroken series of such meetings. Agitating speeches were made, and agitating telegrams were read out. Though the orators sometimes dissuaded their hearers from any open conflict, the most chimerical ideals were warmly welcomed. Money was collected for the organisation of a militia, one lady offering her ear-rings. The portraits of the Emperor were removed and were replaced by revolutionary inscriptions. On October 31 a crowd broke into the university, destroyed the portraits, and distributed red flags. The orator, Schlechter, cried out, 'The army is ours; let us start'; and, when the news of the Manifesto arrived, he exclaimed, 'The struggle is not yet over; let us go on for a republic.' Outside the town-hall there were shouts of 'Down with the autocracy.' The monogram and inscription were torn from the statue of Nicholas I; some Jews tried to drag the statue down, while others tried to put a red flag in the Emperor's hand. The framed monogram and crown of Nicholas II, which were to have been illuminated in honour of the Manifesto, were torn down by Jewish hands. While the town-hall was thronged by the crowd and almost wrecked, the orator, Ratner, was carried high 'as a future president or minister.' Some Jews spat on the soldiers; to others were attributed such words as 'We gave you your God, we gave you your freedom, and we will give you your Tsars.'

Down to October 26 General Kleigels had been Governor-general of Kieff. On that night he called together the chief officials and handed over his power to the military authorities. General Drake, the head of the military defence, announced that he would use force to prevent street meetings; but on the very next day the helplessness of the new authorities was demonstrated, and several of the soldiers alleged that they had received no instructions. On October 30 General Kleigels was dismissed. General Karass was to occupy the post till the new Governor-general arrived. The action of General Kleigels had put the power into the hands of new men, who depended entirely upon the police for information on the state of the town. Nothing that had happened before October 26 justified this step.



On Oct. 29 a person, believed to be an official, paraded the streets of Kieff with a white flag which bore the words 'For Tsar and Fatherland.' He tried to incite the workmen against the Jews, but met with no success. On October 31 the cry of 'Hit the Jews' was raised, but met with no response. However, while disorder was raging round the town-hall, the cry was taken up again. On report that a Cossack had killed a man, the crowd attacked five Cossacks, who retired, firing in the air. For two hours the police and the troops stood idle before the town-hall. A squadron of dragoons, arriving on the scene, was shot at from four sides; and stones and bottles were flung at the infantry. One officer now ordered his men to fire in platoons; seven of the crowd were killed and 130 wounded; the rest fled in confusion; of the soldiers fifteen had been wounded. At 5 P.M. a meeting of hotel servants decided to 'give the Jews a lesson.' At 7 P.M. a crowd paraded the Alexander Square, carrying a portrait of the Emperor and singing the national hymn. Casual labourers and street-loafers joined in; a number of Jews carrying red flags were attacked and knocked about; a rush was made for those wards in which the Jews predominated; everywhere houses and shops were sacked and wrecked, the furniture and goods being thrown out of the windows.

The movement rapidly spread and was reinforced by all the bad characters of the town. Some, to the end, contented themselves with destroying property; some avoided houses where the Emperor's portrait was displayed, or spared Jews who could say a Russian prayer; but most of the rioters robbed and killed without mercy. On November 1, with full permission of the troops, a large crowd of workmen, shopmen, and officials, with some priests and soldiers, preceded by national flags and a military band, and carrying portraits of the Emperor, paraded the main streets. The procession listened to a short service before starting; but the hinder ranks engaged in pillage all the way, and some of the spoils were carried just behind the portraits of Nicholas II. Though General Karass forbade the procession and issued a strong rebuke to the troops, this day witnessed the climax of the 'pogrom.' Large Jewish shops were wrecked; some iron railings protecting one warehouse were deliberately

torn down; ledgers and plate-glass were destroyed; pieces of rich velvet lay on the muddy streets. The Jewish school of Mr Brodsky was sacked for two successive days; the Metropolitan and Bishop Plato, who did their best to stop the pillaging, were met with cries, 'So you too are for the Jews.' One robber cynically seized a piece of cloth from a shop to put it under the bishop's feet. Brute force reigned supreme.

On November 2, for the first time, the troops fired on the pillagers, killing five. The pillagers still continued their work, and tried to gain a respite by circulating a false report of the murder of some monks outside the town; but when the troops once showed their mind, the robbers, with grumbling recriminations, dispersed of themselves. On this day order was restored. The victims of the 'pogrom' were, at the lowest computation, 47 killed and 205 wounded.

This typical sketch of a 'pogrom' has been taken entirely, and almost textually, from the longer report of the Government Investigator, Senator Turau; we cannot too much emphasise the fact that it is the Government version. We will now let the same authority deal with the question of the responsibility of the officials.

For purposes of defence the troops had been organised, and the town had been divided into certain districts, each under a general.

'Yet the pogrom lasted for three days, and stopped only when all Jewish shops and many Jewish houses had been ransacked. The police were almost entirely absent. The troops walked slowly down the middle of the street while robbery was proceeding on both sides of them. When private persons or officials asked for help from the troops, the answer was always, "We have no orders." Even the Vice-governor, Raffalsky, though in uniform, had this answer from a squad of Cossacks. Generally a shop already ransacked was guarded by a sentinel, who thought it his duty to stand there paying no attention to the pillage which was going on all round him.'

A bystander and a policeman were told by soldiers that they were only ordered to go up and down the street. One soldier said to a law official, 'We are ordered not to mix with the crowd.' A policeman appealed to a patrol which was watching the pillage of a shop; they replied, 'We are ordered to see that there is no fighting and that

no Russians are hurt.' Some Cossacks told a policeman. 'We are here that no one may fire on the pillagers from the windows and balconies, and that they may not quarrel amongst themselves.' A Crown lawyer asked some policemen why they did not take stolen goods from the pillagers. they answered, 'Now it is impossible, as the authorities are against it.' An officer of the Reserve saw robbers with knives 'literally cutting up two Jews'; ten yards away stood a squadron of cavalry 'looking on quietly and not moving a step.' 'To stop the pogrom was possible without special efforts.' The very soldiers who refused 'to break their oath,' that is, to stop the 'pogrom,' on the very next day, obeying orders, fired on the pillagers and arrested them. The pillagers then asked, 'Where were you before? Why didn't you shoot when the Emperor's pictures were torn down?'

According to numerous eye-witnesses, including officials, some of the policemen and soldiers joined in the robbing and seized goods. 'Many ex-soldiers in uniform took an active part'; 'a lieutenant of artillery was leading the robbers on the Haymarket.' Police-captain Lyashchénko and his assistant Pirozhkoff were in charge of the ward in which most of the sacking took place. 'These two,' says a lieutenant of the Reserve, 'were present during the pillage and took no measures, though policemen and patrols were close at hand.' Some say that on October 31 they shouted 'Hit the Jews and rob them.' Two witnesses assert that Pirozhkoff directed the robbers against a certain shop.

Major-General Bezsonoff was in charge of the second district, in which nearly all the outrages took place. He stood nearly all the time in the square before the town-hall 'quietly looking on and taking no measures.' 'You may wreck,' he said to those near him, 'but you may not rob.' The pillagers shouted 'Hurrah!' and cheered the General. A shop near the town-hall was being sacked: a detachment of troops stood looking on. Bezsonoff joined them; when asked to interfere, he remarked that he would not allow force to be used against the pillagers, and remained a cold-blooded spectator of the scene (evidence of a Crown lawyer). The chief secretary of the Governor-general said to him, 'Your Excellency, there is a pogrom; no measures are being taken; how will you

order me to understand this?' 'What pogrom?' said the General; 'it is a demonstration.' A woman picked up a cloth thrown from a window. 'Do you call that robbery?' said Bezsónoff. 'Why, it's a find.' On November 1 two detectives heard him make a speech to the pillagers 'Boys,' he said, 'you have already hit the Jews enough; you have shown that the Russian people knows how to stand up for its Tsar. Enough of rioting; if you go on wrecking to-morrow, then we will use force.' The robbers shouted 'Hurrah!' and set about making the best use of their time. On that day General Karass summoned him and warned him for the last time that he must carry out orders and act with decision. The next day the 'pogrom' was easily stopped.

General Drake had charge of the military defence of the city. To the repeated orders of General Karass, instructing him to take the firmest measures, he replied that he had done everything necessary. To the chief of a bank who complained of the inactivity of the troops, he replied that 'he did not intend to take advice.' On November 2 General Karass had to notify him that 'persons in command are taking no proper view of the business of defence.'

The police were under the orders of the Police-master, Colonel Tsikhotsky. He had been convicted of taking bribes, but was not removed by Plehve because he had powerful friends at Court. Indeed, they say that he taught the goose-step to the Emperor. Of Tsikhotsky, Senator Turau reports that 'he took no measures whatsoever.' He heard of the 'pogrom' on October 31, and only telegraphed to his subordinates at 10 P.M. on November 1. Two of the generals in charge of districts stated that he sent no message or instructions to the troops. At a meeting of the chief authorities, in naming a house from which a shot had been fired, he confused the two sides of the street. At 4 P.M. on November 1 he was ordered by the council to telegraph its decision to forbid processions; he sent the order at 12.26 the next day. Eye-witnesses, including many officials, state that he 'looked on quietly at the disorders, only saying, "Disperse, gentlemen."' The comment of the pillagers was, 'That is his joke'; and some of them even answered with shouts of 'Hurrah!' He would say, 'Gentlemen, other people's

property is inviolable'; or, 'That will do; go in peace.' He took part in some of the patriotic demonstrations; the crowd 'chaired' him, and then dispersed to sack Jewish shops; he bowed to his applauders, and walked off quietly (evidence of a justice of the peace). The Vice-governor ordered him to act with energy; the chief secretary threatened him with 'exile and hard labour'. On November 2 General Karass threatened him with removal. It was only then that he at last took action.

Senator Turau had no power to deal with the military offenders. He removed Tsikhotsky, Lyashchénko, and Pirozhkoff, and handed them over to the law-courts. As yet no public example has been made of these flagrant criminals.

The simultaneous 'pogrom' in Odessa closely resembled that in Kieff. We supplement the short report of Senator Kuzminsky with the statement dictated by Professor Stscheppkin, a professor of the local university and late member for Odessa in the Imperial Duma.\*

In July 1905 the city was greatly agitated by the revolt of the battleship 'Prince Potemkin.' General Karangózzoff, who then became Governor-general, had no great ability, and seems to have been guided by the City Prefect, Mr Neidhardt. Two prominent Liberals were prosecuted; needless use was made of the troops and police to disperse peaceable crowds. At the public meetings in the university the most revolutionary ideas found expression; and on October 27 the students and schoolboys were out all day in the streets inciting to a general strike. The police met them and knocked them about. On October 29 Mr Neidhardt tried to close the university to outsiders; the young people raised some barricades, and some five or six of them were killed or wounded. On October 30 the Town Council appointed a consultative committee, composed of town councillors and others. This committee, on receiving the news of the Imperial Manifesto, decided to create a kind of local police force. Mr Neidhardt denounced this proposal as usurpation, and pointed to the red flags displayed in the streets, one of which was even flying from the town-hall.

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\* Prof. Stscheppkin has lately contributed a chapter on Napoleon's invasion of Russia to vol. ix of the 'Cambridge Modern History.'

While Mr Neidhardt was receiving the committee, attacks on the Jews had already begun in the outskirts of the city. A Jewish militia had been organised in advance; and, as soon as the 'pogrom' began, the students, arming themselves with revolvers, sent detachments to the points of greatest danger. There was a scarcity of arms, as the police had seized all that they could; but the Jews and the students dealt successfully with the hooligans on October 31 and November 1. But Mr Neidhardt, denouncing the militia as armed rebels, sent the soldiers against them, and platoons fired on every house which the Jews tried to defend. On the morning of November 1 some disguised policemen organised a procession of workmen, house-porters, ragamuffins, and men of the secret service. The procession carried sacred images and portraits of the Emperor, and received the approval of the military commander, General Kaulbars, in front of his palace, and that of Mr Neidhardt in front of the cathedral. The procession pillaged shops and attacked Jews and schoolboys. General Kaulbars, when appealed to, pointed towards the university and said, 'There they are making bombs'—a charge which the Town Council, after making a search, certified to be false.

Senator Kuzminsky quotes the following evidence. A police-captain says that the police accompanied the patrols and ordered them to fire when attacked; 47 shops were pillaged, and 22 persons were killed, most of them Jews. An assistant police-captain says, 'I heard Mr Neidhardt arrange with Mr Gensberg for the transference of police powers from the police; the Police-master, Mr Golovín, refused to remain in office under these conditions.' Another police-captain declares that the troops took no measures against the pillagers. The director of a higher school says that the (first) crowds were agitated but orderly until the police interfered. The police attacked them without reason or warning. They themselves were not attacked throughout October 31. The director of a savings-bank society says, 'A military officer told me that it was not within his competence to defend private property.' A Crown lawyer says, 'In our street the pillagers were exclusively soldiers. I reported this to Mr Neidhardt. . . . In the morning I telegraphed again.

... I saw that there was no desire on the part of the police and the troops to stop the pogrom.'

Mr Stscheapkin states:

'Mr Neidhardt printed a letter in which "thirty thousand townsmen" proposed to go and devastate the revolutionary university. On several robbers who were arrested by the Students' Militia while carrying their spoil, there were found new revolvers; and amongst the wounded hooligans lying in the hospital were found some disguised policemen. A hooligan who lay there was asked how he had obtained his new revolver. He replied, "A policeman gave it to me . . . out of friendship."'

Mr Neidhardt, who had himself asked to be recalled, was removed by Count Witte. But, in spite of the recommendations of Senator Kuzminsky, he was never tried by the Senate. On the contrary, he was appointed Vice-governor of Nizhny-Novgorod. Count Witte represented to the Emperor that the appointment was not suitable; but his report was returned endorsed with the remark, 'I know that public opinion is irritated against Mr Neidhardt. But what of that? (*chto zhe is tovo!*) I appoint him Vice-governor of Nizhny-Novgorod.'\* However, the feeling in Nizhny-Novgorod was such that the appointment was cancelled.

There is the same significant coincidence of date in the disorders at Kharkoff, Revel, and Minsk. In Kharkoff the movement began with the looting of armourers' shops by a band of hooligans. The streets filled with spectators; and the Cossacks charged. Our informant—an Englishman, who barely escaped one of the Cossack whips—is explicit in stating that the charging was directed only on the spectators, and that the hooligans meanwhile went on robbing on both sides of the troops. There was, later, a little fighting at a barricade set up by the students, who were in the end allowed to march out, giving up their rifles, but retaining their revolvers. The students were allowed to keep order in the streets during the funeral of the victims. The only disturbance arose from a shot fired out of the funeral procession. The man who fired was seized by the students. Under a disguise he was wearing the uniform of the police.

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\* Our statement comes at first hand from one who saw the report and the reply.

In Revel, according to the statement of the late member for the town, Mr Papchinsky, a crowd of hooligans, on October 27, ransacked the armourers' shops, and wrecked several other shops. This demonstration seems to have been quite unprovoked. The police were not to be seen; and the troops took no action. On October 29 a large but quite peaceable meeting on the chief square protested against the inactivity of the authorities. Troops arrived and fired on the meeting.

In Minsk, according to the Government report of the Crown Prosecutor, the Governor, General Kurloff, received, on October 25, a telegram from General Trepoff containing these words, 'In case of street disorders taking place, I ask you to take decisive measures to suppress them, not hesitating to resort to armed force.' He was also instructed to call a conference of the chief officials. These reported that revolutionary designs were in the air. The Governor sent out sealed instructions; the troops were informed that force could be used without special warning if crowds showed violence to officers or to soldiers. General Kurloff said to his officials, 'Don't take blank cartridges, and don't fire in the air.' On November 1, permission having been obtained for a meeting, a mixed crowd gathered at the railway station. Many of the speeches were most violent. According to one witness the crowd started firing on the soldiers; but this statement is not borne out by the report of the Crown Prosecutor. Anyhow, the troops began to fire without even the warning of a bugle-call. Most of the victims were wounded in the back. Persons who were hiding in corners and under the staircases were killed. Some policemen killed persons escaping from the station. There were 50 killed and 100 wounded. The soldiers seemed to lose their heads, says the chief of gendarmes, and fired on the staircases or put their rifles to the windows from outside. The news of the Manifesto arrived; but the Governor, by his own account, delayed its publication 'in order to verify it.' The Crown Prosecutor recommended that the Governor should be prosecuted; but, assuming that the crowd started the firing, the Inspector for Military Prosecutions stopped the proceedings.

After the Manifesto there were no 'pogroms' for some time. Count Witte, the Premier, opposed the policy of



massacre; but the 'Real Russians' were still able to execute their vengeance on individuals. Thus, during the December rising in Moscow, while the revolutionaries were showing the futility of violence at one end of the city, some reactionaries raised a sham barricade at the other end; and some dragoons used this as an excuse to burn down the warehouse of Mr Sýtin, who has rendered immense services to the cause of sound literature for the people. The firemen who came to the spot were told by the soldiers, 'This fire you are not allowed to put out. Most unfortunately for the future of Russia, many priests did their utmost to incite the hooligans against Jews and Liberals. Bishop Hermogen signed provocative appeals in Sarátoff; Bishop Níkon, of Moscow, was a member of a committee formed for a similar purpose; and the Metropolitan Vladímír preached a sermon in a similar sense. On the other hand, an old priest was dismissed from his cure for remonstrating with some soldiers who were beating harmless persons in front of his house; and five priests who preached against the death penalty were dismissed and put on their trial.

The next actual 'pogrom' was that of Gomel, a town where 56 per cent. of the inhabitants are Jews. We confine ourselves entirely to the evidence of Mr Sárich, a member of the council of the Minister of the Interior. The reactionary Minister, the well-known Mr Durnóvo, despatched him to the spot; and most of the persons, whom he interrogated there, were government officials.

In October 1905 the Jewish revolutionaries began to organise a militia. There were only 375 soldiers and 60 policemen in the town; the latter were paid at the rate of 1*l.* 13*s.* a month. 'Between the police, the local gendarmes, and the commander of the local troops, there was continual wrangling; the last-named refused to work in harmony with the police.' The 'Bund' terrorised the population; but the 'Union of Full Rights for Jews' protested against its action. At last a police-captain was murdered.

'There was perhaps still a small party of persons devoted to the old régime; these could not oppose the revolutionaries with a corresponding armed force, and therefore had recourse to such methods as provocation. . . . Quite recently there appeared in Gomel a branch of the secret organisation of

Russian Patriots. . . . It is impossible not to see an active co-operation of the Assistant-commander of Gendarmes with this secret Union, which, though it possibly acts with patriotic objects, yet employs unlawful methods.'

The Assistant-commander was Count Podgorechání-Petróvich.

'My object' (he writes) 'was . . . to receive most useful information about the revolutionary movement . . . and to exert an influence on certain members of the Union which might produce good results from a patriotic view—patriotic in the best meaning of that word,' . . . also, 'to ward off a Jewish massacre . . . I knew that I was taking a step that bordered on crime . . . but decided to materially support the Union that it might be ready to oppose any revolution which might break out in the city.'

No revolution broke out. As to the nature of Podgorechání's 'material support,' we can best judge from the subsequent report of his superior officer, Mr Polyákoff, Commander of Gendarmes in the Government of Mohiloff, who writes to Mr Sávich as follows:—

'Podgorechání has gone, leaving some (financial) deficiencies behind him. I am especially displeased that he showed in our presence a tendency to lie without ceremony. You remember that he told you in my presence that the twenty-five revolvers which he had given to the Gomel Patriotic Union had already been returned. Of the seventy-five revolvers put aside in July by Captain Shebéko (Podgorechání's predecessor, who had been reprimanded for similar conduct), I have found on investigation only thirty-seven. Where are the other thirty-eight? When I pressed Podgorechání to say where the arms had disappeared to, I received the following explanation. In the middle of December 1905, when members of the party of Patriots pressed him to give them arms for self-defence, he did as follows. One evening he took from the chest some twenty-five revolvers, tied them into a bundle, and himself took them to a certain house, where, having rung, he waited until the door was opened, put his hand inside, and gave the package to the man who had opened the door, and then, without being seen by any one, walked quickly away. Podgorechání refused to name the persons to whom he gave the revolvers. In the same secret way a printing-press which had been seized by Captain Shebéko disappeared from his office. I ordered a search to be made; and the press was found at the house of a Patriot. . . . It will be destroyed.'

The 'materials' having been obtained by the Union, two of its members, including one Schwand, 'invited in from the villages' (Podgorecháni) a small band of some ten or fifteen hooligans. These men, 'mostly armed with rifles or revolvers,' attacked certain houses which had been indicated to them. They burned and sacked thirteen houses and shops, and tried to sack the house of Dr Zak-kind. A number of street-loafers, who had broken into the dram-shops, joined in the work. Some shots were fired, and some bombs thrown from the houses; but they did no harm. One Jew was killed, and eleven were wounded; of these last, four were under fifteen years of age. The damage done amounted to 200,000*l*. The Colonel in command saw, on January 26, 'seven or eight pillagers dressed in light cloaks like those of Cossacks; they wore fur caps, and had rifles which were undoubtedly of the army model; among them were one policeman and one civilian, who carried booty out of the house.' This man was recognised by Podgorecháni as 'one who was reported to belong to the Union of Patriots.' The Colonel's orders to put out the fire were not heeded by the hooligans, but were subsequently carried out by a patrol of dragoons which he summoned to the spot. The soldiers, according to Major-General Phalenberg, commanding in Vilna, came to the scene as onlookers and without officers or instructions. The infantry and dragoons behaved irreproachably; but the Cossacks, who appear to have been given a holiday for the day (evidence of several officials), seized on vodka, and three of them appropriated plunder; some of them attempted rape on February 8. Podgorecháni, by his own account, came on the scene twelve hours after the disorders were notified to him. The police deny that he ever came at all. We may ask, why should he? He already knew more than they could tell him. Schwand was brought to trial. Mr Durnóvo dismissed Podgorecháni for 'inappropriate action.' No news of his further punishment has yet reached us.

We saw that at Gomel a secret press for the printing of incitements to violence was kept at the gendarmes' office by two successive chief officers. A similar press was now discovered even in the Central Police Department at St Petersburg. Prince Urúsoff, who had put a stop to the

massacres of Kishineff, was now Assistant-Minister of the Interior under Count Witte; that is to say, he held the title but not the powers formerly held by General Trepoff. The story of the discovery we take from his speech delivered to the Imperial Duma on June 21, 1906.

'In January 1906 one of the persons occupying a subordinate position in the Ministry . . . began to receive a large quantity of specimen appeals . . . and also anxious protests against the organising of massacres in Vilna, Byelostok, Kieff, Nikolayeff, Alexandrovsk, and other towns. . . . He used every means to avert any further massacres, which he also succeeded in doing. . . . At this time some light, though still of an imperfect nature, was thrown on the . . . work of the artificers of massacres. A group of persons, composing a kind of fighting organisation of one of our 'patriotic clubs,' together with some who were in close touch with the editors of a newspaper—not in St Petersburg—undertook to combat revolution. . . . The Russian population (of the frontiers), and in particular Russian soldiers, were invited to settle accounts with the traitors in tens of thousands of appeals with the most agitating contents. . . . There were strange results if one thinks of the preservation of the unity of authority. An Assistant Police-master (I merely give an example) circulates the appeals without the knowledge of his chief; . . . or again, a Police-captain, let us say, of the First Ward, was considered worthy of a confidence which was denied to the Police-captain of the Second Ward. Some one serving in the gendarmes' office, or in the Defence section, proved to be supplied with special sums of money. To him certain of the lower people began to resort. . . . Frightened inhabitants went to see the Governor. . . . Telegrams from the Ministry spoke of measures to be taken to secure tranquillity; and such measures were often taken. . . . In some cases the police quite honestly supposed that the measures were taken simply for show, for decency, but that they were already acquainted with the real intention of the Government; they read between the lines, and thought that they heard, beyond the order of the Governor, some voice from far-off in which they had greater belief. In a word . . . the authorities became completely demoralised.

'Meanwhile, in St Petersburg, so early as the autumn of 1905, and, it would seem, before the October Ministry came into office, in No. 16, Fontanka, in some remote room of the Police Department, a printing-press was at work; it had been purchased for the Department by Government money. This

press was put under the control of an officer of gendarmes in civil dress, one Comisároff, who, with a few assistants, assiduously prepared the appeals to which I have alluded. The secret of the existence of this "underground" press was so carefully kept, and the conduct of its organisers was so conspirative, that not only in the Ministry, but even in the Police Department, there were but few persons who knew about it. Meanwhile, the work of the Union of Patriots, whose organ the press was, was already meeting with success; for, when questioned by a person who happened to come upon the track of this organisation, Comisároff answered, "A massacre we can make for you, of any kind you please—if you like, for ten men; and, if you like, for 10,000." I may add that in Kieff a "massacre for 10,000" was arranged for February 20, but it was successfully prevented.

'The President of the Council of Ministers (Count Witte) had, we are told, a serious attack of nervous asthma when the facts I have just narrated were communicated to him. He summoned Comisároff, who reported to him on what he had done, and on the full powers which he had received. In a few hours the Department no longer contained either the press or the appeals or the staff; there was left only an empty room.'

Why did not Count Witte expose Comisároff? Who can estimate the value to the Government of a good Comisároff trial? But Count Witte knew that he could not take this line and retain his place. He did not dare to combat influences which were more powerful than his own. Mr Durnóvo, who, reactionary as he was, confessed to Prince Urúsoff that 'this was not his way,' was equally impotent. Comisároff, who had received a 'decoration,' was, as the writer was able to ascertain, quite recently living at large under an assumed name.

Prince Urúsoff resigned office to become the assailant of the policy of massacre as a member of the Imperial Duma. The ordinary bureaucratic comment on his speech was that 'Prince Urúsoff had betrayed Government secrets.' General Trepoff said, on July 9, to a representative of Reuter's agency, 'Il mentit, et c'est tout.' But the Prince did not speak at random. His speech was founded on intimate knowledge not only of the Government reports already quoted, but of other documents equally important.

The appeal of the 'Real Russians' to the Russian people, which was sold for a halfpenny in the office of the

'Novoe Vremya,' suggested that all trade should be interdicted to Jews; that all Jewish schools should be closed, and that Jews should be excluded from the secondary and higher schools; that all Jews who returned to Russia should be interned in the northern part of Siberia; that Jews should be debarred from work on all newspapers; and that all Jewish property should be sold within five years. This appeal was printed in the press of the City Prefect on March 4, 1906.

On Oct. 25, 1905, Mr Lavroff, who was at that time an official of the Ministry of the Interior, sent round a circular demanding a general union of 'all who love their country' against the Jews. An appeal freely circulated amongst the local troops before the Byelostok 'pogrom' runs as follows:

'A foreign enemy . . . has roused up the Jap against Russia. . . . On the quiet, across the seas and oceans, the foreign Tsars' (which means, of course, more particularly, King Edward and President Roosevelt) 'armed the enormous Japanese people against us. . . . Then arose our strength of Russia. . . . The foreign Tsars got scared; the hair bristled up on their heads; their skins crinkled with chill. And they thought of a mean idea—to undermine the heart of the Russian soldier, to shake his ancient Christian faith and his love for our Father Tsar. . . . They brought into the soldiers' ranks, almost wholly through Jews and hirelings, whole mountains of print, . . . and also heaps of gold, that they might buy base souls. . . . But our army turned away from these new Judases. . . . The foreign Tsars blushed. . . . There began in Russia an internal confusion. Again the fierce foreign foe sets his snares through his friends, always the Jews and the hirelings . . . that he may seize altogether the land of our fathers. But . . . he never put his own head in the way of our cannon, but bought, through the Jews, the souls of Russians—Christians. . . . Brothers, tread in the steps of Christ. Cry out with one voice, "Away with the Jewish kingdom! Down with the red flags! Down with the red Jewish freedom! . . . At the foe, Russian soldiers! Forward! forward! forward! They go! they go! they go!"'

The lesson, as we know in this case, was completed by the oral teaching of the officers. The appeal itself was printed by the Military Staff of Odessa. The 'Moscow Gazette' printed in heavily-leaded type an incitement to

violence against the Liberal, Mr Herzenstein, one of the most eminent members of the Duma. The result was that Mr Herzenstein was murdered by an ex-gendarme. Yet the 'Moscow Gazette' is one of the few papers with which the censorship never interferes. We may pause to note that, while foreign money alone stands between the Government and bankruptcy, while foreign loans maintain, in spite of the nation, the last remains of autocracy, official appeals accuse the British Government of financing the national movement for liberation. The situation is hardly dignified.

As to the circulation of the appeals by officials, we have further evidence in the Report of February 28, 1906, to the Minister of the Interior from the Director of the special section of the Police Department, Mr Makaroff. In reply to an enquiry, he examined the papers of the special section for the Government of Ekaterinoslav. He found two reports, numbered 1054 and 1061, from Captain Budogóvsky, Assistant Chief Director of Gendarmes in the districts of Alexandrovsk and Pavlosk. They were dated November 27 and December 5, 1905. They 'left no doubt that massacres of Jews were being prepared, and that the criminal agitation to this end was made on the initiative of Captain Budogóvsky.' Adjoined to the reports were two printed appeals bearing the stamp of the 'People's party,' which identified the revolutionaries with the Jews; also six lithographed appeals, some of which are signed 'Union of Russians,' and one 'the Fighting Band of Russians in Alexandrovsk.' One of these appeals names and threatens members of the local Zemstvo; another insists that the revolutionary movement is exclusively conducted by Jews, and ends with the words: 'Down with them!' The appeal of the Fighting Band contains an incitement to massacre the revolutionaries and the Jews.

'Then rise, stand up, great People of Russia; form bands, get arms, scythes, and pitchforks. . . . At the first alarm meet with your arms in the square near the People's Palace and range yourselves with the Russian Fighting Band, which . . . with the portrait of the Tsar and with the Holy Ikon, will rush on our enemies, the men who carry red flags.'

Budogóvsky reports 'that these appeals are being diffused in great quantities; that they are of essential use;

that all the members of the Patriotic Union are known to him; and that he is employing all his influence for the circulation of similar appeals.' The special aide-de-camp, Pyatnitsky, writes Makároff, in forwarding the report to Mr Rachkóvsky, Director of the Political Section of the Police Department, and to Mr Timoféyeff, Director of the Special Section, added the note: 'The subjoined appeals contain absolute incitements against the Jews.' Neither Rachkóvsky nor Timoféyeff, who had become adjutant to General Trepoff, took any notice whatever. We also possess a copy of a dated and numbered circular from the Governor of Minsk, General Kurloff, to the local authorities, ordering them 'not to hinder the members of the Union of Real Russians from circulating amongst the population the ideas of this Union . . . which are put forward in the pamphlets and leaflets published by its Central Council.' On the other hand, one Andréyeff, who refused to print such appeals for the 'Journal of the City Prefect of St Petersburg,' was arrested and deported without trial to northern Russia.

If Prince Urúsoff had needed any further justification this would have been supplied by the 'pogrom' of June 14, 15, and 16, 1906, in Byelostok, which took place just before he delivered his speech. Though it was only later that the first accurate accounts began to come in, it is clear that the 'pogrom' almost exactly followed out the lines of the general plan of massacres as it was explained in the speech. Indeed one of the Commissioners of the Duma based his report on the outlines sketched by Prince Urúsoff. We do not give a detailed account of this 'pogrom,' because the final Government report is not yet before us; and, exhaustive as is the long report of the Commissioners of the Duma, their manner of taking evidence was not very satisfactory. We would rather convict the responsible persons by Government evidence. We will only notice the points more generally admitted. There were anarchists in Byelostok; in a few months there were forty-five cases of violence; some of the best of the police were murdered, including the Police-master Mr Derkacheff. This gentleman won the admiration of all; there are reasons to think that he fell a victim to the reactionaries. His successor, Mr Sheremétyeff, more than once threatened the Jews with a 'pogrom.'



Appeals were circulated. Some officers made provocative addresses to their men. The Governor was visited by some respectable Jews, and answered them roughly. It is uncertain who fired first; but there is evidence that provocative shots were fired by policemen. Many soldiers and policemen, including even officers, undoubtedly took part in attacking even defenceless Jews. The Governor took no measures at all. Repeated telegrams from Mr Stolypin failed to stop the 'pogrom.' It stopped of itself on the day named by rumour in advance. Of the eighty-three victims, five were under the age of fifteen, including two children of ten, one of four, and one of two years of age. In this case there is no evidence of the complicity of St Petersburg. Mr Stolypin removed the Vice-governor and reprimanded the Governor.

The responsibility of some local officials for the 'pogroms' was frankly admitted to the writer even by Mr Stolypin. He recognised that, in the general disorganisation of the Government, some officials had taken independent political lines of their own. He himself, though unable to investigate every shot fired during the last year, had at least sent out a circular demanding from all officials the observance of the law. But we have now to deal with the responsibility of persons higher than the local officials.

'The explanation of the Minister of the Interior' (Mr Stolypin) 'does not' (said Prince Urussov) 'give us any serious guarantee that an end will be put to these organisations. . . . The chief organisers and inspirers are outside the sphere of work of the Ministry. . . . No Ministry . . . will be able to establish order in the country while persons who stand apart, behind an impenetrable barrier, can lay rough hands on separate parts of the Government machine. . . . And yet, all the time, we all feel that those obscure forces are arming against us; that they hedge off the sovereign power from us, and undermine its confidence in us. . . . This danger will not vanish while the business of administration and the destinies of the country are under the influence of men who are by education quarter-masters and policemen, and by conviction organisers of massacre.'

Who were these 'obscure forces'? Public opinion names the late General Trepoff (who, as commandant,

controlled every avenue to the Palace of Peterhof), Count Ignátýeff, Prince Putyátin, Mr Mosóloff, and other officers in close touch with the Emperor. The Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayévich, and to a less degree the Grand Duke Vladímir, are thought to be patrons of this group. Mr Rachkóvsky is clearly one of its official agents; General Bogdanóvich, a former police official, and Mr Dubróvin, are sedulous circulators of appeals. Admiral Dubásoff, General Kurloff, and Mr Neidhardt were the chief local executors of its ideas.

Prince Urúsoff confirmed to the writer the general outlines of this sketch and most of the details. General Trepoff was definitely the subject of his accusations; he was the instigator of the work of Comisároff and of Rachkóvsky, both of whom received rewards. There would have been no 'pogroms' but for the desire of such men as Kurloff and Kleigels to please the group. Both the gendarmes and the ordinary police were worn out by the political troubles, and would have been glad to see them come to an end.

We also obtained information from a gentleman who formerly held a high post in the Government, and was in a better position to inform us than any one else not directly implicated in the matter. He was anxious that the documentary evidence should be published, if only to show that not all Russian officials are guilty; that the policy of massacre is, in Russia as elsewhere, an illegal road; and that it is an exceptional development which could be stopped. Comisároff, he said, only began his special work under Trepoff. We asked, 'Were such men as Rachkóvsky more responsible than such men as Trepoff?' He answered, 'Surely the superior officer is more responsible than the man who carries out his ideas.' There was no doubt as to Trepoff's responsibility. 'But,' we said, 'he would hardly leave any proofs on the table.' 'Well,' he answered, 'he left more than you might think.' It cannot be said that he ordered a 'pogrom,' but one may feel convinced that he thought a 'pogrom' a good thing. As to Mr Stolýpin, he was a man of proved honesty and ability; but the full proofs had never been laid before him.

On Nov. 2, 1905, the Governor-general of Curland, General Bekmann, reported that he had received a tele-

gram from the Commander of Libau, describing how deputies from a large meeting, on the basis of the recent Manifesto, asked for the removal of martial law and the troops, and the liberation of political and administrative prisoners; the deputies promised in return the maintenance of order and a return to work. 'The Commander wrote Bekmann, 'recommends that martial law should be removed. I, too, think that martial law is not suitable to the new order of things.' He received the following answer: 'November 3. No 2952. I do not agree with your conclusions that martial law does not correspond with the new order of things. Instructions will follow. Assistant-Minister Trepoff.'

The Governor of Tula wrote on September 14, 1903, to General Trepoff asking whether he should allow the reactionaries to hold meetings and refuse leave to others, as the population 'might believe that the Government is carrying on an organised campaign with definite aims for the elections to the Imperial Duma.' General Trepoff replied: 'I do not share this view. The Government is bound to support its friends and not to encourage the enemies of the Government.' The article contains also a number of reports to General Trepoff from the local authorities, who explain how they have broken up the processions organised by their opponents, and how they have helped in the organisation of counter-demonstrations.\* These are, perhaps, slight indications; but they make it clear that not only the officials but also General Trepoff took a side; and that neither the public, nor the police, nor the officials could be in any doubt as to what conduct would be most likely to please the Minister.

Such is the sketch which our materials allow us to make. The Jews lived under intolerable conditions; and we have abundant evidence of provocation from their side. Yet we cannot understand how policemen and soldiers were allowed to take sanguinary vengeance on whole masses of the population, in no way discriminating between innocent and guilty. Not only were these acts of vengeance allowed, but they were encouraged, and

\* The text of the documents referred to in this and the foregoing paragraph was printed in the 'Rech' of May 9, in an article contributed by an official connected with the Police Department.

even organised, by certain high police-officers. And the general conduct of Trepoff, some of his written instructions, and his complete failure to punish such officers, make it clear that the actors were right in assuming that he, too, favoured a policy of violence and considered himself justified in using the authority and power of the Government against the majority of the nation. The Emperor, in promulgating the Manifesto of Oct. 30, had in principle sanctioned the claims of that majority. Yet this was the moment chosen by the apparently defeated group to construe any public meeting into an occasion for violent governmental suppression. In the case of Gomel, even this pretext was dispensed with; and the 'pogrom' began without it. The only link needed in the chain is supplied by the activity, the impunity, and even the rewarding of Comisároff. When the appeals reached the country, what doubt could either the police or their enemies have as to the real intentions of their rulers?

All the more emphatically must it be pointed out that the organisers of massacre were, from October 30 onwards, in no sense the authorised Government of the country. The actual Ministers were, in fact, the buffers between these persons and the people. Yet, if we can acquit them of blame, it is a sorry acquittal. Why did they hold office on such terms? And even the most conspicuously honest Minister, with a support from the Court which he is never likely to have, could not, by the exercise of a single will, uproot the evil which has spread so far. We have seen that the forces which represent what is called 'autocracy' have no longer the moral vigour requisite for the task. There is only one other solution. If the public sense has been mistaught by a long tradition of governmental violence, then there is all the more reason that the opposite process should be started at once. In principle Russia now possesses, in the Duma, the elements of public control; and that system must be set to work in practice if the demoralisation of the people is not to be indefinitely continued. The only Ministry which can deal with the 'pogroms' is a Ministry based on the national will.

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TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH VOLUME OF THE  
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